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27.11.10

University of Applied Sciences Bonn-Rhein-Sieg
MBA-Programme « NGO-Management », Winter Semester 2010/11
Module « Culture & Politics »

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Overview on some relevant topics:

I. Theories of International Politics (IP) / International Relations (IR)

Topics of International Politics

"International Politics" (also "International Relations") represents the study of foreign affairs and global issues among states and regional groupings within the international system. It includes the roles of states, inter-governmental organizations (IGOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), and multinational or transnational corporations (MNCs or MTCs). It deals with global policy-making today and the complexities of political, economic and social transformations that continue to reshape power (relations).

It is considered as a branch of political science, but should be treated as an interdisciplinary field of study and research.

IP deals with some of the central issues that affect our lives.
The academic discipline of IP traditionally focuses on questions of **peace** and **war.**
In recent years this agenda has broadened to include issues such as **development**, **human rights, climate/environment**, and **culture/religion**.

Main IP / IR Theories

Two models of analysis for interpretation of international relations have been very influential:[1]

1. Realism asserts that
  ➢ Governments cannot count on the existence of a peaceful and cooperative human nature to produce harmonious interactions.
  ➢ States exist in a condition of anarchy in which there is no ultimate enforcer of rules.
  ➢ Foreign policy must be based on a state's need to protect and advance its own power, not on morality (if power and morality come into conflict). ("Realpolitik")
  ➢ States are self-interested, power-seeking rational actors, who seek to maximize their security and chances of survival.
  ➢ International political relations are prone to conflict; state security is understood primarily as military security.

2. Idealism (or liberalism) asserts that
  ➢ Human nature is rational and capable of peace.
  ➢ States / governments should pursue ethical and moral principles in foreign policy.
  ➢ States mutually gain from international cooperation; they should promote human security ("quality-of-life security").

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[1] See Ellen Grigsby (2009): Analyzing Politics: An Introduction to Political Science, 4th ed., Wadsworth, p. 251-288, 256 (available at the library in Rheinbach).

> ➢ International organizations and institutions have the capacity to promote peace and human security, human rights and democracy. The international "regimes" affect the behaviour of states or other international actors (> **Regime theory**).
> ➢ States tend to exist in a world that looks increasingly interdependent to many idealists such as *liberal institutionalists*. The growing interdependence throughout and after the Cold War through international institutions led to neo-liberalism[2] being defined as ***Institutionalism***.

There are some other relevant theories, among them:

3. Regime theory is derived from the liberal tradition that argues that international institutions or regimes affect the behaviour of states (or other international actors). It assumes that cooperation is possible in the anarchic system of states. Regimes are by definition, instances of international cooperation.

While realism predicts that conflict should be the norm in international relations, regime theorists say that there is cooperation despite anarchy. Often they cite cooperation in trade, human rights, environment/climate and collective security among other issues. These instances of cooperation are regimes.

The most commonly cited definition of regimes comes from Stephan Krasner. He defines regimes as "institutions possessing norms, decision rules, and procedures which facilitate a convergence of expectations."

4. At the heart of ***Constructivism*** is the idea that significant aspects of international relations are socially constructed, that is, historically and socially contingent rather than necessary, inevitable consequences of human nature or other essential characteristics of world politics.

Constructivism primarily seeks to demonstrate how many core aspects of international relations are, contrary to the assumptions of (Neo-)Realism and (Neo-)Liberalism, *socially constructed*, that is, they are given their form by ongoing processes of social practice and interaction.

5. Marxist and Neo-Marxist theories reject the realist/liberal view of state conflict or cooperation; instead focusing on the economic and material aspects. Marxists view the international system as an integrated capitalist system in pursuit of capital accumulation and as the exploitation of developing countries by industrialized countries.

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[2] Neo-liberalism also contains an economic theory (Milton Friedman) that is based on the use of open and free markets with little, if any, government intervention to prevent monopolies and other conglomerates from forming.

II.   New challenges for peace and security and answers[3]

Challenges and threats:
Weapons of mass destruction - proliferation of weapons, arms trade, war for borders, water, farmland, international terrorism (9/11), privatisation of force - „new" wars, organized crime, ethnic and religious rivalries, violation of human rights, failing and failed states, mass migration, overpopulation, poverty and hunger, pandemics, climate change, ecocide, human trafficking, drug traffic.

