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Mind The Gap

Catch Me If You Can . . .

Toward A Nuclear Free World

Japan Follows-Up On TICAD-IV

# TRILLIONS FOR WHOM?



# BILLIONEN FÜR WEN?

MAGAZIN ZUR INTERNATIONALEN ZUSAMMENARBEIT | MAGAZINE FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

## VOICES OF THE SOUTH ON GLOBALIZATION

No. 03 | 2009

### TRICKLE DOWN MISERY

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#### IN DIRE NEED

"There is no longer a question that developing countries are being hit severely by the global crisis. Instead, there is the very distinct possibility that they end up as the worst-hit victims, while already being the most vulnerable," said Eckhard Deutscher, Chair of OECD's Development Assistance Committee (DAC) presenting preliminary figures for 2008 Official Development Assistance (ODA) on March 30 in London. "The need for aid has increased dramatically," he added.

This part of his statement was in stark contrast to the upbeat key message, the DAC chair intended to convey. "As recently as several months, aid targets seemed to be slipping out of reach. Now, the situation is reversed. The aid commitments undertaken by donors, notably the Gleneagles commitments of G8 countries, have come within very realistic reach."

Yet, said Deutscher, "aid increases are of vital importance because progress the world has seen towards the Millennium Development Goals is being eroded as the crisis unfolds".

He pointed out that already in 2008 100 million people were estimated to have fallen back into absolute poverty due to the food and fuel crisis. Tens of millions more would join them this year as a result of the global financial crisis - and this was a rather conservative estimate. As a result, one billion people would suffer hunger this year - and indeed did so already.

According to preliminary ODA figures, in 2008, total aid from members of the OECD's DAC rose to 119.8 billion dollar, corresponding to an increase of 10.2 percent in real terms. "This is the highest dollar figure ever recorded," Deutscher said. However, he warned in the next breath that the increase in aid figures was not a cause for self-congratulatory complacency.

It should spur all to undertake further efforts, he urged. Because "fulfilling commitments made repeatedly at head-of-state level is not an optional luxury". The viability of many developing country plans and strategies depended on them - and with that the long-term economic prospects and political stability of many poor countries. In today's evermore-interconnected world, this concerned everybody. "Development co-operation is no charity. It is a strategic investment we need to make in a common future," the DAC chair said.

Especially in the current crisis, honouring commitments for development assistance was an important touchstone for the credibility and viability of international co-operation in addressing challenges shared by all. "And it is perfectly clear that this crisis will not be overcome by domestic action alone. International co-operation is absolutely essential," Deutscher said.

Nevertheless, the questions asked as the month of March inched towards a close were, will countries not in a position to mobilise billions and billions of dollars to stave off the worst crisis threatening them find a way out. Will they obtain the required succour from the countries that have dragged the world to the edge of an abyss? Or will they be left to fend for themselves? - Ramesh Jaura ☑

Voices of the South on Globalization is a monthly newsletter intended to inspire a meaningful North-South Dialogue by raising awareness for global interdependences and by offering a forum for voices from the South in the globalization debate. Each edition will present short analyses or commentaries from a Southern perspective on one particular issue of the globalization process.

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*For further information please contact:*  
 IPS-Inter Press Service Europe,  
 Ramesh Jaura, Marienstr. 19/20, 10117 Berlin  
 Tel.: ++49-(0)30-28 48 23 60  
 Fax: ++49-(0)30-28 48 2369  
 rjaura@ipseuropea.org

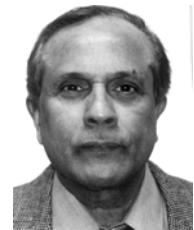
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**Toward A Nuclear Free World**

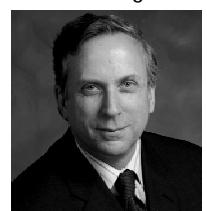
Crying out in opposition to war and nuclear weapons is neither emotionalism nor self-pity. It is the highest expression of human reason based on an unflinching commitment to the dignity of life. A first crucial step in the process of ridding the world of nuclear weapons is to hold a US-Russia Summit on nuclear disarmament at the earliest possible moment, writes Japanese Buddhist philosopher and SGI president Daisaku Ikeda. Page 6

**No Longer A "Deadbeat Donor"?**

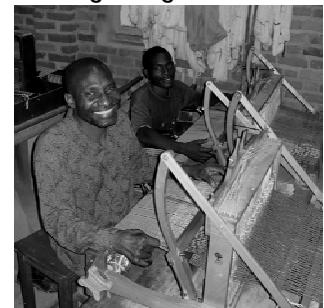
After a meeting with U.S. President Barack Obama at the White House early March, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon triggered a mild controversy in Capitol Hill when he unwittingly described the United States as a "deadbeat" donor which owes a staggering \$1.6 billion in unpaid dues to the world body, writes veteran journalist Thalif Deen. Page 9

**Competing G5s**

The increased importance of the G20 is calling into question the role of the G8. Is the G20 establishing itself as the hub of global policymaking? . . . The G8 will also have to regain some of the legitimacy associated with the G20 - due to its more representative membership - and signal that it is ready to provide a comprehensive vision for 21st-century policy making and global governance, writes Andrew F Cooper. Page 16

**Behinderte im Kunstgewerbe ganz groß**

"Irgendwann nannten mich alle Matatizo. Das heißt Problem", sagt Joel Haule. Dieser Name klebte an dem seit seinem zweiten Lebensjahr gelähmten Tansanier, bis er zu 'Neema Crafts', einer kirchennahen Behindertenwerkstatt in Iringa in der Landesmitte, kam. Für Joel fing mit der Aufnahme in die Werkstatt ein zweites Leben an, berichtet Sarah McGregor. S. 24



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IPS Inter Press Service Europa



Karina  
Böckmann



Dr. Heike  
Nasdala



Grit  
Moskau-Porsch

# Trillions For Whom?



Enthusiasts envision the Dawn of a New Era, emergence of a New World Order, and the "politicisation" of globalization as a result of the London Summit of 20 major industrial and developing nations on April 2. The package of 1,100 billion dollars that has been supposedly agreed to boost the sagging world economy, and especially to help developing countries, seems to have electrified even the reasonable.

But as Martin Khor, director of the South Centre points out, serious analysis clearly shows that the trillion-heavy figure purporting to be new money is more hype than reality. Some of it had already been decided long before the summit, and some of it reflected only an intention rather than concrete pledges. Rather than the 1.1 trillion dollars announced, the new commitments have been estimated in a perceptive article in the (London) Financial Times by Chris Giles to be below 100 billion dollars and most of those were already underway without the G20 summit.

The principal winner of the summit is the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which would get 500 billion dollars as additional funds. Japan and the EU had already offered about 100 billion dollars each. Though the summiteers did not formally announce where or when the other 300 billion will come from, unofficial and unconfirmed reports said that the United States would put in 100 billion and China 40 billion dollars. These would be loans by the countries to the IMF, which will recycle them as credits to crisis-hit countries running out of foreign reserves. The summit not only failed to reform IMF policies but it also fell short of moves to assist developing countries to avoid wrenching debt crises through an 'international bankruptcy mechanism'.

The summit has left some questions unanswered: whether countries should give loans to the IMF and whether the IMF will impose the wrong conditions when it recycles the funds to crisis-hit countries. Former UNCTAD chief economist Yilmaz Akyuz is of the view that countries should not be requested to provide loans to the IMF to augment its resources because this would compromise the ability of the IMF to carry out its surveillance function and to discipline the policies of countries that provide the loans. It can obtain resources from the market or from the issuance of Special Drawing Rights (SDRs), instead of obtaining loans from governments. However, the G20 meeting did agree for the IMF to issue 250 billion dollars in SDRs, but instead of its use to assist countries in need, it was decided to allocate this to the 186 IMF members according to their quotas or voting shares. As a result, 44 percent will go to the richest seven countries, while only 80 billion dollars will go to middle-income and poor developing countries.

Of course there is a positive aspect of the summit: It is that a few leading developing countries have become an accepted part of a G20 which thus has better representation than the G8 as a forum for global economic decision-making. Countries like China, India, Brazil and South Africa are now active participants. China in particular was able to have its influence felt, having argued a few weeks before the Summit for the need to have a new global reserves system, and together with the other developing countries being able to argue for a greater say in the affairs of the IMF and World Bank. Nevertheless, developing countries continue to have a grossly inadequate say in the IMF, World Bank and in the G20. Moreover, the vast majority of developing countries are absent from the G20 table, and thus the G20 does not have international legitimacy.

Despite all the criticism that is levelled against the United Nations, it would appear to be a better venue for discussion and decision-making on the global economy and the way out of the crisis, with a greater chance that the interests of developing countries will be taken care of. Therefore, a summit-level session of the UN General Assembly to discuss the global financial and economic crisis and its implications on development scheduled for the first week of June should be an occasion for a more comprehensive review of and plan of action on the global crisis.

Ramesh Jaura  
Chief Editor

## GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES KOMMUNIKATION GLOBAL

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# Ms & Mr Citizen

By BAHER KAMAL

Sorry, but sometimes too much is too much.

At first we were called 'people'.

Then somebody decided that 'people' is not so fanciful; therefore we were called 'citizens' (as if non-city inhabitants did not count).

Meanwhile, somewhere else, 'citizens' were generically called 'mass'. Others opted for 'comrades' and even 'comrade-citizens'.

All of a sudden, everywhere, it was decided to add 'mass' to other concepts and that is where 'mass-media' came out.

Shortly after, the defence of 'citizens' rights would be confined to a separate-specific category called Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), as if this defence business were no longer the business of Governmental Organizations.

But the NGOs were shifted to the category of Civil Society (civil as opposed to what?).

In between, a purely industrial-technological business was branded as the 'Information and Communications Technology', which immediately became the 'Information Society'.

