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Aerial view Maputo, Mozambique, with the port in the foreground.

Eneas Comiche/Maputo City Council

Financing City Infrastructure

he world is only halfway through its urban transformation, yet already over 900 million people live in urban slums, one billion people lack adequate water supply, two billion do not have adequate sanitation – indeed, the sheer scale of the problem makes the imprecision of the figures largely irrelevant. Financing these huge infrastructure investments is clearly one of the most pressing challenges of the Millennium.

While much international debate has focused on increased development assistance and debt relief, insufficient attention has been paid to local sources of investment funds for infrastructure in the towns and cities where the urban poor live.

As is elaborated in more detail in the 2005 Annual Report of the Cities Alliance, cities are coping with this challenge in the midst of three major historical trends: globalization, requiring the creation of competitive infrastructure; decentralization of responsibilities, often not matched by the delegation of authority or resources; and urbanisation requiring cities to provide basic services at an unprecedented scale.

To meet these challenges, cities need to be proactive facilitators of infrastructure. This will require a bold new framework for local governments, including:

- the empowerment of cities through the devolution of real responsibility and real resources;
- city development strategies incorporating investment plans, and

- pricing policies, based on the consent of the governed;
- mainstreaming the infrastructure needs of the poor neighbourhoods into investment plans; and
- the creation of sustainable financial structures which link city financing needs with domestic markets.

The main lesson from development experience is the need for clear frameworks which allow scarce budgetary resources to be leveraged with market finance. Although these frameworks may vary, their essential goal is to encourage cities to raise resources, create and maintain infrastructure, and pay for their costs over time. Financing infrastructure in this manner provides significant incentives for improved urban governance, since enhancing accountability for service provision encourages the consent of the governed for sound pricing policies and provides confidence to financial markets. Importantly, decentralization of finance also facilitates local initiative, rewards performance and punishes mismanagement through local processes. Moving this agenda forward requires partnerships between cities, national governments and their development partners. It also requires changes in the way we engage with each other in this critical development task.

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National governments are increasingly recognizing that infrastructure creation and efficient service delivery require empowered local governments. A key feature of this empowerment is financial devolution of authority to leverage scarce budgetary resources with private capital for key city investments. The role and policies of the national governments is critical in enabling this change.

ypically, national actions that impacts cities include macro economic and fiscal policies and more directly devolution of powers and responsibilities. These national actions are discussed in the context of Philippines, which, as perhaps with other rapidly urbanizing countries, faces significant urban financing challenges, but the trends towards modern system of financing is also evident.

Studies on the Philippine decentralization experience shows important lessons learned. These studies point some basic principles in decentralization, especially as they reflect on the fiscal responsibilities of the local government units. One basic principle is that decentralization/devolution of functions must be accompanied by a commensurate fiscal decentralization. In the Philippine experience, fiscal decentralization did not go hand in hand with the decentralization of functions. This is shown in the lopsided provision of internal revenue allotments to the different types of local government units. Although cities are mandated to perform functions also given

to provinces and municipalities, the realities are that cities have a bigger share in the internal revenue allotments as provided for in the sharing formula compared to the devolved functions to them.

Second, there should have been some selective or gradual implementation of decentralization based on the readiness of the local government units. Readiness in terms of human resource capacity, fiscal responsibility, and institutional readiness should have factored in the handing of functions and responsibilities to the local government units.

Third, there must be clear guidelines and measurement standards on how the local government units are evaluated in their performance. If these guidelines and standard of performance measurements are not available, the tendency is to provide perverse incentives. Providing incentives to poor performers creates a moral hazard. In the future, the development of credit information and the establishment of credit rating for local government units and of course the development

of the capital market in the Philippines should enable cities to explore the various financing modes.

Apart from the decentralization issues, the regulatory framework is essentially the responsibility of the national government. There is a clear need to provide a transparent system by which cities can mobilize domestic capital and security mechanisms which allow the flow of low cost capital for cities. The Phillippines situation is characterized by a movement towards reform and a sound legal basis for city financing.