Answers to be found – actors on different levels

- Besides the own efforts within states, international cooperation and multilateralism are needed
- states, regional groupings (NATO, EU, ASEAN, ECOWAS, MERCOSUR …) may promote peace and security
- "human" security with its economic, social, environmental and political dimensions is a matter of states, international organizations, NGOs, the private sector etc.

Risks and threats have to be addressed with a suitably matched range of instruments. These include diplomacy (foreign relations policy), economic and development policy and– as a last resort - military means ("traditional" defence policy)
➢ 3 Ds (Diplomacy, Development and Defence)

The Coalition Agreement between CDU, CSU and FDP (2009) sets out some important orientations for Germany's peace and security policy:

"The North Atlantic Alliance will remain the strongest element of our common security. It connects Europe and America; it is the foundation of our collective defence and possesses unique political and military instruments to preserve and restore peace. It serves to achieve political goals and comprises security co-operation, disarmament, trust-building and peaceful conflict resolution. The strategic concept of the Alliance will allow it to adapt its strategic foundation to meet contemporary challenges."

"We strongly support the proposals made by US President Obama regarding comprehensive new disarmament initiatives – including the goal of a world free of nuclear weapons. We do not consider disarmament and arms control to mean a loss of security, rather, they are a central element of future global security architecture. We want to seize the chance to reverse the global trend towards rearmament and return to a period of substantial progress in the areas of disarmament and arms control."

"The world has become smaller. And we have realized that we all inhabit this one world. Climate chance, issues of development in many regions of the world, international terrorism and the consequences of the international financial and economic crisis have all made it obvious that we can only effectively combat major challenges if we work together on a global basis."

"Germany's future in peace, freedom, security and prosperity is inextricably linked to political developments in Europe and the world. We are committed to a policy that

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[3] Main references: Ulrike Mogg – Lecture (the PowerPoint-Presentation was sent to all participants); and U. Holtz

both serves the interests of our country in a unified Europe and contributes to peace in the world. To this end, we assume a formative role in the alliances and international organizations with which we cooperate."

"As an export nation we have a great interest in preserving the liberal structures of the global economy on the basis of the charter for sustainable economic activity and in free and secure transport routes."

A huge endeavour to promote human security was undertaken by the international community and the UN in 2000/01 by adopting the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as a roadmap for meeting some challenges.

Regarding the MDGs, there are mixed results so far - successes, shortcomings and failures:

1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger.
Extreme poverty is lessening - joblessness and hunger are not.
2. Achieve universal primary education.
Despite encouraging progress, the goal may not be met by 2015, especially in sub-Saharan Africa and Southern Asia.
3. Promote gender equality and empower women.
Poverty remains a barrier to education for girls; women remain less favoured than men in the employment market.
4. Reduce child mortality.
Child deaths are falling, but not fast enough to meet the 2015 target of a two-thirds reduction, compared with 1990, in the under-five mortality rate.
5. Improve maternal health. Most maternal deaths in child-birth could be avoided with the right medical care, but giving birth remains especially risky in sub-Saharan Africa and Southern Asia and progress has slowed in reducing the number of teenage pregnancies.
6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases. The spread of HIV has stabilised in most regions, but the rate of infection continues to surpass the expansion of treatment. Procurement of antimalarial drugs is increasing, but poverty still limits the use of mosquito nets.
7. Ensure environmental sustainability. The rate of deforestation, though high, is slowing - but the world has missed the 2010 target for biodiversity conservation and the target of halving by 2015 the number of people without basic sanitation will be difficult to reach.
8. Develop a global partnership for development. Aid for the least developed countries continues to rise, despite the global economic crisis, but only five donor countries have reached the UN target for official aid. Developing and least developed countries are gaining greater access to developed markets, and debt burdens have been lightened - but they remain well behind rich countries in information and communications technology.

The **Millennium Declaration (2000)** considers certain values to be essential to international relations in the twenty-first century. These include: Freedom, equality, solidarity, tolerance, respect for nature, shared responsibility.
The Declaration also talks about peace and security as well as about democracy, human rights and "good governance".
U.Holtz.: Democracy, human rights and development should go hand in hand. Democracies rarely, or even never, go to war with one another. (< Democratic peace theory or liberal democratic theory – Immanuel Kant)

III. Democracy as a universal value – relationship between democracy and development

US President **Abraham Lincoln** in his »Gettysburg Address« (19.11.1863):
<u>Democracy </u>is "government <u>of </u>the people <u>by</u> the people <u>for</u> the people"
- rule emanating from the people (legitimacy)
- participatory form of rule (execution)
- committed to the people and the public welfare (normative aspect of rule).