Meanwhile, everyone has been talking about 'social development' and even 'social rights'.

So far, so good. Or bad or whatsoever.

Now there is a new 'human' brand, which probably will soon have a new name.

It is neither a joke nor a tricky touch of humour. It is too serious and it comes, once more, from the Anglo-Saxon: society? world? citizens?

This is what has just happened: the British Government has now decided to 'upgrade' its anti-terrorism strategies, with the declared aim of raising more awareness and readiness among 'citizens' about potential terrorist attacks.

The plan is to 'train' 'citizens', particularly those working in crowded areas such as airports, stations, commercial hubs, big trade centres, etc, on how to 'detect' 'suspicious people' (no citizens here) that may have a 'suspicious' behaviour, and report to security forces.

The plan also foresees the training of 'citizens' on how to deal with those 'suspicious people', and how to react in case of emergency, and organize evacuations, etc.

An official British spokesman commented that the aim is to make 'citizens' more aware of new potential threats, since it is now easy for anyone, according to him, to produce even 'dirty bombs' (possibly to differentiate them from other bombs, implicitly and supposedly clean?)

The plan aims at training some 60,000 'citizens'

The question is how this new category of 'citizens' will be called. Police Citizens? Terrorist-fighter-Citizens?

Nearly simultaneously, another Anglo-Saxon power, the United States of America, launched a new plan to further control its frontiers from all sorts of threats and illegal migrants.

The American plan envisages that around 150,000 'citizens' will have direct access to a series of monitors connected to video cameras, strategically distributed in the borders' 'hot points'.

According to the American plan, as soon as a 'citizen' sees any suspicious thing, anything on the monitors (from a boat to an individual) all he/she needs to do is to press a button, which immediately alerts the security forces.

Is it about a new 'bounty-hunter-citizens'?

In both cases, in both the free-democratic world and other worlds, the 'citizens' are subject to strict anti-terrorism rules, which include listening to phone conversations; recording e-mail exchanges; video cameras watching day and night; accessing bank accounts, stocks of personal data at airports, including names, residential address, phone numbers; itinerary of flights, where booked, how booked, how paid, number of credit cards; full details of accompanying person; finger prints; digital eye check; metal detectors, shoes removal, belts off, no liquid, no coins, no watch, no eye-glasses . . . just to mention some.

Of course, it is all meant to protect the 'citizens' from those terrorists who may attack anywhere any time.

Ms/Mr. Citizen: more panic has been served!

- GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES ■





Daisaku Ikeda is a Japanese Buddhist philosopher and peace-builder and president of the Soka Gakkai International (SGI) grassroots Buddhist movement ([www.sgi.org](http://www.sgi.org)).  
The full text of Ikeda's 2009 Peace Proposal can be viewed at <http://www.daisakuikeda.org>

## Toward A Nuclear Free World

By DAISAKU IKEDA

Crying out in opposition to war and nuclear weapons is neither emotionalism nor self-pity. It is the highest expression of human reason based on an unflinching commitment to the dignity of life.

In the quest for global peace and in the hope of stimulating discussion of various critical issues, I have been authoring an annual peace proposal since 1983. This year, again, the realisation of a world free from nuclear weapons is a principal theme.

A first crucial step in the process of ridding the world of nuclear weapons is to hold a US-Russia Summit on nuclear disarmament at the earliest possible moment.

Newly-inaugurated US president Barack Obama stated during his presidential campaign last year, "We need to work with Russia to take U.S. and Russian ballistic missiles off hair-trigger alert; to dramatically reduce the stockpiles of our nuclear weapons and material."

Meanwhile, Russian president Dmitry Medvedev last October stressed the "exceptional importance" his government places on concluding a new, legally-binding Russian-American agreement to replace START 1 (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty), which expires this December.

It is essential that the heads of state of these two nations conduct frank face-to-face dialogue to move the disarmament agenda forward. Between them, the U.S. and Russia account for 95 percent of the world's nuclear arsenal, and the significance of a resumption of bilateral talks on nuclear disarmament will be immense.

These two states have a historic opportunity to show strong leadership by setting targets for nuclear warhead reduction to replace START 1, ensuring a robust verification regime, and initiating talks on a Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT). It is also important for the U.S. to ratify the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT).

This article was written before U.S. President Barack Obama's historic speech in Prague calling for a nuclear free world.

We must never forget that the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) does not give the five nuclear-weapon states the right to retain their special status indefinitely. Building on a US-Russia consensus, a five-state summit for nuclear disarmament with the participation of the UN secretary-general should be convened regularly to draw up a roadmap of specific measures to fulfil their disarmament obligations under Article VI of the NPT.

Such good faith efforts on the part of the nuclear-weapon states are essential if confidence in the NPT is to be restored. Only then will it be possible to win the trust of countries outside of the NPT regime and obtain commitments on freezing and dismantling nuclear weapon development programmes.

Alongside such steps, global society, working through the United Nations, should press for a Nuclear Weapons Convention (NWC) -a comprehensive ban on nuclear weapons, including their development and testing. The only effective means of protecting ourselves from the threat of nuclear weapons is to abolish them within a legal framework capable of ensuring that they are never produced again.

A Model NWC has already been circulated as a UN document. In an unprecedented move for a UN secretary-general, last year Ban Ki-moon added his voice, urging governments to consider an NWC.

Public support for nuclear abolition is gathering momentum: a poll conducted in 2008 in 21 countries, including the nuclear-weapon states, showed that on average 76 percent of respondents favoured an international agreement to eliminate nuclear weapons. This is highly significant as it was the strong grassroots support of civil society that drove the groundbreaking campaigns for the Mine Ban Treaty in 1997 and the Convention on Cluster Munitions in 2008.

#### "Lay siege" to the idea of nuclear weapons

It is necessary for the people of the world to join in solidarity to "lay siege" to the very idea of nuclear weapons. The Global Zero campaign launched in December 2008 is also focused on the broad-based mobilisation of international public opinion to achieve the elimination of these horrific weapons.

In 2007, Soka Gakkai International (SGI), an international grassroots Buddhist movement, initiated a People's Decade for Nuclear Abolition campaign, including exhibitions, seminars led by youth, and the creation of a five-language DVD documenting the experiences of atomic bomb survivors. Rooted in a commitment to human security, we will continue to develop this campaign in collaboration with other NGOs active in the disarmament field.

The SGI has been campaigning for nuclear abolition for more than half a century. This movement, originating in Japan, the first country to experience the full horrors of nuclear weapons, is founded on the belief that they are a manifestation of the darkest impulses within human nature, an absolute evil that threatens our collective right to live and undermines the very possibility of human dignity.

We need a revolution in consciousness on the most fundamental level -one that reawakens our humanity- if we are to challenge and defeat the myth that security can be built on the threat of mass and perhaps mutual destruction.

The journey may seem long and daunting, but we must remember that each courageous step can drive a process of transformation, ultimately changing the course of history. I urge people everywhere to raise their voices against nuclear weapons, to unleash a groundswell of dialogue for peace that will define our age. This is the most assured strategy, the truest path to peace. - © IPS | GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES ■

## Excerpts from Obama's Prague Speech on Nuclear Free World

[. . .] The existence of thousands of nuclear weapons is the most dangerous legacy of the Cold War. No nuclear war was fought between the United States and the Soviet Union, but generations lived with the knowledge that their world could be erased in a single flash of light. Cities like Prague that existed for centuries, that embodied the beauty and the talent of so much of humanity, would have ceased to exist.

Today, the Cold War has disappeared but thousands of those weapons have not. In a strange turn of history, the threat of global nuclear war has gone down, but the risk of a nuclear attack has gone up. More nations have acquired these weapons.



Image: Huffington Post

Testing has continued. Black market trade in nuclear secrets and nuclear materials abound. The technology to build a bomb has spread. Terrorists are determined to buy, build or steal one. Our efforts to contain these dangers are centered on a global non-proliferation regime, but as more people and nations break the rules, we could reach the point where the center cannot hold.

Now, understand, this matters to people everywhere. One nuclear weapon exploded in one city -- be it New York or Moscow, Islamabad or Mumbai, Tokyo or Tel Aviv, Paris or Prague -- could kill hundreds of thousands of people. And no matter where it happens, there is no end to what the consequences might be -- for our global safety, our security, our society, our economy, to our ultimate survival.

Some argue that the spread of these weapons cannot be stopped, cannot be checked -- that we are destined to live in a world where more nations and more people possess the ultimate tools of destruction. Such fatalism is a deadly adversary, for if we believe that the spread of nuclear weapons is inevitable, then in some way we are admitting to ourselves that the use of nuclear weapons is inevitable.

Just as we stood for freedom in the 20th century, we must stand together for the right of people everywhere to live free from fear in the 21st century. And as nuclear power -- as a nuclear power, as the only nuclear power to have used a nuclear weapon, the United States has a moral responsibility to act.

[Full text at: [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2009/04/05/obama-in-prague-launches-\\_n\\_183221.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2009/04/05/obama-in-prague-launches-_n_183221.html).]



## Catch Me If You Can...

BY THALIF DEEN

The 2002 Hollywood comedy drama "Catch me if you can" was based on the legendary story of the elusive Frank Abagnale Jr, a smooth-talking con artist who scammed millions of dollars through devious frauds and bouncing cheques.

Perhaps he did it so successfully that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), after they finally tracked him down, sought his expertise in solving similar white collar crimes.

Sudanese President Omar Hassan al-Bashir, who has been charged with war crimes, is no swindler. But his attempts to defy the International Criminal Court (ICC) and escape its clutches could well carry the catchy headline: "Catch me if you can."

Soon after the arrest warrant he made a mockery of the ICC by flying to several countries, including Ethiopia, Eritrea, Egypt and Libya, all members of the African Union who are mostly supportive of him.