First, the Local Government Code empowered cities to raise revenues at even higher rates allowed provinces and municipalities (Section 151 of the Local Government Code). Furthermore, the issuance of bonds must be limited to self-liquidating Second, cities projects. have a built-in advantage in the sharing /allocation of national internal revenue taxes. The National Government shares forty percent (40%) of its internal revenue taxes of the third year preceding the current fiscal year. Of the forty percent, twenty three percent (23%) is allotted to the provinces; another twenty three percent (23%) is allotted to cities; thirty four percent (34%) is provided municipalities; and twenty percent (20%) is allotted to the Barangays, the smallest political units or villages.

Finally, national level interventions in cities must include supporting capacity building policies. Capacity is often created by a systematic sharing of both good and failed practices and investments in capacity need grant support from national governments. In Phillippines, national attention has focused on training as well as knowledge dissemination. At the nation al level, train-

ing institutions have been established to cater to the local officials. The Department Interior and Local Government has established Local Government Academy whose main function is to provide training for local government officials. The Development Academy of the Philippines which is based in Quezon City is another training institution which was established to provide training and research facilities for civil servants in general. Lately, the Development Academy of the Philippines has specialized in the training of local government officials with the aim of professionalizing the bureaucrats at the local level.

Seminars, workshops and other forms of training and

skill-building exercises have also been conducted by the Municipal Development Office as well as the various departments and agencies of the national government for local government officials. These training programs are generally given free and they are what we have termed as indirect grants to local gov-

ernment units. There are inter-local programs such as city sister-hood arrangement where a more urbanized and developed city provide some replicable programs/projects/activities to less developed sister cities.

In conclusion, national governments need to recognize that decentralized responsibilities must be matched by corresponding devolution of powers. Simultaneously, city level actions to improve disclosure of financial information and efficiency in management of its own resources are critical in addressing the poverty and growth challenges in cities. Clearly, the process of city empowerment requires partnerships and coordinated actions and the enabling role of the national government cannot be overemphasized.

Using the capital markets to fund infrastructure — on a sustainable basis in developing economies, with a specific reference to South Africa

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Developing economies require a high level of infrastructural investments yet faced with high negative socio economic fundamentals affecting such investments, it is a paradoxical compliment. The growing need for capital investment that enables sub national government to deliver services to communities on a sustained basis necessitates a more innovative approach to funding and funding strategies while at the same time minimizing the debt burden on rate payers or citizens.

oorer communities are not affording to pay for services and are mainly located in financially constrained sub national governments who face the challenge to supply basic services well outside of its means. Transfers from central government are not sufficient, in the case of South African municipalities the average is still below 30% of total revenue especially for the bigger and affording metropolitan municipalities thereby necessitating the raising of external funding for such infrastructure. To ensure protection against insolvency and the ratepayer's interest, central government has introduced legislation that restricts long-term borrowing only for capital investments and that it occurs within a budgetary framework negotiated with the ratepayers. Central government further restricts gearing levels by municipalities to within a strict parameter of a % on total revenue, usually ranging between 30% to 50% depending on the size of the municipal balance sheet and budget.

The historical perspective

Municipal Stock (LALF – Local Authorities Loan Fund): from the mid 1980's municipalities started to issue a substantial amount of municipal stock, which were equivalents of junk bonds

as they had no credit ratings and were high yield instruments and were mainly private issues listed, on the bond exchange, with absolutely no secondary trading potential. These stocks are high yielding debt instruments were usually issued in response to deteriorating bank credit lines. A large portion of these issues was to the Development Bank of South Africa accountable for providing infrastructural and development funding to municipalities.

Commercial banks and financial institutions were reluctant to lend to municipalities without either a guarantee from government or a pledge of sound collateral in the form of fixed assets of the municipalities or a session to its reliable future stream of cash flows. This was part to the unreliable nature of the municipal cash flows and the political instability and protests against the apartheid regime leading to mass boycotts on service charges by municipalities. Except for one bank of all the commercial banks in South Africa, they each have a substantial on balance sheet exposure to municipalities.

Although the capital markets are sound and developed in South Africa (but due to market size) the economy still lacks banking and financial institutions that are specifically focused on municipal and public finance. INCA, a privately owned company established to compete in the same space, as the development finance institution on providing municipal loans, is the only pri-

vate institution with a major focus on municipal and public finance, and has done so successfully.

Insurance Companies: they were a substantial source of long term funding as they were seeking long term assets to invest in. Since the market has become highly competitive on price and structure of the offering, most insurers were and are still not able to cope with the competitive for loans to municipalities, and has gradually exited this market in recent times.