There is much debate on the ability of a democracy to properly represent both the 'will of the people' and to do what is 'right', but to quote *Winston Churchill*:
"Democracy is the worst form of government except for all those others that have been tried."
This is because there is no system that can ideally order society. Traditionally the purpose of democracy is to prevent tyranny and dictatorship (the accumulation of too much authority in the hands of one or a few).

U. Holtz:
The triangle of core components of any democracy
1. Free, fair and regular elections with the possibility to change government
Elections require the freedom of expression and associational freedom. Electoral competition is required for any democracy to thrive and flourish. "In a democracy, multiple political forces compete inside an institutional framework" (Adam Przeworski 1991). Without inclusion, certain segments of society are not eligible to participate, leaving a lack of true democratic representation.
2. Politics shall be bound by constitutional law and order
This requires the - at least a minimum of – separation of powers, independent judiciary, rule of law
3. The respect for, and observance and protection of inalienable human rights and civil and political liberties
Elections and a body of civil rights - both institutions limit the power of the state: the first by ensuring that the rascals can be thrown out of office, the second by making sure that the rascals cannot do certain things even while in office. Civil rights also protect minorities against the dictatorship of the majority.Democracy and human rights are belonging together and mutually reinforcing.

<u>Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU): Universal Declaration on Democracy, 1997:</u>
Democracy is a universally recognised ideal as well as a goal, which is based on common values shared by peoples throughout the world.
Democracy is the only political system that has the capacity for self-correction.
Democracy is founded on the primacy of the law and the exercise of human rights. In a democratic State, no one is above the law and all are equal before the law.
Peace and economic, social and cultural development are both conditions for and fruits of democracy. There is thus interdependence between peace, development, respect for and observance of the rule of law and human rights.
(www.ipu.org/cnl-e/161-dem.htm)

Amartya Sen, 1999:[4]

The recognition of democracy as a universally relevant system, which moves in the direction of its acceptance as a universal value, is a major revolution in thinking, and one of the main contributions of the twentieth century. … Democracy enriches the lives of the citizens.

This recognition of democracy as a universally relevant system, which moves in the direction of its acceptance as a universal value, is a major revolution in thinking.

A country does not have to be deemed fit *for* democracy; rather, it has to become fit *through* democracy. This is indeed a momentous change, extending the potential reach of democracy to cover billions of people, with their varying histories and cultures and disparate levels of affluence.

Indeed, we can distinguish three different ways in which democracy enriches the lives of the citizens. First, political freedom is a part of human freedom in general, and exercising civil and political rights is a crucial part of good lives of individuals as social beings. Political and social participation has *intrinsic value* for human life and well-being. To be prevented from participation in the political life of the community is a major deprivation.

Second, as I have just discussed (in disputing the claim that democracy is in tension with economic development), democracy has an important *instrumental value* in enhancing the hearing that people get in expressing and supporting their claims to political attention (including claims of economic needs) (> the *instrumental* importance of political incentives in keeping governments responsible and accountable).

Third--and this is a point to be explored further--the practice of democracy gives citizens an opportunity to learn from one another, and helps society to form its values and priorities (> the *constructive* role of democracy in the formation of values and in the understanding of needs, rights, and duties).

Relationship between democracy, good governance and development

The international community about the links:

WORLD CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS, Vienna, June 1993: Democracy, development and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms are interdependent and mutually reinforcing.

UNDP's HUMAN DEVELOPMENT REPORT 2002:
The links between democracy and human development are not automatic. Political freedom and participation are part of human development, both as development goals in their own right and as means for advancing human development.

EU-ACP COTONOU AGREEMENT, 2000:
The partnership shall actively support the promotion of human rights, processes of democratisation, consolidation of the rule of law, and good governance.

NEPAD, 2001, art. 71
African leaders have learnt from their own experiences that peace, security, democracy, good governance, human rights and sound economic management are conditions for sustainable development.