But despite a Security Council resolution asking UN member states to cooperate with the ICC, al-Bashir did not end up in handcuffs to be marched to The Hague for prosecution for crimes against humanity. He is still on the loose.

The ICC's Chief Prosecutor Luis Moreno-Ocampo has urged UN member states to arrest him, or perhaps intercept his aircraft, if he enters international air space.

The support for al-Bashir is predicated on two factors: first, that his arrest would further jeopardize the ongoing peace negotiations in Sudan, and second, that his arrest warrant is prejudicial because the ICC has been focusing mostly on African leaders and African warlords.

### Tragi-comedy

What of the rest of the world's war criminals responsible for crimes against humanity in Iraq, Afghanistan and Gaza?

All this tragi-comedy, however, does not reflect well on the ICC which shouldn't have issued an arrest warrant on a head of state-- if there was even a semblance of doubt that enforcing the law at that level is impracticable.

The ICC was aware that al-Bashir had the support not only of the African Union but also the League of Arab States and the Organisation of Islamic Conference. Additionally, he also has the support of two veto wielding permanent members of the Security Council, namely China and Russia.

While it is commendable that the ICC was willing to live up to its judicial mandate, it knows fully well it is also hampered by its own limitations.

Since it does not have a police force to enforce its arrest warrants, the ICC has to depend on member states to do its bidding. And what if member states refused to do so?

Asked whether the UN had any reaction to al-Bashir's defiance of the ICC by his repeated trips to neighbouring countries, a UN spokesperson deflected the question by saying: "Well, we have absolutely no comments on that."

The ICC charges of crimes against humanity slapped on al-Bashir makes it imperative for UN member states-- and specifically those who are State Parties to the Rome Statute that created the ICC-- to enforce the law by arresting the Sudanese President if he happens to be on their native soil.

Thalif Deen is UN bureau chief and regional director of Inter Press Service (IPS) News Agency, covering the United Nations since the late 1970s. A former deputy news editor of the Sri Lanka Daily News, he was also a senior editorial writer on the Hong Kong Standard.

When the Security Council asked the ICC to take action against Sudan-- which is not a State Party to the ICC-- the resolution said that while recognising that member states who are not parties to the Rome Statute have no obligation, it still urges all states and concerned regional and other international organisations to cooperate fully.

### No obligation

The use of the word "urges", not "demands," leaves room for member states to wriggle out of the situation. Clearly, there is no mandatory obligation on the part of member states-- who are not parties to the ICC-- to act on the arrest warrant.

So far, all of the countries that al-Bashir has visited are not signatories to the ICC.

Clearly, the Sudanese president is not likely to visit any of the European countries or visit the UN in September to address the General Assembly.

Both Europe and the U.S. are not friendly territories, unlike Africa and the Arab world. And most of the European countries are signatories to the ICC. All of them subscribe to the view that al-Bashir is responsible for war crimes in Darfur.

The arrest warrant on the Sudanese president has also triggered a move to get African nations out of the ICC. Out of a total of 108 States Parties to the ICC, 30 are from Africa.

Recently, President of Senegal Abdoulaye Wade appealed to African countries to withdraw from the ICC. Senegal's appeal is particularly significant because it is a member of the ICC.

At a UN press conference during the tenth anniversary of the ICC last year, Moreno-Ocampo said he had briefed the Security Council long before he issued the arrest warrant last month.

Defending his decision, the ICC Prosecutor admitted he decided to indict al-Bashir despite the Sudanese Parliament's strong objections that the move would endanger vital peace negotiations in Sudan, especially in Darfur. "My responsibility is judicial. I have no political responsibility," he said.

Responding to a question as to why all of his prosecutions had involved crimes committed only in Africa and not in other regions, Moreno-Ocampo said he gave priority to the gravest offences brought before the Court and that his selection of cases was not based on geographical or gender balance. - GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES ■

# No Longer A "Deadbeat Donor"?

By THALIF DEEN

After a meeting with U.S. President Barack Obama at the White House in early March, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon triggered a mild controversy in Capitol Hill when he unwittingly described the United States as a "deadbeat" donor which owes a staggering \$1.6 billion in unpaid dues to the world body.

The facts were unimpeachable but the remark apparently seemed misplaced-- particularly under the new US administration.

And so, when Congressional leaders expressed outrage over his choice of words, the Secretary-General sheepishly and speedily backtracked, pointing out that he did not mean to be offensive.

As part of the damage control, he downplayed his remarks, not once but twice, in less than 24 hours.

Conscious that he had used the wrong word, he had to rush with a statement clarifying that the U.S. "generously supports the work of the UN, both in assessed and voluntary contributions," and that "he (personally) enjoys an excellent working relationship with the U.S. and appreciates the many ways that it supports the United Nations."

In informal terms, "deadbeat" signifies an "unreliable person." But is the U.S. under Obama as unreliable as it was under the Bush administration?

Hopefully, not -- judging by sentiments emanating from the White House and Obama officials.

A spokesman for the U.S. Mission said: "The U.S. is the largest contributor to the United Nations and while we are behind in some of our payments, those are not the words we would have chosen to encourage Congress address this problem."

Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, a senior Republican, was outraged: "We certainly contribute a whole lot of US taxpayer dollars to that Organisation. We do not deserve such a phrase."

Perhaps it was genuine mistake -- and still, a particularly poor choice of words -- by a Secretary-General whose mother tongue is not English.

After a gruelling eight years with the Bush administration, which ignored the UN even when it went to war with Iraq, there is strong anticipation of a radical change in the relationship between the White House and the world body.

John Bolton, the former U.S. ambassador, never had a cordial relationship with the UN. Perhaps he was best known for two irreconcilable statements.

First, in a 1994 speech, he said that "there is not such thing as the United Nations."

And later, he was more specific, when he remarked: "If the UN Secretariat building in New York lost 10 stories, it wouldn't make a difference."

That prompted one critic to describe Bolton as more qualified to be an urban planner in charge of building construction than a cautious diplomat.

The new US Ambassador Susan Rice gave a clear indication of the future relationship between the Obama administration and the world body. She said that to lead from a position of strength, the U.S. must consistently act as a responsible, fully-engaged partner in New York. "To do so, we must fulfil our financial obligations while insisting on effective accountability."

UN Photo/Credit:Yutaka Nagata



But eventually, the UN survived both Bolton, as well as the Bush administration.

## In a different direction

With the Obama administration, things may be moving in a different direction.

When she appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last January, the new US Ambassador Susan Rice gave a clear indication of the future relationship between the Obama administration and the world body.

She said that to lead from a position of strength, the U.S. must consistently act as a responsible, fully-engaged partner in New York. "To do so, we must fulfil our financial obligations while insisting on effective accountability."

"In the past, our failure to pay all of our dues and to pay them on a timely basis has constrained the UN's performance and deprived us of the ability to use our influence most effectively to promote reform. President-elect Obama believes the U.S. should pay our dues to the UN in full and on time," Rice declared.

That was certainly good news for the UN. The unpaid U.S. dues, which have been accumulating over the years reaching a hefty \$1.6 billion to date, have been a sore point in the relationship between the UN and the U.S.

The overwhelming majority of the 192 members pay their dues in full and on time. But not the United States - and certainly not under the Bush administration (which exercised the power of its purse to keep the world body in a perpetual cash crisis).

Rice clearly articulated a totally new U.S. approach to the UN while recognising the failings of the institution.

"I know that the UN often frustrates Americans, and I am acutely aware of its shortcomings. But that is precisely why the United States must carry out sustained, concerted, and strategic multilateral diplomacy."

She said that many countries invest heavily in deliberations on what they view as the "world's stage." That in part explains why diplomacy at the UN can be slow, frustrating, complex, and imperfect. But that is also why effective American diplomacy at the United Nations remains so crucial.

Only time, and Obama, will tell.

- GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES ■



**Emir of Qatar, Host of the Arab Summit**  
Credit: Wikimedia Commons

## Arab Summit: Much Ado About Nothing - Again!

BY BAHER KAMAL \*

The 21<sup>st</sup> Arab Summit in Doha on March 30-31 came out with little more than nothing. Indeed, none of the conclusions reflected in the summit's Doha Declaration did justify the gathering of the 22 members of the League of Arab States at the highest political level.

Not even a few issues that have been portrayed as 'important' and 'new' conclusions, are really such. These would be the strong, collective support which all Arab leaders showed towards Sudanese president Omar Al Bashir in his plea against the arrest warrant issued by the International Criminal Court (ICC) for alleged crimes against humanity in the Sudanese Darfur region.

In fact, the official Arab rejection of the ICC warrant had been already manifested in the most diverse forms, from high level public statements to visits to Khartoum by key Arab officials, and through Al Bashir's 'marathoning' before the Doha summit, which took him to Eritrea, Libya, and Egypt as a way to challenge of ICC order.

The second 'important' conclusion is that the Arab leaders condemned Israel for its recent 22-day war on Gaza that killed about 1,500 people and wounded over 5,000 - overwhelmingly civilians - as well as their firm rejection of Israeli expanding Jewish settlements in the Palestinian occupied West Bank, and its aggressive 'Judaization' plan in Jerusalem.

But this was already known and publicly stated. So was the Arab leaders' insistence that the only solution is for Israel to withdraw from all the Palestinian territories that its army occupied in June 1967, and the creation of an independent, sovereign State of Palestine, with Jerusalem-East as its capital. This had already been the core of the Arab Peace offer, which emerged for the 2002 Beirut Arab summit.

This Arab 'land for peace' plan has been systematically ignored by the Israeli successive governments, let alone the new one chaired by rightist Benjamin Netanyahu, who in his speech on March 31 to the Israel Parliament during which he presented his government plan, did not say one single word nor made any direct or indirect mention of a Palestinian State.