Development Bank of South Africa (DBSA), a Developmental Finance Institution established by central government to provide infrastructural and development funding to municipalities, structured a few innovative long term funding instruments tailored around the municipalities cash flows as well as collateral requirements. The DBSA had competitive advantages over other lenders as it carries an explicit central government guarantee giving it access to cheaper funding in the capital markets at competitive rates and is not subjected to additional costs associated with capital reservation. To date the DBSA has the highest exposure to municipalities with total outstanding advances to municipalities

amounting to EUR 1.6 billion

The advent of municipal public funding

South Africa experienced democratic elections in 1994 marking the end of the apartheid rule, this meant the rationalisation and expansion of basic services to areas previously not looked after during the era of apartheid. Additional resources in the form of central government transfers and borrowed funds were required to achieve the required capital investment. This has seen the City of Johannesburg's capital budget raise from EUR 125 million in 1995 to EUR 350 million in 2005, with a capital investment backlog of over EUR 900 million needed to catch up with the basic services needs of the communities. In 2004 the City of Johannesburg followed this issuance up with its debut domestic municipal bond issue, the first in South Africa post apartheid era: A 6 year issue of EUR 125 million with a fixed coupon of 11.95%. This was immediately followed by the issue of the 1st partially guaranteed bond to be issued in South Africa, with a 40% capital and interest guaranteed from the DBSA and IFC, similarly a EUR 125 million 12 year bond and coupon fixed at 11.90%.

This bond is unique in the market in that it has multiple redemptions.

However that the issue of public debt by sub national governments in the South African capital markets is relatively new, the City of Johannesburg in 1982 issued its first international foreign bond denominated in the Deutsche Mark currency, with a total issue size of DM 50 million. This was the first to be issued by a local municipality in the country: it had a four year maturity and was fully guaranteed by the Republic of South Africa. The coupon was fixed at 10%, at the time the domestic long term interest rates were substantially higher than the coupon of this DM issue, proving that the costs from international borrowing could be substantially lower than domestic borrowing, from a perspective of absolute costs, especially when denominated in hard currency. The practice of providing a sovereign guarantee for sub nationals was later discontinued, necessitating that long term funding should be raised based on balance sheet strength and quality of credit rating. To date amongst the City of Johannesburg is in the process of pioneering new and innovative funding instruments that will not only assist in bringing its funding

costs relatively low but also revolutionise the capital markets for municipalities.

How South Africa compares internationally on municipal issuances

The total municipal issuances excluding the G7 countries and Western Europe is standing at a staggering EUR 12 billion since 1980, with issuance sizes below EUR 500 million from South Africa, Bulgaria, Poland Hungary, Estonia, Brazil, Colombia, China, Slovak Republic and Ukraine.

Overall issuance has been at record high as issuers have been taking advantage of historically low interest rates. The CEE region has experienced high municipal issuances, these municipal issuers have a rating range of between BBB+ and A-, similar to Republic of South Africa.

This year there were three transactions denominated in South African Rand (ZAR) issued by Land Nordrhein Westfalen (a 3-year and 5-year) and the Province of Ontario (a 10-year issue). All these issues were launched in 2005. This is further proof that the South African currency and interest rate regime has become attractive to potential foreign issuers.

Facilitating municipal issues

DEXIA is a world leader in the provision of financial services to the local public sector. To this end it develops products to assist the financing of local authority investments by providing partial guarantees for their bond issues. The bank has also devised financial arrangements intended to reduce the risk associated with local currency issues to facilitate their take-up by local investors. The first such project involved the city of Tlalneplanta in Mexico, with the funding of a treatment plant to allow domestic wastewater to be reused industrially instead of

drinking water. This operation was concluded in 2003 and conducted jointly with the IFC (International Finance Corporation) which signed its first municipal transaction in the process. This was the first municipal operation in Mexico to be organized without a central government guarantee – previously this guarantee involved federal budget transfers – and the first financial transaction in Mexico in the water sector to be guaranteed by future consumption invoices.