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[4] Amartya Sen (1999): Democracy as a Universal Value, in: Journal of Democracy 10.3 (1999), p. 3-17. (recommended literature - www.uni-bonn.de/~uholtz/lehrmaterial/ngo_management_sen.pdf)

<u>International Democracy Promotion (IDP)</u>

Objective:
External IDP should contribute to the development and consolidation of democracy

Reasons:
- democracy is a universal value (A. Sen)
- moral obligation
- instrumental rationale grounded in the goals of universal peace, social justice and global development

Democracy building:
- promoting the (pre-)conditions for development
- assisting the democratisation
    - in failed, weak states - for the time being - political stability may be a priority

Means, approaches:
A continuum from 'soft power' (*electoral assistance, assistance to political parties, justice sector assistance, assistance to civil society, assistance to media etc.)* and other non-coercive form of influence to diplomatic pressure, political conditionalities and (threat of) sanctions ('hard power' - # war)

IV. Development, the new development paradigm of "sustainable human development" and foreign aid

Holtz:
Development is a long term, complex and multi-dimensional process leading to the improvement of the living conditions. It means the satisfaction of (basic) human needs and the realisation of human rights. It must be sustainable.
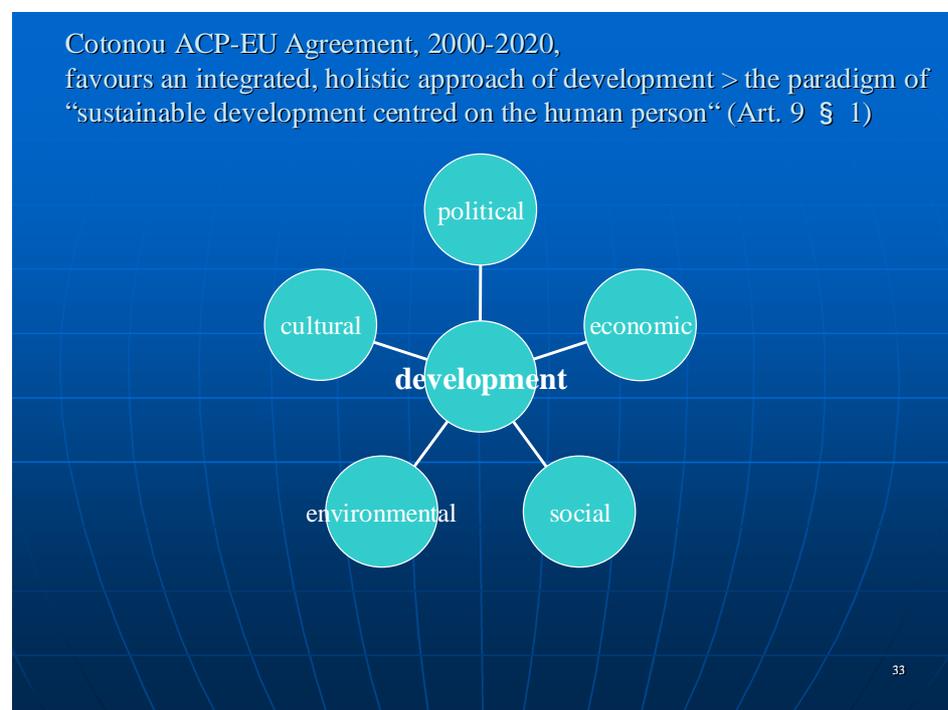This is a challenge facing parliaments and governments, non-governmental organizations, private enterprises, research and teaching institutions, communities and individuals.
In the centre of development is the human being. This *animal rationale* is not just a *"homo oeconomicus"*, but also a *"zoon politicon"* as well as *homo socialis, oecologicus* and *culturalis.*

Brundtland Commission, "Our Common Future", 1987: The term "sustainable development" was defined as "…development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs."

The new paradigm of "sustainable human development" was officially recognized by the Earth Summit in Rio 1992, in particular in its Agenda 21, and reinforced by the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg (2002).

This Rio paradigm and the objectives of development cooperation are well reflected in the ACP-EU Agreement of 2000:

Cotonou ACP-EU Agreement, 2000-2020,
favours an integrated, holistic approach of development > the paradigm of "sustainable development centred on the human person" (Art. 9 § 1)

Cotonou Agreement, Art. 1:
The partnership shall be centred on the objective of reducing and eventually eradicating poverty consistent with the objectives of sustainable development and the gradual integration of the ACP countries into the world economy.
These objectives and the Parties' international commitments shall inform all development strategies and shall be tackled through an integrated approach taking account at the same time

of the political, economic, social, cultural and environmental aspects of development. The partnership shall provide a coherent support framework for the development strategies adopted by each ACP State.