"I say to the Palestinian leadership, if you truly want peace, peace can be obtained. With the Palestinian Authority, we will seek peace along three tracks - economic, security and political," Netanyahu said.

The new Israeli ruler made no specific mention, however, to a Palestinian state. And it is not a part of what he calls the three tracks.

"Under the final accord, the Palestinians will have all the rights to govern themselves except those that can put in danger the security and existence of the state of Israel," he said. Which "final accord"? And what kind of "rights to govern themselves" will the Palestinians have according to Israel? Also here, the Arab leaders already knew about that. In fact, Netanyahu had repeatedly and publicly exposed his plan, days and days before forming government.

In spite of that, the Doha Declaration pretended to add any new input - that is the 'land for peace' offer, which would not last on the table for long. The Arab League Secretary General, Egyptian Amr Moussa, said specifically that the Arab leaders will wait until December this year to assess if the plan is still useful; otherwise they will freeze it. But neither the Doha Declaration nor any of the Arab leaders said what would be the alternative. Netanyahu is clear and strong. What to wait for then? If war is not an option, what then?

The Arab heads of state also wanted to portray their summit as the one which achieved Arab reconciliation. It is true that Libyan leader Muammar Al Ghaddafi declared that he is ready to bury his past strong difference with Saudi King Abdullah Ben Abdul Aziz.

But such an announcement did not justify a summit. Nor did the reconciliation which had already been reached between Syrian Bashir Al Assad and the Saudi monarch.

Add to it that Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak did not attend the gathering; reducing his country's representation to the level of a minister, but not the minister for Foreign Affairs. The unannounced reason is that he is upset with host country's Emir Hamad Ben Khalifa Al Thani. Then, Yemeni president Ali Abdullah Saleh abandoned the closing session in protest for the non-inclusion of his project aimed at strengthening joint Arab actions. Significantly enough, the Doha Arab summit ended one day earlier than scheduled. - GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES ■

\* Baher Kamal is a veteran journalist well-informed about Middle East and European affairs.

# Plenty of Water in the Desert, If Only...

**BAHER KAMAL** interviews leading water expert **HABIB AYEB**

Most policy makers draw a bleak picture of dramatic water scarcity in the Middle East, warning of water wars to come. But there is plenty of water in the desert, says Tunisian geographer and water expert Habib Ayeb.

Ayeb (52), is professor at the University of Paris and the Cairo-based American University, and author of several publications on the subject, including 'Consecuencias Económicas y Ecológicas de los Conflictos en el Mundo Árabe' (Economic and Ecological Consequences of Conflicts in the Arab World). Ayeb was in Madrid in the second week of March to lecture at La Casa Árabe (The Arab House) on water resources and their impact in the Middle East.

"Water availability in the region is comfortable if we add underground water to rains and rivers," Ayeb said. "The total quantity of water in the region exceeds 2,000 cubic metres per person per year, while the scarcity edge is around 500 cubic metres per person per year."

*Q: How do you explain such a divorce between the hydrological reality in the Middle East and what you consider apocalyptic alarms?*

Habib Ayeb: We have to look at some outstanding geographical and geo-political facts in the region.

First, the Middle East is part of the big desert platform that covers an area going from the Atlantic Ocean to the borders of the Taurus and Zagros mountains in Iran and Iraq. Second, the Middle East imports water from abroad. The Nile River takes its waters from the African Great Lakes, while the Tigris and Euphrates are born in Turkey. These rivers contribute close to 160,000 million cubic metres per year, which is much more than the real needs of the whole Middle East population of around 150 million. There is plenty of water there.

*Q: What is the problem then?*

Habib Ayeb: The problem is that water distribution is uneven, unbalanced. Some countries have considerable water resources, reaching up to 4,000 cubic metres per person per year in Iraq, compared to some 200 cubic metres in Gaza for instance. The West Bank and Israel do not actually have much more water. This huge imbalance explains a part of those catastrophic alerts.

*Q: Is water a political issue?*

Habib Ayeb: I cannot see any other issue more political than water.

*Q: Could the water map in the region tell the final borders of Israel and the much speculated about Palestinian State?*

Habib Ayeb: Not really. Neither Israel nor the Palestinians have enough water of their own. They both have to rely on external water resources.

*Q: But some say that the World Jewish Congress and the Zionist Agency Conference, both held in Switzerland in the late 18th century, drew a map of Israel that implicitly leads to the Nile.*

Habib Ayeb: This is about the Zionist project. It is there. However, I do not believe that Israel will be permitted to enlarge its borders much further from what it has now.

*Q: But you said that Israel does not have sufficient water of its own and that it has to rely on external resources. Could Israel access the Iraqi Tigris and Euphrates waters?*

Habib Ayeb: Not directly. We know about the practice of 'hiring' agricultural lands by one country in another country. Many do it now. Israel may be allowed to 'hire' vast agricultural lands near to the two rivers, to be cultivated and its products be exported to it. That can happen in this new Iraq. This practice of 'hiring' farming lands is known as the phenomena of 'virtual water', ergo, water 'bought' by one country from another country in the form of agricultural production irrigated with the waters of the 'selling' country.

*Q: So you do not see any water wars to come in the Middle East.*

Habib Ayeb: Not really. The main reason why such water wars did not take place is that no country has any interest in launching them. Israel, Turkey and Egypt, who gather the main available water resources in the region, did not have any interest in provoking wars that would not lead them anyway to increase their water resources. On the other hand, 'victim countries' like Palestine, Jordan or Iraq do not have the means to declare wars against Israel or Turkey.

*Q: But there are regional water sharing agreements.*

Habib Ayeb: The water problem in the Middle East is aggravated precisely by the lack of agreements that are fully accepted by all parties. There are some international regulations, but they are not politically binding. And they are ambiguous. This leaves to each country the right to interpret them and use them as it deems appropriate for its own interests.

Some of these regulations define a watercourse as one that crosses two or more countries, and is navigable. The first section of such definitions is clear. The second, however, gives room for all kinds of interpretations, also depending on many factors like the season, shipping, obstacles to navigation, etc. - IPS | IDN InDepthNews | GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES ■



Habib Ayeb | [www.cedej.org.eg](http://www.cedej.org.eg)

## Weltbank sieht Ausweg aus der Armut

Washington - Nach einem neuen Weltbankbericht können sich selbst die Ärmsten der Armen von ihrem Leid befreien, wenn mehrere Faktoren zusammenkommen: Eigeninitiative, harte Arbeit, Kooperation und Entfaltungsmöglichkeit. Besonders macht die Untersuchung, dass sie die Armen selbst zu Wort kommen lässt und auf konkreten Erfahrungen basiert.

Dies hat der am 11. März vorgestellten Studie 'Moving out of Poverty: Success from the Bottom Up' großes Lob von Hilfsorganisationen eingetragen. "Viele Armutsberichte befassen sich allein mit Einkommensfragen", sagte Marita Hutjes von 'Oxfam'. Die neue Publikation verfolge einen viel besseren Ansatz. "Sie zeigt, wie wichtig es ist, die Armen mit Möglichkeiten auszustatten."

Der Weltbankreport ist der zweite seiner Art nach dem 2000 erschienenen Vorläufer 'Voices of the Poor'. Er versucht weniger die Armut selbst als Wege aus der Armut zu beschreiben. Die Untersuchung beruht auf den Berichten von 60.000 Menschen aus 500 Gemeinden in 15 Staaten Afrikas, Lateinamerikas und Süd- und Ostasiens und fragte unter anderem nach, wie die Menschen selbst Armut definieren und die eigenen Chancen einschätzen.

Grundannahme der Weltbankforscher war dabei, dass jeder Mensch ein ausgewiesener Experte für sein eigenes Leben ist und das eigene Urteil zählt. Eine der Aufgaben,

die die Teilnehmer zu erfüllen hatten, war es, 150 Haushalte aus ihrer Gemeinde auf einer Skala zu sortieren und deren Werdegang in den Jahren 1995 bis 2005 beschreiben. Als Kategorien angeboten wurden Aufsteiger, chronisch Arme, immer schon Reiche und neue Arme.

Die Chefautorin des Berichtes, Deepa Narayan, räumt vor allem mit dem Vorurteil auf, dass Faulheit oder Desinteresse der eigentliche Grund für ein Leben in Armut ist.

"Selbst in sehr armen und konfliktgefährdeten Gebieten sind arme Menschen selten apathisch. Auch dort ergreifen sie die Initiative und verfolgen oft viele kleine Vorhaben gleichzeitig, um zu überleben und voranzukommen", sagt die Expertin.

Zudem zeigten sich fast alle Teilnehmer überzeugt, dass individuelle Bemühungen, Eigenständigkeit und Initiative den Weg aus der Armut weisen.

Auch deshalb kommt die Studie zu dem Schluss, dass eine erfolgreiche Armutsbekämpfung wirtschaftliche, soziale und politische Entfaltungsmöglichkeiten vor Ort schaffen muss, ebenso den Zugang zum Gesundheits-, Bildungs- und Weiterbildungssystem.

Bedeutend ist ferner, das Abrutschen in die Armut zu verhindern, wenn Krankheit, Arbeitslosigkeit, eine Naturkatastrophe oder - wie aktuell - eine Wirtschaftskrise zuschlägt. ■

## Brasilien verbietet Reisanbau auf indigenem Land

Rio de Janeiro - In Brasilien hat das Oberste Bundesgericht das seit den 70er Jahren umstrittene Territorium 'Raposa Serra do Sol' im nördlichen Bundesstaat Roraima den dort lebenden Ureinwohnern zuerkannt. Das Urteil beinhaltet den Abzug aller nicht indigenen Farmer, die in der 1,7 Millionen Hektar großen Reservation Reis anpflanzen.