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Developing Modern Private Subnational – Credit Markets

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With ever greater decentralization in developing countries, subnational governments are increasingly responsible for providing basic infrastructure investment in key sectors. Private subnational credit markets could help finance these enormous infrastructure needs, as they do in developed countries.

he US subnational bond market provided an average of over US\$300 billion per year over the 1993-2004 period for a total of US\$3.5 trillion. In 2003, just one specialized private sector bank, Dexia Credit Local, financed about US\$50 billion for subnational governments, and private sector suppliers of infrastructure and services to them through concessions and Public/Private Partnerships (PPP). With adequate macroeconomic policies and a satisfactory legal/regulatory framework, such modern private subnational credit markets can also:

- Provide incentives for subnationals to improved their fiscal performance and efficiency, as a good credit rating significantly lowers interest rates; and
- Help to develop national financial markets by providing investments of high credit quality.

For these reasons, multilateral lenders have sought to stimulate development of such markets in developing countries.

As Mexico has successfully begun implementing the reforms necessary for developing such modern subnational credit markets, we will do a quick view of its reforms and their impacts. Mexico's reforms covered not only macroeconomic policy and decentralization, but also the main elements of Mexico national financial system (banking, capital markets, and institutional investors).

Macroeconomic policy

In 1999, the Mexican government decided to use market based controls to eliminate excessive borrowing by states and municipalities that it saw as a potential threat to the relative macroeconomic stability that it had attained.

Decentralization reforms

Mexico's decentralization reforms in late 1990s set the stage for these market based controls by making the national/ subnational transfer system more transparent and predictable. However, the government first had to eliminate a moral hazard that permitted irresponsible subnational borrowing: the use of national/subnational automatic transfers (mandatos) as loan guarantees in a way that made bank loans to subnationals virtually risk free. As a result of this moral hazard, banks allowed subnationals to borrow irresponsibly at almost no risk to them.

To eliminate this problem, the government abolished the *mandatos*.

Banking regulation

A related problem was that banking regulation set very low risk weights for subnational lending. To address this, the government changed banking regulations to tie risk weighting to external credit ratings, as proposed in the initial drafts of Basel II Accord. These ratings also increased transparency of subnational government accounts, and also generated a healthy competition among states and municipalities, as mayors and governors pride themselves on having better ratings than their peers.

Capital markets

More realistic risk weighting of bank loans reduced such lending, while regulatory changes permitted the capital markets to step in to issue subnational bonds. From 2001 to date, Mexican state and municipal governments issued 21 bonds for a total amount of over US\$ 1.3 billion.

More recent regulatory changes have made Mexico the region's leader in structured finance.

Institutional Investors

Mexico's 1997 pension reform created the private managers of mandatory pension funds: *Afores*. In five years, these *Afores* accumulated assets in excess of 8% of GDP (US\$34 billion as of April 2003) and this is expected to reach 20% of GDP by 2015. Insurance companies are also potential investors in subnational bonds of high credit quality.

Credit enhancement

Another role of insurance companies is to insure subnational bonds, as do the large monoline insurers in the US: AMBAC, FSA, and MBIA. Similarly, banks can enhance credit via letters of credit and other products. With full credit enhancement, the bond investor's risk becomes that of the more highly rated insurance company or bank, thereby lowering the interest rate. For example, the enhancement of a secured bond issue of the Municipality of Tlalnepantla by Dexia Credit Local and IFC's municipal fund resulted in AAA ratings by both S&P and Moody's.

Summary

Mexico's relative macroeconomic stability and extensive decentralization enabled it to introduce reforms in its national financial system that have increased infrastructure financing via its capital markets by institutional investors while providing market based controls of subnational borrowing. To maintain these modern private subnational credit markets, Mexico will, of course, have to abstain from bailing out subnationals and eliminate any other moral hazards as they arise.

What about other developing countries?

Could other developing countries follow Mexico's example? Yes, if they are willing to do the necessary macroeconomic and decentralization reforms, as well as those related to their banking system, capital markets, and institutional investors

All of the macroeconomic and regulatory prerequisites must be maintained.

The role of multilaterals

Multilaterals can provide support for the necessary reforms, as was the case with the World Bank's US\$600 million Decentralization Loan to Mexico that helped establish the necessary regulatory framework. Municipal Development Funds (MDFs) that have been created by multilateral loans in many countries can help prepare municipalities for entry into the private credit market via their institutional development components and incentives for improved municipal fiscal performance. These MDFs can also be privatized, as

was done in India's State of Tamilnadu.

In the 1980's, the French government created Credit Local de France (CLF) as a publicly owned fund to support French decentralization, and then successfully privatized it.