Sustained economic growth, developing the private sector, increasing employment and improving access to productive resources shall all be part of this framework. Support shall be given to the respect of the rights of the individual and meeting basic needs, the promotion of social development and the conditions for an equitable distribution of the fruits of growth.

Cotonou, Art. 9:

Art. 9 (3): In the context of a political and institutional environment that upholds human rights, democratic principles and the rule of law, good governance is the transparent and account-able management of human, natural, economic and financial resources for the purposes of equitable and sustainable development.

It entails clear decision-making procedures at the level of public authorities, transparent and accountable institutions, the primacy of law in the management and distribution of resources and capacity building for elaborating and implementing measures aiming in particular at pre-venting and combating corruption.

Art. 20: The objectives of ACP-EU development co-operation shall be pursued through integrated strategies that incorporate economic, social, cultural, environmental and institutional elements that must be locally owned. Co-operation shall thus provide a coherent enabling framework of support to ACP's own development strategies, ensuring complementarity and interaction between the various elements. In this context, and within the framework of development policies and reforms pursued by the ACP States, ACP-EU co-operation strategies shall aim at:

- achieving rapid and sustained job-creating economic growth
- promoting human and social development
- promoting cultural values of communities
- strengthening the institutions necessary for the consolidation of democracy, good gov-ernance and for efficient and competitive market economies;
- promoting environmental sustainability

Systematic account shall be taken in mainstreaming into all areas of co-operation the following thematic or cross-cutting themes: gender issues, environmental issues and institutional development and capacity building.

Foreign aid / development cooperation

Foreign aid /development cooperation or - in the language of the Development Assis-tance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Devel-opment (OECD) – "official development assistance" (ODA) is realized in the form of **project**, **program** or **budget aid** (**+ debt relief**)

By definition ODA activities are grants or loans (taxpayers' money) to countries and territories according to the DAC List of Aid Recipients (developing countries) and to multilateral institutions and:

(a) undertaken by the official (state) sector;

(b) with promotion of economic development and welfare as the main objective (# military);

(c) at concessional financial terms (if a loan, having a grant element of at least 25 per cent).

ODA goal:

The international goal for rich countries is to devote 0.7% of their gross national in-come (previously: GDP) to official development assistance.

- 2009: 0.31 % = 119.6 billon USD [2008: 0.31 % = 121,5 billion; 2007: 0.28%; 2006: 0.31 %]

ODA/GNI ratio 2008 (ODA dependency):
- All developing countries: ca. 0.8 % [2007: 0.85 %; 2006: 1.1 %]
- Sub-Sahara: 4.2 % [2007: 4.32 %; 2006: 6.1 %]

ODA objectives and principles are:

1. ODA should (i) contribute to a sustainable, human development conducive to the improvement of people's living conditions, (ii) facilitate the flourishment – the "de - velopment" of the partners' own capabilities (help people to help themselves, owner- ship, empowerment), and (iii) work for an enabling national and international envi- ronment.

2. ODA should „do no harm"[5] (Latin: *primum non nocere*)

3. ODA should be an incentive for „good performers" (performance-based allocation)

4. Sometimes it is better to „stay engaged" instead of "let them fail"[6]

Development policy alone will not bring sufficient results; a number of other policies and external as well as internal factors have a major impact.
The own efforts of developing countries are critical – as well as the failures and shortcomings (learning lessons).

Some judgments and prejudices on development aid

➢ *James Shikwati, 2002 (www.africanliberty.org/?q=node/33- 17.10.10):*
The developing world needs trade, not aid, to help the poor. Aid undermines the democratic accountability of government. It also exacerbates cronyism.

➢ *William Easterly, 2006: The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good.*

➢ *Dambisa Moyo, 2009: Dead Aid*
- When aid has not been stolen, it has been unproductive. Aid is not working.
- African governments view aid as a permanent source of income. There is no incentive for long-term financial planning, no reason to seek alternatives to fund development.
- Aid leads to a culture of dependency and corruption and therefore causes poverty.
- Africa's era of private capital is only now beginning, and this trend has to be nurtured in order for it to continue.

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[5] Mary B. Anderson (1999): Do No Harm: How Aid Can Support Peace - or War, Boulder/London
[6] Tobias Debiel et al. (2007): „Stay Engaged" statt „Let Them Fail" (INEF-Report 90/2007 - http://inef.uni-due.de/cms/files/report90.pdf)

> *World Bank, 1998: Assessing Aid. A World Bank Policy Research Report, New York-Washington, D.C:* Foreign aid in different times and different places has been highly effective, totally ineffective, and everything in between.