Mit überwältigender Stimmenmehrheit von zehn zu eins bestätigten die Richter des höchsten brasilianischen Gerichtshofes einen Erlass von Staatspräsident Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva von 2005. Mit dem Dekret erkannte Lula die von der Regierung seines Amtsvorgängers Fernando Henrique Cardoso gezogene Grenze an und verfügte den Rückzug zugewandter Großgrundbesitzer und Bauernfamilien.

Wie der brasilianische Chefrichter Celso de Mello am 19. März in der brasilianischen Hauptstadt Brasilia erklärte, stehen die traditionell von Ureinwohnern bewohnten Territorien nicht zur Disposition. Ohne die Ländereien drohten den 19.000 ethnischen Macuxi, Wapichana, Patamona, Ingaricó und Taurepang "der Verlust ihrer kulturellen Identität, die Auflösung historischer, sozialer und anthropologischer Bande und das Ende ihrer Eigenverantwortung".

Indigene Organisationen begrüßen das Urteil als Meilenstein im Kampf um indigene Rechte. "Nach 500 Jahren Diskriminierung kommt das Urteil nicht nur Raposa Serra do Sol zugute, sondern ganz Brasilien. Die territoriale Anerkennung bedeutet für die indigenen Völker Leben und Respekt", sagte der Koordinator des Indigenen Rats von Roraima, Dionito José de Sousa, im IPS-Telefoninterview. "Das Urteil ist gerecht, auch wenn wir lange darauf warten mussten." De Sousas zufolge schafft der Richterspruch einen Präzedenzfall für ähnlich gelagerte Konflikte. "Jetzt werden wir für 500 Jahre Unterdrückung, Autoritarismus

und Gewalt entschädigt. Endlich widerfährt uns Gerechtigkeit." In Brasilien steht nach Angaben der Nationalen Ureinwohnerstiftung FUNAI die Demarkierung von 488 indigenen Territorien an. Die Gebiete haben eine Größe von rund 105,7 Millionen Hektar. Weitere 123 Territorien müssen noch identifiziert werden.

Angelaufen war das Verfahren vor dem Obersten Bundesgericht bereits im August vergangenen Jahres, musste aber zweimal unterbrochen werden. Im Dezember intervenierte Richter Marco Aurelio Mello, nachdem sich acht seiner Kollegen für die Anerkennung der indigenen Territorien und den Rückzug der Reisproduzenten ausgesprochen hatten.

Als Begründung führte Mello damals an, dass es zu Unregelmäßigkeiten bei der Grenzziehung gekommen sei und nicht alle betroffenen Stimmen in dem Fall gehört worden seien. Zudem sei nicht hinlänglich geklärt, inwieweit sich der Beschluss mit der nationalen Souveränität vertrage. Reposa Serra do Sol grenzt an Guyana und Venezuela.

Auch sei nicht einzusehen, warum 19.000 Ureinwohner, "von denen viele ungebildet sind", eine Reservation von der dreifachen Größe der elf Millionen Menschen zählenden Wirtschaftsmetropole São Paulo erhalten sollten, so der Richter, der sich mit seinen Äußerungen die Kritik seiner Kollegen zuzog.

Die Demarkierung sei als "Reparation" für die Ungerechtigkeiten zu verstehen, die die Ureinwohner im Verlauf der jüngeren Geschichte erlitten hätten, sagte der Richter Carlos Ayres Britto.

Der Präsident des Obersten Bundesgerichts Gilmar Mendes wies darauf hin, dass die Sicherheitskräfte in Übereinstimmung mit dem Pro-Indigenen-Urteil durchaus befugt seien, das Territorium zu passieren, um die Grenzen zu Guyana und Venezuela zu sichern. ■

## Indigene und schwarze Frauen benachteiligt in Nicaragua

Managua - In Nicaragua hat eine Abgeordnete des zentralamerikanischen Parlaments mit einer Rassismusklage gegen mehrere Diskotheken ein Exempel statuiert, um auf die Diskriminierung indigener und schwarzer Frauen in den autonomen Regionen des zentralamerikanischen Landes aufmerksam zu machen.

Am 12. Februar verklagte Bridgette Budier Bryan von der regierenden Sandinistischen Nationalen Befreiungsfront die Eigentümer der Diskothek 'El Chamán', die Schwarzen den Zutritt verwehrt hatten. Vier Tage später wurde die Klage auf vier weitere Diskotheken ausgedehnt. Aufmerksam auf die Ausgrenzung schwarzer und indigener Frauen wurde die Abgeordnete durch ihre Tochter, der als einziger Schwarzer in einer Gruppe von Weißen der Zutritt zur Diskothek 'El Chamán' verwehrt blieb.

Als die Politikerin der Sache nachging, stieß sie auf weitere ähnlich gelagerte Fälle. Am 6. Februar machte sie selbst die Probe aufs Exampel und stattete zusammen mit Freunden und Vertretern der Zentralamerikanischen Organisation für Schwarze mehreren Tanzlokalen einen Besuch ab. Der Gruppe wurde der Eintritt untersagt, Weiße und Mestizen durften passieren. "Obwohl Frauen in den autonomen Gebieten 52 Prozent der 650.000 Einwohner stellen, leiden sie unter Ausgrenzung und Diskriminierung - als Frau und als Angehörige von Minderheiten", bestätigt Alta Hooker, die Rektorin der Universität der autonomen Gebiete an der nicaraguanischen Karibikküste (URACCAN).

Nach Angaben von URACCAN sind zehn bis zwölf Prozent der 5,7 Millionen Nicaraguaner indigener Herkunft. Die Zahl der Nachfahren schwarzer Sklaven, die auf britischen Schiffen in die Region gelangten, ist hingegen unbekannt.

Beide Minderheiten sind mehrheitlich an der Küste und in den unwirtlichen Zonen der Autonomen Regionen des Nordatlantik (RAAN) und des Südatlantik (RAAS) zu Hause. Im äußersten Süden des Landes sind auch schwarze Kreolen und Mestizen anzutreffen.

Die beiden Minderheiten zeichnen sich durch eine hohe kulturelle Vielfalt aus. Während die Ureinwohner etliche indigene Sprachen kultivieren, sprechen die Schwarzen in der Region Englisch. Die Weißen und Mestizen in der Landesmitte und an der Pazifikseite halten sich an das Spanische, die Nationalsprache Nicaraguas.

Wie Hooker berichtet, wird den indigenen und schwarzen Frauen des Landes jedes Recht auf eine eigene Sprache abgesprochen. "Wollen sie einen Job bei einer staatlichen oder privaten Einrichtung, müssen sie fließend spanisch sprechen. Außerdem finden sie seltener als andere Nicaraguanerinnen eine Anstellung und werden schlechter bezahlt."

Auch in den autonomen Gebieten sind sie kaum besser dran. Dort sind die Altenräte, die Gerichte, die Parteien und Unternehmen zu 90 Prozent den Männern vorbehalten. Diese gesellschaftliche Diskriminierung treffe Haushaltshilfen und Universitätsabgängerinnen gleichermaßen, wie Lottie Cunningham Wren, Geschäftsführerin des unabhängigen Zentrums für Gerechtigkeit und Menschenrechte der Atlantikküste berichtet. "Im ganzen Land und vor allem an der Pazifikküste werden Frauen bevorzugt, die einen Abschluss an den Universitäten in Managua vorweisen können. Schwarze und Indigene, die in der Regel an der URACCAN und der 'Bluefields Indian and Caribbean University' studieren, haben größere Probleme, einen Job zu finden", bestätigt Cunningham. ■

## Indische Landfrauen bekämpfen Klimawandel

Zaheerabad - Der Anbau von Färberdisteln und Pferdebohnen, Hirse, Kichererbsen und Leinsamen hat einstmars bitterarmen Landfrauen im indischen Bundesstaat Andhra Pradesh zu einer bescheidenen Existenz verholfen. Jetzt bewähren sich die anspruchslosen, auf Trockenböden gedeihenden Saaten auch im Kampf gegen den Klimawandel, der nach Prognosen von Experten für Indiens Landwirtschaft schon in wenigen Jahren erhebliche Ernteausfälle, irreguläre Niederschläge und Wasserknappheit zur Folge haben wird.

Nach Angaben des Weltklimarates (IPCC) ist Indiens Landwirtschaft mit ihren Reisfeldern und aufwändigen Bewässerungssystemen, der Viehhaltung und dem starken Einsatz von Chemiedünger für 28 Prozent der Treibhausgasemissionen des Landes verantwortlich. Der 2007 veröffentlichte IPCC-Bericht für Indien hat errechnet, dass bei einem Temperaturanstieg von 0,5 Grad Celsius pro Hektar 0,45 Tonnen weniger Weizen erzeugt werden. Wissenschaftler der 'School for Environmental Sciences' in Neu-Delhi halten es für möglich, dass Indien bis 2100 Ernteverluste zwischen zehn und 40 Prozent drohen.

Das von den Klima-Kassandren geforderte Umdenken in der Landwirtschaft praktizieren in Andhra Pradesh 5.000 in den Selbsthilfegruppen der 'Sanghams' organisierte Frauen, die als so genannte Dalit von der indischen Kastengesellschaft ausgeschlossen werden. Mit Hilfe und unter Anleitung der nichtstaatlichen 'Deccan Development Society'

(DDS) bestellen die Frauenkooperativen in 75 Dörfern kleine Parzellen mit 19 verschiedenen Sorten Getreide, Ölsaaten und Hülsenfrüchten, die auf den vermeintlich unergiebigen Trockenböden der Region Deccan ohne künstliche Bewässerung, Düngemittel und Pestizide gedeihen. Im Dorf Bidakanne zeigt die Kleinbauerin Samamma voller Stolz auf ihr Feld, auf dem Sonnenblumen, Leinsamen, Erbsen, verschiedene Hirscesorten, Weizen und Hülsenfrüchte wachsen. Die Hülsenfrüchte versorgen den Boden mit Nährstoffen. Schädlinge bevorzugen die Blätter der Sonnenblumen und lassen sich damit von anderen Pflanzen fernhalten.