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Reducing urban poverty in the developing world requires the improvement of infrastructure and the provision of services. This need poses major financing problems which are best solved by national capital mobility. This article examines the contribution of international financial institutions in this area.

ities in the developing world are the centers of both growth and poverty. While the contribution of major city regions to national income is substantial; cities are becoming places where more poor people, living in dense settlements are subject to health and livelihood risks than at any other time in history. Moreover, the contribution of these people to the city's economy is rarely matched by the quality of services provided to them by the city. In order to mitigate this imbalance, cities need to provide quality infrastructure that is growthinducing (such as transport, roads and power) as well as environment-enhancing

(such as water, sanitation, solid waste management). This need for improved infrastructure creates a major financing challenge, one that can best be met by mobilizing domestic capital.

These demands on city governments are taking place amidst the almost universal trend of decentralization, taking place around the world irrespective of the political character of national governments. Most often, however, the devolution of responsibilities is not matched by delegation of authority. Consequently, the key urban finance task in the 21st century is to meet the rising demands by empowering local governments to

choose, design, and finance urban infrastructure.

Global experience clearly demonstrates that, with an appropriate policy and a legal and regulatory framework, cities successfully access private capital markets in order to finance urban infrastructure. Indeed, financing infrastructure in this manner also provides strong and tangible incentives for improved urban governance, efficiency and accountability, all of which directly impact on a city's creditworthiness. The sheer size of the infrastructure challenge requires national governments to work together with cities to design a framework where authority

and responsibility is clear; enabling private financing to transact with autonomous borrowers. This article focuses on the contribution of International Financial institutions to this task.

Up until the 1990's, most cities in the developing world pursued traditional methods of financing, usually based on ad-hoc grants and government guarantees. These pre-modern financing systems typically have the following characteristics: Money is often borrowed on behalf of the city by higher levels of governments. As a result, the city no longer has the right to determine its own contracting. Furthermore, plans to repay debt and maintain assets are often unclear and not based on tariffs or taxes. This guarantee method of financing has often led to low levels of municipal and lender involvement in the design, execution and financing of projects. These debt obligations, moreover, are often imposed on the community by default rather than an outcome based on a city development strategy with a financing plan which has local consensus.

Since the 1990's the widespread need for far-reaching urban reform has led some countries to provide an enabling framework for their cities to mobilize domestic capital, create infrastructure and take responsibility for repayments. International partners have participated in this enabling framework in a catalytic and strategic fashion to provide support for cities to raise domestic finance. These initiatives include the use of partial credit supports by the IFC-Municipal Fund in South Africa and Mexico, and the use of the USAID-DCA (Development Credit Authority) in providing a framework for small and medium cities to access markets for water and sanitation investments in the Indian states of Karnataka and Tamilnadu.

Recent initiatives towards partnerships include actions at the global, country and city levels. At a global level, the Cities Alliance has launched a major municipal finance partnership during 2005 to assist cities in becoming proactive developers of urban infrastructure by mobilizing domestic long-term capital. To this end it established a Municipal Finance Task Force (MFTF), which includes experts and practitioners from the rating agencies, private sector financial institutions, and bilateral and multilateral banks and development agencies. The MFTF is helping to analyze and share the knowledge and experience of cities which have successfully mobilized long term private capital and the frameworks which need to be in place at all levels of government to facilitate this process. In parallel the Alliance is also supporting the initiative of United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) to establish both a global and regional commission(s) of mayors on municipal finance which will interact with the MFTF and help broaden and deepen the engagement of cities in improving these instruments and their application.

Second, and at a more micro level, since private finance is comfortable with public entities which have an inclusive and broad based investment strategy as both characteristics substantially reduce cyclical political risks. Therefore using the CDS framework as entry point for cities to do a financial stocktaking and the steps it needs to take to build bridges with local markets for financing its development strategy would be a logical policy step. Cities Alliance members, national governments and cities are developing such frameworks in countries as diverse as the Russian Federation, Peru and India.

These demand side actions would also facilitate the greater use of newer market making instruments developed; among others; by WB-IFC Municipal Fund, Guarantco, and USAID-DCA all of whom work with cities and offer products such as partial guarantees which help leverage domestic capital. UN-HABITAT has also recently established a Slum Upgrading Facility (SUF) to provide technical assistance to help cities mobilise domestic capital.