Independent evaluations of ODA projects offer a mixed picture.

Regarding the German ODA (financial cooperation) the KfW Evaluation Report 2006 came to the following conclusions:

- Most of the projects and programmes are successful – 177 projects in 57 countries / financing volume of EUR 6.3 bio: 71 % of the projects)
- About one fifth did not reach the expected results (17 % slightly insufficient despite having positive impacts; 12 % insufficient)
- In some cases a total failure (1 project)

In the field of technical cooperation the German-Tanzanian „Tanga Integrated Rural Development Programme" (TIRDEP) is a good example of the paradigm change in development cooperation and for the lessons learnt from the positive effects and the deficiencies.[7]

A. Paradigm change:
TIRDEP started (i) as a top-down planning process in the early 70s producing a heavyweight planning document. It continued (ii) investing in infrastructure for a while, then changed its focus to (iii) institutional capacity building and ended as (iv) a bottom-up participatory effort stimulating the ownership of projects and aimed at improving the situation of the population. Whereas the implementation of the first three paradigms did not result in lasting effects and impact – because of severe deficiencies and an adverse political environment – the fourth one seems to have impacted positively on the target group. This is due, however, not only to the participatory methods employed but also to the improved enabling environment at both the economic and the administrative level since the mid-80s.

B. Achievements and lessons learnt:
1. Thanks to the German development cooperation and to adequate own Tanzanian efforts TIRDEP has contributed to poverty reduction in Tanga region. The more or less positive contributions have been mainly through improved food security, incomes, health status, housing, water, sanitation, education, environment conservation, roads and change in life styles.
2.a) Target groups: Treating the target groups as homogenous can be erroneous. Precise knowledge on the target group structure in terms of: composition, its resources culture, wealth, vulnerability and gender issues are important for designing appropriate projects.
b) Role of history: History can play a role in introduction of project innovations. People in Tanga had memories of colonial era. During the (German) colonial rule force and corporal punishments were used, which were still remembered when TIRDEP-came in. Such memories made some people at first to be uncooperative. The situation has changed overtime.

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[7] A summary ex-post evaluation, 2005 (recommended literature) – available at
www.bmz.de/en/service/infothek/evaluation/Projektuebergreifend/BMZ_Eval-007e_print.pdf

c) Planning and Coordination: TIRDEP's Planning and Coordination Unit/PCU operated as a parallel structure with the regional government structure. This had an effect to staff, that is, when PCU ended, the whole structure collapsed and staff had to be refitted to the relevant departments. These changes led to misplacement of staff thereby demoralizing them.

d) Framework conditions: The PCU worked in a very difficult environment because of the government interferences. The framework conditions were characterized by central planning which was later shifted to the region (without really decentralization, that is there was no local authority) and by the Ujamaa Policy, its frequent changes in policies and political campaigns. They were also characterized by a single party political system that controlled the Government machinery as well as by stringent traditional beliefs and customs of Tanga people. For example there were beliefs in witchcraft, which limited adoption of innovations such as use of animal power and construction of improved houses.

e) End of project promotion: The quality of end of project promotion is a determinant of sustainability/survival of projects. During the project preparation strategies for smooth handing over, financial and management after end of the project should be formulated. These strategies should also be shared with all stakeholders involved in the project.

f) Acceptance: Successes are dependent on acceptance among the key stakeholders – from the high political level to the population concerned. The involvement of the key actors and of policy makers at higher institutional levels is important for wider promotion of innovations.

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ODA is playing a minor role in the whole development process. More important are the own efforts (good, democratic governance, rule of law, participation of the population, a vibrant civil society etc.) as well as an enabling international environment (a fair international trade and financial system, good commodity prices etc.).

When it comes to foreign "relations" and their impact on the economy, then a quantitatively higher and qualitatively better ODA is desirable; however, other factors (such as exports, remittances, foreign direct investment) are of high relevance.