"Was die einen Pflanzen dem Boden entnehmen, geben ihm andere wieder zurück", beschreibt die 50-Jährige die natürliche Ausgewogenheit auf ihrem Acker. "Er versorgt mich mit allen notwendigen Lebensmitteln, mit Öl, Getreide und Gemüse." Doch Samamas Ernte von 150 Kilo roten Pferdebohnen, 200 Kilo Hirse und 50 Kilo Leinsamen, die ihr das von ihr bestellte knapp 4.000 Quadratmeter große Land beschert, übersteigt den Eigenbedarf, der mit 50 Kilo Getreide und 30 Kilo Bohnen gedeckt ist. Den Rest verkauft Samamma auf dem Markt.

"Dieses System der landwirtschaftlichen Nutzung von Trockenböden kann alle Probleme verkraften, die im Rahmen des Klimawandels zu erwarten sind", betont DDS-Direktor P. V. Satheesh, der Gründer der Entwicklungorganisation, die diese Art Ackerbau seit 25 Jahren in Deccan propagiert. ■

## Nachhaltig lernen - NRO-Erklärung verabschiedet



VON KIRSTEN PRESTIN

Im Vorfeld der UNESCO-Weltkonferenz zur Bildung für nachhaltige Entwicklung (31. März bis 2. April) verabschiedeten zivilgesellschaftliche Vertreter aus aller Welt eine Erklärung, die unter anderem einen Globalen Bildungsfonds verlangt, um Instrumente des Globalen Lernens, wie Freiwilligenprogramme, in allen Regionen dieser Welt zu fördern.

"Wenn diese Programme wirklich erfolgreich sein sollen, dann müssen nicht nur die jungen Menschen aus dem Norden, sondern auch junge Erwachsene aus Entwicklungsländern die Chance erhalten, in den kulturellen Austausch eingebunden zu werden", erklärte Claudia Warning, Vorstandsvorsitzende des Verbandes Entwicklungspolitik deutscher Nichtregierungsorganisationen (VENRO).

Der Verband hat zusammen mit der Arbeitsgruppe Bildung des Europäischen Dachverbandes Entwicklungspolitik (CORD/DEF) Ende März den internationalen Kongress 'Global Learning, weltwärts and beyond' ausgerichtet. An dem Kongress in Bonn nahmen 175 Vertreterinnen und Vertreter von mehr als 120 zivilgesellschaftlichen Organisationen aus rund 51 Ländern teil.

### Weltwärts global

Das weltweit größte Freiwilligenprogramm ist zurzeit das deutsche Programm 'weltwärts'. Es wird vom Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (BMZ) jährlich mit einem Volumen von 70 Millionen Euro gefördert. Bis zu 10.000 junge Menschen sollen jedes Jahr durch das Programm ins Ausland geschickt werden – zurzeit sind es 2.500. 40 Prozent der Interessenten werden nach Afrika geschickt.

Freiwilligenprogramme werden von den internationalen Gästen des Kongresses nicht nur positiv gesehen. "Zu meiner Organisation in Tansania kommen oft junge Freiwillige. Das ist aber nicht immer einfach, denn sie sind oftmals nicht gut vorbereitet, auf das, was sie erwartet und es kommt zu kulturellen Problemen. Wir bräuchten eigentlich keine Studenten, sondern eher professionelle Entwicklungshelfer", erklärt Loyce Lema, Geschäftsführerin der tansanischen NRO 'Envirocare', die sich für Umweltschutz und die Umsetzung von Geschlechtergerechtigkeit und Menschenrechte einsetzt. Zudem sei ihr nicht klar, nach welchen Kriterien die Freiwilligen ausgesucht werden.

Grundsätzlich waren die Kongressteilnehmer sich einig, dass man die Freiwilligen besser auf ihren Auslandsaufenthalt vorbereiten muss. Zudem müsse die Kommunikation zwischen der Entsendeorganisation, der Partnerorganisation im Süden und den Freiwilligen verbessert werden. Dies sei besonders der Fall, wenn junge Menschen aus dem Süden in den Norden geschickt werden. "Hier ist die Gefahr eines Kulturschocks noch größer. Die größte Barriere stellt die Sprache da. Viele Menschen aus dem Süden sprechen kein Wort Deutsch und das erschwert die Integration", so Ranjita Pati aus Indien, die zurzeit in Deutschland Medizin studiert. Die 29-jährige Inderin hat in Deutschland den Verein 'Chetana' gegründet, der deutschen Schülern, die indische

Kirsten Prestin ist Referentin für Presse- und Öffentlichkeitsarbeit beim Verband Entwicklungspolitik deutscher Nichtregierungsorganisationen e.V. (VENRO).



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Kultur nahe bringen möchte. Sie selber spricht mittlerweile fließend Deutsch, kann sich aber noch gut an die anfänglichen Probleme erinnern. "Viele deutsche Eigenarten, wie die Pünktlichkeit, sind uns in Indien sehr fremd. Bei uns wundert sich niemand, wenn jemand zu einer Verabredung ein paar Stunden zu spät kommt. Mittlerweile habe ich die Pünktlichkeit schätzen gelernt."

Der Brasilianer Ralf Rickli, Vorsitzender vom Verband für kulturelle und soziale Entwicklung TROPIS, hat grundsätzlich nichts dagegen, wenn junge Europäer in arme Länder geschickt werden. Allerdings dürfen sie seiner Ansicht nach nicht mit dem Vorsatz reisen, den Menschen vor Ort helfen und etwas beibringen zu wollen.

Nach Meinung des Pädagogen Ricklis geht es schlicht um das Gefühl der Zusammengehörigkeit. "Denn, selbst wenn nur ein paar Menschen aus dem Norden, die Lebensweise der Menschen im Süden respektieren lernen, dann kann das tatsächlich die Welt verändern. Das verdient dann wirklich den Namen 'Globales Lernen' und es ist vielleicht das Wichtigste, was die Menschen in den Industriestaaten für die globale Nachhaltigkeit machen können."

David Simo, afrikanischer Germanist von der Universität Yaounde in Kamerun hält grundsätzlich eine andere Herangehensweise der Europäer für erforderlich. "Fremde Menschen gibt es nicht nur in der weiten Welt, sondern sie wohnen meistens direkt nebenan. Hier sollte der kulturelle Austausch beginnen."

### Vorwurf der Elitenbildung

Freiwilligenprogramme sind aber nur ein Instrument zur Umsetzung für Bildung für nachhaltige Entwicklung (BNE). Eine Forderung der in Bonn verabschiedeten NRO-Erklärung ist es auch, BNE in alle Lebensbereiche und nicht nur in der Schule zu integrieren. "In Deutschland herrscht der Irrglaube, dass Bildung nur in Bildungsinstitutionen vermittelt wird. Das ist aber falsch, denn wir lernen sehr viel außerhalb des Schulumfeldes", erklärt Lenellis Kruse-Graumann, stellvertretende Vorsitzende des Deutschen Komitees für die UN-Dekade zu BNE. Bildung für nachhaltige Entwicklung würde oft der Vorwurf gemacht, sie sei eine Luxus-Bildung für eine kleine Elite.

Dabei sollte die Bildung allen ermöglichen, Mensch und Natur aus einer neuen Perspektive zu betrachten und eine neue Sichtweise auf die Welt ermöglichen.

"Die Frage, was nachhaltige Entwicklung bedeutet, kann einfach beantwortet werden. Denn jeder weiß, was 'nicht nachhaltig' ist: Armut, Hunger, Analphabetismus und Gewalt. Eine nachhaltige Gesellschaft setzt sich dafür ein, diese Missstände zu beenden", sagt der Brasilianer Moacir Gadotti, Direktor des Internationalen Paulo Freire Instituts in São Paulo und Mitglied der Beratergruppe der UN-Dekade zur BNE (2005-2014).

Eine wesentliche Forderung der NRO-Erklärung ist zudem alle Menschen weltweit an dem Lernprozess für nachhaltige Bildung zu beteiligen. Das kann nur erreicht werden, wenn die Menschen an der Basis individuell angesprochen werden und die lokalen Nichtregierungsorganisationen (NRO) bei der Erarbeitung von nationalen Bildungsprogrammen und Strategien eingebunden werden. Zudem muss die UN die Entwicklungsländer dabei unterstützen, Bildungsnetzwerke und Plattformen aufzubauen. Auch diese Aktivitäten könnten durch einen Globalen Bildungsfonds finanziell unterstützt werden.

### Nationale Verpflichtungen

"Das bedeutet aber nicht, dass die nationalen Regierungen in den Entwicklungsländern kein Geld mehr für 'gute Bildung' bereit stellen. Im Gegenteil, sie müssen dies langfristig in ihre Haushaltsbudgets einplanen", so VENRO-Vorstandsvorsitzende Warning. Dies kann Berhanu Berhe, Vorsitzender der 'Association of Ethiopians Educated in Germany' (AEEG) nur unterstützen. "Gerade bei den afrikanischen Staaten besteht die Gefahr, dass sie sich auf die internationalen Gelder verlassen und ihrer eigenen Verantwortung nicht mehr gerecht werden."

Doch wahrscheinlich stellt sich die Frage erst gar nicht: Denn Bundesministerin Annette Schavan erteilte der Forderung nach einem globalen Bildungsfonds auf der UNESCO-Konferenz bereits eine Absage. "Viel wirkungsvoller als so ein zentrales Instrument ist, dass die reichen Länder ihren Forderungen nachkommen."

- KOMMUNIKATION GLOBAL ■



Dr. Cooper is associate director and distinguished fellow of the Centre for International Governance Innovation and Professor of Political Science at the University of Waterloo. He has authored and edited many books published internationally as well as in the U.S. and Canada.