A major threat to modern financing is the continuing use of scattered grants and traditional loans - usually well intentioned - through national governments and sometimes by international and bilateral development institutions. These interven-

tions risk distorting local incentives and weaken the emerging possibilities of raising domestic resources for city infrastructure. The scale and pace of urban demands are driving the movement towards modern financing, and this change as it involves sharing of power, cannot be expected to be painless. The challenge for cities, national governments and their development partners is to impart momentum to this process in an organized fashion.

AFD - French Development Agency's focus on subsovereign finance

Two factors strengthen the role of local authorities in economic development and public life. The first is linked to demography and the growth of cities: the dramatic rise in the need for infrastructure and services has been made more problematic by the increase in urban poverty. The second is institutional in nature: decentralization, which is taking place in a growing number of countries, is accompanied by a transfer of responsibilities from central to local government. This situation is leading certain donors (it is, for example, one of AFD's strategic objectives) to grant finance not only to central governments (sovereign finance) but also to local governments (subsovereign

finance), either directly or via specialized institutions or, alternatively, by facilitating their access to financial markets. This involves the adoption of specific techniques and raises new problems. In 2004, AFD led a working group to study these issues. This group was composed of a broad panel of participants: donors, banks and financial institutions, consultants, researchers. A French summary will be available shortly, both in printed form and on the AFD and Municipal Finance Task Force (MFTF) websites. An English version is in preparation.

Contact: www.afd.fr

News on —— cooperation

Appointment

Chantal Haage is replacing Bernard Hoarau as Head of the Administrative Reform and Decentralization Bureau which is part of the Sub-Directorate for Democratic Governance within the Development Policies Directorate at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Her previous post was as Cooperation and Cultural Action Advisor at the French Embassy in Montevideo (Uruguay).

Cities Alliance Annual Report 2005

The Cities Alliance has just published its 2005 Annual Report. The report's foreword by Jeffrey Sachs stresses the pivotal role that cities can play in meeting the MDGs by developing bold, long-term city development strategies which link investments in infrastructure and services with economic growth and poverty reduction. The first chapter discusses the challenges of financing these investments, in particular, on how domestic longterm capital can be mobilised to finance city development strategies, including citywide slum upgrading. The report's remaining chapters illustrate how Cities Alliance members and partners are designing and implementing Alliance-funded activities worldwide to empower cities in this process.

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The funding of development aid at the heart of the debate at the UN summit in New-York

15 - 17 september 2005

The last minute restriction of access to the United Nations building to official delegations meant that NGOs were unable to follow closely the discussions at the General Assembly. Many "parallel" debates took place in the city's hotels. The Institute for Delegated Management took advantage of the debate organized by the "World Business Council for Sustainable Development" to present a paper on the financing of essential services. The impossibility of initiating a genuine debate on United Nations reform and the change of direction imposed on the American authorities by the situation in New Orleans finally meant that more attention than might have been expected was given to the Millennium Development Goals and, more generally, discussions on the financing of development aid.

The Millennium Development Goals have been re-endorsed by the international community. The importance of increasing the level of Government Development Aid has been restated and initiatives to diversify the sourcing and mobilization of this aid have been noted, one example being the French proposal of a tax on airplane tickets.

The summit has also enabled local authorities to become official partners of the UN thus fulfilling one of the objectives the organizations of cities and local authorities had set for themselves at the Rio Earth Summit.

In sum, a low-key summit. Fortunately, the debates on development aid were not completely displaced by debates about security and terrorism. A summit that "the peoples of the world will judge by the changes in their day-to-day lives" in the words of the Secretary General of the United Nations. The Millennium Development Goals are more and more in need of being transformed into concrete funded programmes.

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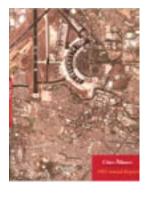
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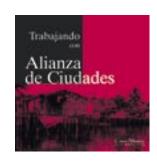
a guide in Spanish and Arabic

At the request of Cities Alliance, ISTED has co-ordinated the translation and publication of the Spanish and Arabic versions of the Guide: "Working with the Cities Alliance". This document summarizes Cities

Alliance's organization, operation and procedures for cofunding projects, and already exists in recently updated versions in English and French.

Contact: www.citiesalliance.org









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