DAC members: Net flows to developing countries in 2007 USD billion Sources: OECD, World Bank, UNCTAD	
1. ODA	103
2. Private Flows at market terms incl. direct investments, equities/ assets, export credits	306
3. Grants by Private Voluntary Agencies (NGOs)	18
TOTAL 1-3	427
4. Migrants – Remittances (2006) some 200 million migrants around the world	250
5. Private (US) Foundations (2006)	3
6. Dev. Economies Exports	5,07 trillion [= 31,4 % of total 16,13]
" Imports (2008)	4,4 " [total 16,3]

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IV.   Positive and negative factors for development – the role of elites[8]

A. <u>Positive factors:</u>

1. A development-oriented behaviour of governments and elites, which includes the participation of the population and its ownership
2. Functioning governments and administrations incl. the rule of law (good governance)
3. Fight against poverty by a national framework setting, which promotes the private sector and doesn't gag it
4. Mobilization of domestic (financial) resources
5. Material and immaterial infrastructure equipment incl. ICT and capacity building
6. Development of a favourable mental and cultural enabling environment
7. Acknowledgment of the important role of women
8. Industrialization and making use of the international division of labour
9. Containment of the population rise
10. Efficient use of Official Development Assistance (ODA) in the sense of help for self-help
12. External and internal peace

B: <u>Two cause bundles are responsible for lagging behind:</u>

-.Factors, which were particularly virulent after the adoption of the Millennium Declaration in 2000
1. After the terrorist attacks from September 2001 some industrialized countries prioritized rather military and geopolitical aspects than civilian and socio-economic development
2. The significant increase of failed, collapsed states and of violent conflicts
3. The climate change with its growing negative effects
4. The recent energy, food and financial, economic crises

- Factors, which were always of great importance
1. The population growth
2. Corrupt, cleptocratic elites
3. Bad governance and poor performance
4. The neglect of the rural areas, (traditional) agriculture and the informal sector
5. A development-hostile environment (the non-recognition of education, training and knowledge as well as of tolerant cultures open for change)
6. Difficult internal situations (land locked, military conflicts, hostile ecological systems, relying on fossil energies instead of renewables)
7. The developed countries unwilling to build up a truly fair trade and financial global system despite some efforts to increase ODA and its efficiency the unwillingness of the industrialised countries to undertake serious, strong steps in the direction of a quantitatively higher and qualitatively better development policy.

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[8] Cf. U. Holtz: Die Millenniumsentwicklungsziele – eine gemischte Bilanz, in: APuZ / Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte 10/2010, S. 3-8. (www.bpb.de/files/RJ13M7.pdf)

What must happen so the elites in developing countries pursue development paths favouring poor people?

A. Elites:
1. function/sectoral elites (managers, NGOs); position (party, religious leaders); power (government, state bureaucracy, parliaments, judiciary, military); educational (scientists, teachers); mass media (radio, tv, newspapers, web)
2. Regional/local/informal elites or "heroes" – influential women, chiefs, successful farmers
3. Development pioneers / drivers or agents of change

B. Development paths? path towards sustainable, human development – Rio, MDGs, >Jo'burg etc.

B. What must happen? How? By whom?
Pressure from inside and outside a country
1. Inside:
   - the more democratic and participatory a country is structured (good governance), the more successful the pressure will be (performed by trade unions, NGOs, MPs etc.)
   - capacity and willingness to understand the development necessities, in particular to promote poverty eradication and pro-poor growth (PPG)
   - no willingness of the power elites > coercion
2. Outside: donor countries/national and international agencies; diplomatic means - sanctions: African leaders must pressure Mugabe, the EU stopped ODA for Zimbabwe; conditionalisation of development co-operation (but ownership)

VI.   NGOs - political and cultural framework conditions

Wangari Maathai – Nobel Lecture, Oslo, December 10, 2004[9] (**excerpts):**

In this year's prize, the Norwegian Nobel Committee has placed the critical issue of environment and its linkage to democracy and peace before the world. For their visionary action, I am profoundly grateful. Recognizing that sustainable development, democracy and peace are indivisible is an idea whose time has come. Our work over the past 30 years has always appreciated and engaged these linkages.

My inspiration partly comes from my childhood experiences and observations of Nature in rural Kenya. It has been influenced and nurtured by the formal education I was privileged to receive in Kenya, the United States and Germany. As I was growing up, I witnessed forests being cleared and replaced by commercial plantations, which destroyed local biodiversity and the capacity of the forests to conserve water.

In 1977, when we started the Green Belt Movement, I was partly responding to needs identified by rural women, namely lack of firewood, clean drinking water, balanced diets, shelter and income.

Although initially the Green Belt Movement's tree planting activities did not address issues of democracy and peace, it soon became clear that responsible governance of the environment was impossible without democratic space.

Therefore, the tree became a symbol for the democratic struggle in Kenya. Through the Green Belt Movement, thousands of ordinary citizens were mobilized and empowered to take action and effect change. They learned to overcome fear and a sense of helplessness and moved to defend democratic rights.