The G20 summit is not free from criticism, particularly of its representational claims or its performance quality. As a replica of the G20 finance forum, the G20 leaders format has the merit of convenience while glossing over membership conditions. Argentina and Turkey were included in the G20 finance largely because of their position as debtor states, but does this rationale still stand up? The G20 also privileges Saudi Arabia as a wealthy Arab country, as opposed to others with greater claims of representation, most notably Egypt.

## Competing Gs?

BY ANDREW F COOPER

**The increased importance of the G20 is calling into question the role of the G8. Is the G20 establishing itself as the hub of global policymaking?**

The G20 leaders format appears to be an ascendant form of summity. Acting as an economic crisis committee, the G20 has served an important symbolic function, sending a clear message that leaders of an extended group of states across the North-South divide recognise the gravity of the fallout from the financial and economic shocks. It also provides significant instrumental value, with its extended plan of action in a host of technical areas.

It is thus easy to suggest that the G20 summit constitutes a mechanism ready to seize the moment, turning a structural dilemma into institutional innovation and creative initiatives. The initial November 2008 meeting in Washington - and the momentum toward this second gathering in London in early April 2009 - has sent a sharp message that world leaders prefer hanging together through collective efforts to hanging separately through instinctive but short-sighted unilateral efforts.

With its solid association via the G20 finance machinery and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) - another institution that has revitalised itself in a time of crisis - the G20 not only boasts technical capabilities, but is also favourably positioned as a catalyst for wider technical reform.

Yet, for all of these early positive attributes, some constraints remain before the G20 can emerge as the summit of summits.

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The G20 as a hub of global policymaking and governance is premised on the assumption that leaders (as opposed to finance ministers and central bank governors) will maintain their focus on the solutions as well as the problems associated with the financial crisis. But most of these remedies are highly technical, whether dealing with a college of supervisors, the Basel banking standards or the International Organization of Securities Commissions.

Will this agenda continue to contain the right ingredients necessary to get all G20 leaders to attend? The London meeting counts in part on the star power of its host - UK prime minister Gordon Brown. This is only amplified by the first major appearance on the world stage of United States president Barack Obama. But as the crisis deepens, will there emerge a sense of G20 fatigue beyond the April summit?

The G20 summit is not free from criticism, particularly of its representational claims or its performance quality. As a replica of the G20 finance forum, the G20 leaders format has the merit of convenience while glossing over membership conditions. Argentina and Turkey were included in the G20 finance largely because of their position as debtor states, but does this rationale still stand up? The G20 also privileges Saudi Arabia as a wealthy Arab country, as opposed to others with greater claims of representation, most notably Egypt.

And the issue of European over-representation continues to be sensitive. French president Nicolas Sarkozy may be lauded for his diplomatic skills in adding Spanish and Dutch participants at the Washington meeting - along with the presence of the four European G8 members and the European Union president.

However, this imbalance creates a backlash, prominently from the African Union (AU), demanding equal representation and renewed calls from the global South for IMF reform to address the disproportionate European weight.

In terms of performance, the G20 summit appears to have made good progress on several technical items relating to regulation, standards and surveillance. Missing is a signal from the G20 that it is linking institutional reform to the issue of inclusiveness, in particular to the emerging countries with the highest degree of global economic or diplomatic reach.

A case in point is the apparent lack of progress on the expansion of the Financial Stability Forum, which includes Hong Kong but not China. The ascendancy of the G20 has brought into question the future of the G8 as the established hub of global policymaking and governance.

On the face of it, the G8 has difficulty justifying itself as the 'likeminded' group - due to the presence in its ranks of Russia - particularly in a time of economic crisis with all of its global ramifications. Yet there are serious reservations about any form of 'big bang' membership expansion. To its credit, as host of the 2009 G8 summit, Italy has shown some considerable agility in minimising the deficiencies and maximising the comparative advantages of this summit process *vis-à-vis* the G20.

#### The self-described G5

Italy has emphasised the presence of the big emerging states, namely China, India, Brazil, South Africa and Mexico, the self-described G5. This group was formally convened at the 2007 Heiligendamm Summit with a two-year mandate to build an extended dialogue on a number of key issue areas.

While low key, this process - facilitated by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development - has been vital in going beyond the image of outreach. The entire second day of the 2009 Italian-hosted G8 will be given over to a meeting between the core membership and the G5. Significantly, in another break from the G20 formula, Egypt is added to this mix.

The third day will be devoted to extending the discussions both on a substantive and an inclusiveness basis. The 16 members of the Major Economies Meeting on Energy Security and Climate Change (MEM-16), as convened at the Japan-hosted 2008 Hokkaido Summit - will once again be invited for talks on the climate change agenda.

As in the case of the G20, the AU president (the mercurial Colonel Muammar Ghaddafi) is also invited. This form of participation gets around some of the problem related to selecting African representation beyond South Africa (and now Egypt). It also signals that Africa will not be forgotten by the G8 amid the financial crisis.

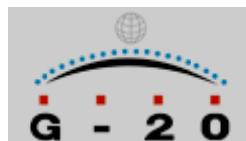
As the nature of their relationship plays out, some element of tension between the G20 and the G8 is inevitable. If the core components of the G8's traditional economic mandate are carved out to the G20, does this weaken the G8? Or does it create a better division of labour where the G8 can concentrate on other important areas?

The Italian summit suggests the latter by its focus on development as well as security issues (including Afghanistan). Or, alternatively, if fatigue sets in on the G20 after April 2009, will the G8 be able to grab back the economic agenda as an ongoing summit process that can deal with the extended financial shock waves?

If so, the G8 will also have to regain some of the legitimacy associated with the G20 - due to its more representative membership - and signal that it is ready to provide a comprehensive vision for 21st-century policy making and global governance.

- G20 Magazine | GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES ■

Leaders invited by the U.K., Host Nation



Argentina represented by Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, President of Argentina

Australia represented by Kevin Rudd, Prime Minister of Australia

Brazil represented by Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, President of Brazil

Canada represented by Stephen Harper, Prime Minister of Canada

People's Republic of China represented by Hu Jintao, President of the People's Republic of China

France represented by Nicolas Sarkozy, President of France

Germany represented by Angela Merkel, Chancellor of Germany

India represented by Manmohan Singh, Prime Minister of India

Indonesia represented by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, President of Indonesia

Italy represented by Silvio Berlusconi, Prime Minister of Italy

Japan represented by Taro Aso, Prime Minister of Japan

Mexico represented by Felipe Calderón, President of Mexico

Netherlands represented by Jan Peter Balkenende, Prime Minister of the Netherlands \*

South Korea represented by Lee Myung-bak, President of South Korea

Russia represented by Dmitry Medvedev, President of Russia

Saudi Arabia represented by Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz, King of Saudi Arabia

South Africa represented by Kgalema Motlanthe, President of South Africa

Spain represented by José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, Prime Minister of Spain \*

Turkey represented by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Prime Minister of Turkey

United Kingdom represented by Gordon Brown, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (Host)

United States represented by Barack Obama, President of the United States of America

N.B. Countries with a \* are not recognised members of the G-20



## Give or Take a Trillion or Two

BY SANJAY SURI IN LONDON



**British Prime Minister Gordon Brown produced the biggest figure of all - 5 trillion dollars. And a trillion, not to forget is a thousand billion, or a million million if you like. It takes all of 12 zeroes after one.**

**And the five trillion? It would be, Brown said, the absolute sum total of all financial stimulus in all forms in all countries by the end of 2010. For example the new capitalisation of banks in the U.S. and in Britain, measures like quantitative easing that mean in effect that governments simply print more currency notes, or generate new money electronically to swell availability for banks and bonds.**

The ease with which leaders spoke of trillions of dollars at the G20 summit in London April 2 were no doubt intended to signal to the world just how serious leaders are about getting the economy right again. That these fabulous figures may never add up is another matter.

On early trading April 3 morning, the markets showed no great excitement. The Financial Times index was in fact marginally down, after rising on hopes through the previous day that the leaders will somehow do something.

It just might be that what got through was not so much confidence as an anxiety to present it. Some of the additions seem to have counted in a touch of desperation.

British Prime Minister Gordon Brown produced the biggest figure of all - 5 trillion dollars. And a trillion, not to forget is a thousand billion, or a million million if you like. It takes all of 12 zeroes after one.

And the five trillion? It would be, Brown said, the absolute sum total of all financial stimulus in all forms in all countries by the end of 2010. For example the new capitalisation of banks in the U.S. and in Britain, measures like quantitative easing that mean in effect that governments simply print more currency notes, or generate new money electronically to swell availability for banks and bonds.

Some of these billions - and at the G20 billions sounded like small money - have come and disappeared. Take the 100 billion dollars or so of quantitative easing announced by the Bank of England. It was meant to inspire confidence. No one has seen either the money or the confidence.

And the U.S. fiscal stimulus, alongside the money going into the automobile industry seems not to have brought a fraction of the results it was intended to. With the first flows of that trillion as good as evaporating, Brown's total would include money that came and also went, almost soon as it came. Never mind where. But certainly not in a way that may have made a huge difference to the economy.

And given these early trends, it must take a lot of confidence for Brown to project that more such money will continue to come in all of the rest of this year, and all of the next. Gordon Brown may well go wrong by a few trillions here and there.

### Lack of credibility

At other times that would expose an economist to serious charges of error of judgment; now nobody minds too much whether trillions will add up to a total of five. And this is at least partly because governments now carry very little credibility.

And the lack of credibility in such figures might of itself undermine the confidence they were intended to instil.

The other trillion, a more precisely worked out 1.1 trillion dollars, was announced for the International Monetary Fund (IMF), regional development banks and international trade finance.