In time, the tree also became a symbol for peace and conflict resolution, especially during ethnic conflicts in Kenya when the Green Belt Movement used peace trees to reconcile disputing communities.

As we progressively understood the causes of environmental degradation, we saw the need for good governance. Indeed, the state of any county's environment is a reflection of the kind of governance in place, and without good governance there can be no peace. Many countries, which have poor governance systems, are also likely to have conflicts and poor laws protecting the environment.

Culture plays a central role in the political, economic and social life of communities. Indeed, culture may be the missing link in the development of Africa. Culture is dynamic and evolves over time, consciously discarding retrogressive traditions, like female genital mutilation (FGM), and embracing aspects that are good and useful.

Amartya Sen: How Does Culture Matter? (2004)[10]

Given the pervasive influence of culture in human life - the real issue is how - not whether - culture matters. Culture is a constitutive part of development - it is not uniquely pivotal in determining our lives and identities. Cultural factors influence economic behaviour. Culture also has an important role in encouraging environment-friendly behaviour. Participation in civil interactions and political activities is influenced by cultural conditions. Cultural influences on value formation and evolution. Culture absolutely does not sit still; cultures interact with each other and cannot be seen as insulated structures. We cannot both want democracy, on the one hand, and yet, on the other, rule out certain choices, on traditionalist grounds, because of their "foreignness". There are institutional demands for cultural democracy.

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[9] Text of the speech see http://nobelprize.org/peace/laureates/2004/maathai-lecture-text.html

[10] Amartya Sen (2004): How Does Culture Matter?, in: Vijayendra Rao / Michael Walton (ed.): Culture and Public Action, Stanford (recommended reading - www.uni-bonn.de/~uholtz/lehrmaterial/ngo_management_sen.pdf)

VII.   Role of NGOs - International Politics

Roles of NGOs

NGOs may address a gap in the relationship between people and government. They are vibrant, dynamic parts of the civil society.

Several types of NGOs, dealing with i. a.: development, advocacy, financial cooperation or awareness-raising.

➢ Development-type NGOs handle concerns involving refugees, health activities or other basic human needs.
➢ Advocacy NGOs criticize government or international actors policies (TNCs, World Bank, IMF…) based on their own research and study.
➢ Financial cooperation-type NGOs specialize in collecting donations for the use of NGOs that implement actual projects.
➢ Awareness-Raising and education-type NGOs implement educational programs in such areas as environment and development.

Taisitiroo Satoo, president of the Japan Wildlife Research Center, categorizes environmental NGOs as biting dogs, barking dogs and working dogs (*www.gdrc.org/ngo/jpngo-face.html*):
1. Biting dogs are good at biting governments or industries concerning environmental policies.
2. Barking dogs bark from a safe distance, issuing warnings and appealing to the middle-class majority.
3. Working dogs devote themselves to basic study and research [as well as to concrete projects].

The typology the World Bank uses divides them into operational and advocacy.

International Politics and NGOs – example given by the Bonn based NGO Deutsche Welthungerhilfe [11]

<u>Mandate</u>
- Increasing German people's social joint responsibility and willingness to help people primarily in developing countries
- Improving the living conditions for the rural population and socially weak urban groups, primarily in developing countries through promoting aid for self-help
- Promoting international understanding through cooperation with other aid organisations at home and abroad, especially with hose in Europe
- Using emergency help programmes for providing food and production goods as well as other relief goods for people suffering deprivation and poverty (for example victims of wars, famine and natural disasters) primarily in developing countries

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[11] Stefan Jahn: Deutsche Welthungerhilfe (Head Quality Management, Evaluation, Controlling). His PowerPoint-Presentation was sent to all participants.

International Politics

1. International politics is nothing theoretical – but has intended and non-intended, direct and indirect, positive and negative, short-term and long-term impact

2. We do have to be realistic in estimating our ability as well as capacity to influence global politics as a single NGO and in cooperation with others

3. We do have to be honest about our own independence – we are part and want to be part of an international non-governmental network

4. The ideal case is a complementarity between the engagement of the civil society / NGOs and a result and impact oriented ODA

5. We do have a choice – we can always refrain from any (public) cooperation

6. We should be open to cooperate with private and public partners if it is:
   - within our mandate,
   - in the interest of the beneficiaries and if
   - together with our partners we decide, how to implement the project