This includes 750 billion dollars in funding for the International Monetary Fund, 250 billion for trade finance and 100 billion for multilateral development banks.

Of this 500 billion dollars in loans will come from member countries, 100 billion each from the EU, the U.S. and Japan, and 40 billion from China. The rest, it is assumed, will come from somewhere else.

And now the IMF too is going the way of the U.S. and Britain by manufacturing money, for which the official euphemism is of course quantitative easing. And that will come by way of an extra 250 billion dollars in special drawing rights, a sort of lending currency that is the IMF's own.

The declared intention is that all this is for the poor. Another declaration comes that the IMF will also sell its gold to fund aid for poor countries.

A lot of poor people in the world, and others not so poor but hit hard by recession will be looking to see how much of this money comes along to make anything better for them.

About half the world - more than 3 billion people - live on less than 2.50 dollars a day. And talking billions, that is a real figure. - IPS | GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES ■

## Where is the Money - And Who is the Moneylender

BY SANJAY SURI

It seemed like a lot of money at the time. The leaders of the group of eight richest countries, the G8, met in Gleneagles in Scotland and announced 50 billion dollars in new aid, half of that for Africa and half for the rest of the world.

That was 2005, the word 'recession' was buried in a dictionary somewhere, governments and companies were on a high, with many of the financial figures inflated by financial jugglery that no one then had seen through, and by a debt that would repay itself because how could this club of wealth and power ever go wrong.

The trouble with money is that ideas of it may or may not be real, or all real. But when you have to pay, money then begins to feel more real. Neither Africa nor the other half saw even a decent fraction of those 50 billion dollars. The British government, pushed along by a public show of larger morality provoked by rock stars Bob Geldof and Bono made the right announcements.

In the weeks and months that followed, the British, to be fair, kept their part of the commitment, as interpreted by the government. The other players in the band went silent.

And if in the days of wealth the rich could not deliver 50 billion, who in hard times will deliver a trillion? If they can find that trillion, or the 1.1 trillion, that is.

"There is such a spin on figures about," Kumi Naidoo, co-chair of the Global Call to Action Against Poverty (GCAP) alliance, and one of the most seasoned campaigners for development for the poor, told IPS. "In Gleneagles the rich countries counted debt cancellation as a part of the aid money figures. Aid money is counted in all sorts of manipulative ways."

But one way or the other aid only declined after that. That 2005 G8 meeting had committed a significantly smaller amount, and "after that there was a drop in aid from countries such as Italy and Canada," says Naidoo.

This time the trillion dollars plus is not being spoken of as an aid package. But it has been accompanied by a good deal of rhetoric that it is intended to help poor and struggling economies. Considering that there isn't an economy that is not struggling, that money is for everyone.

But there is a pledge that about 250 billion dollars that the International Monetary Fund can in a sense just create through an increase in its special drawing rights (SDRs) will help the poorer countries get support for trade. GCAP is not reassured by the pledge.

### Over-reliance on IMF and World Bank

"There is an over-reliance again on using the IMF and the World Bank as delivery figures, and we know that in the past they have messed up badly," said Naidoo. "And in any case, while this money has been promised for trade facilitation, very few developing countries have the export credit facilities in place that can enable them to take advantage of this. This will mostly benefit the North rather than the South."

And on the fundamental issue that could do something to reduce the imbalance, there is no commitment at all: to see that the Doha round of trade negotiations becomes the Doha development round, as originally agreed. This is the current round of negotiations for a single world trade agreement that was launched in Qatar capital Doha in November 1991, but remains deadlocked because leading developing countries are blocking the push from the U.S. and the EU to drop tariffs, while they make no commitment to dropping subsidies.

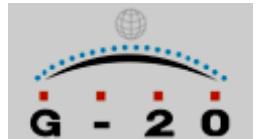
"The EU and the U.S. and countries like Japan are acting in their self-interest," said Naidoo. "They have completely violated the Doha development round. Unless the trade system is fair, industries across many developing countries could simply go down."

Many campaigners are worried that the G20 declaration makes no commitment to fair distribution of the additional money said to have been made available.

"We welcome the 1.1 trillion dollars for global economic recovery," Duncan Green, Oxfam spokesperson, said in a statement. "But we must ensure that poor countries get their fair share - that Uganda benefits as well as Ukraine."

Oxfam too expressed concern that IMF has been named the distributor of the new money. "We have deep concerns about how central the IMF has become in this crisis," said Green. "The fund has been given a blank cheque but its reform remains no more than a promise."

"We hope that the old world of G8 meetings where developing countries were just invited for a photo opportunity is dead. Gordon Brown's new world order must be one that works for 192 countries not just eight or 20." - IPS | GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES ■



Kumi Naidoo  
[www.whiteband.org](http://www.whiteband.org)

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## In Dire Need

BY RAMESH JAURA

"There is no longer a question that developing countries are being hit severely by the global crisis. Instead, there is the very distinct possibility that they end up as the worst-hit victims, while already being the most vulnerable," said Eckhard Deutscher, Chair of OECD's Development Assistance Committee (DAC) presenting preliminary figures for 2008 Official Development Assistance (ODA) on March 30 in London. "The need for aid has increased dramatically," he added.

This part of his statement was in stark contrast to the upbeat key message, the DAC chair intended to convey: "As recently as several months, aid targets seemed to be slipping out of reach. Now, the situation is reversed. The aid commitments undertaken by donors, notably the Gleneagles commitments of G8 countries, have come within very realistic reach."

And yet, said Deutscher, "aid increases are of vital importance because progress the world has seen towards the Millennium Development Goals is being eroded as the crisis unfolds". He pointed out that already in 2008, 100 million people were estimated to have fallen back into absolute poverty due to the food and fuel crisis.

Tens of millions more would join them this year as a result of the global financial crisis - and this was a rather conservative estimate. As a result, 1 billion people would suffer hunger this year - and indeed did so already.

According to preliminary ODA figures, in 2008, total aid from members of the OECD's DAC rose to USD 119.8 billion, corresponding to an increase of 10.2 percent in real terms.

"This is the highest dollar figure ever recorded," Deutscher said. But he warned in the next breath that the increase in aid figures was not a cause for self-congratulatory complacency.

It should spur all to undertake further efforts, he urged adding: "Fulfilling commitments made repeatedly at head-of-state level is not an optional luxury. The viability of many developing country plans and strategies depend on them - and with that the long-term economic prospects and political stability of many poor countries.

In today's world, a world that is evermore interconnected, this concerns everybody. Development co-operation is no charity. It is a strategic investment we need to make in a common future." Especially in the current crisis, honouring commitments for development assistance was an important touchstone for the credibility and viability of international co-operation in addressing challenges shared by all."

And it is perfectly clear that this crisis will not be overcome by domestic action alone. International co-operation is absolutely essential," Deutscher said.

But the question being asked as the month of March inched towards an end: Will the trickle down misery of those not in a position to mobilise billions and billions of dollars to stave off the worst crisis threatening them?

- IDN InDepthNews | GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES ■

## Genuine Transparency Required

BY JAYA RAMACHANDRAN

The decision of the Group of 20 (G20) leading industrial and emerging economies to prioritise transparency as a means to curb systemic risks in the global financial and economic system and to provide a stimulus that also extends to the developing world is welcome, says Transparency International (TI).

"Agreeing to tackle opacity and to establish a new global governance body in the form of the Financial Stability Board announced today, is the kind of decisive action that we expected from this summit," said TI Chair Huguette Labelle.

"In the long term, however, the G20's initial steps towards transparency must be taken beyond the corridors of power and properly implemented, with input from civil society", said Labelle.

As the direction set by the G20 summit is taken forward, it is essential for the largest macro-economic stimulus in history to include effective safeguards, with transparency, accountability and integrity at the forefront, in all aspects, particularly related to the public management of taxpayers' funds, Labelle said.

The newly announced Financial Stability Board (FSB), tasked by the G20 to provide an early warning mechanism, should have accountability, integrity and transparency at its core. Civil society participation on the FSB would be one of many steps required for its success.

A reform of the "shadow banking system", as UK Prime Minister Brown termed hedge funds along with credit rating agencies, would require a strong dose of transparency. TI has called for governance measures in this area to extend whistle-blowing procedures and protection to anonymous information on excessive risk-taking, as a key focus.

The nefarious role of tax havens as places where illicit gains can be stashed, has been rightly addressed by this summit, Labelle said. TI expects that the G20's bold statement declaring the end of banking secrecy will go beyond a blacklist to include international cooperation and the actual recovery of assets looted from poor countries.

The key priority now is for the G20 to follow up and implement their commitments. A vital first step is legislation and tax treaties in line with OECD standards.

Stabilising and reviving the global economy must be the short-term priority, but the bigger agenda - with broader opportunities - requires ensuring that the new regulatory order be rooted in transparency and accountability. The G20 has taken initial steps to use that window of opportunity and TI looks forward to civil society involvement.

Transparency International made specific recommendations to the G20 to restore public trust in the global economy and give back hope to the millions of people facing an unstable future.

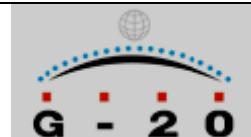
The recommendations -many of them reflected in the summit communiqué- covered a range of issues, from the use of public funds in 'bail-out' programmes to strengthening the role of development banks and regulatory authorities.

The three aims of this G20 Summit - stabilising financial markets, strengthening the global and economic systems and setting a path for sustainable growth - cannot be achieved without addressing a key root cause of the current meltdown, namely a severe lack of basic governance measures, transparency and accountability.

- IDN InDepthNews | GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES ■

# Japan Follows Up On TICAD IV

BY RAMESH JAURA



Japan, the world's second largest economy, has been calling for global initiatives to reactivate financial flows to Africa, including government grants, concessional loans, lines of credit and additional instruments. This was, in fact, the crux of a message Prime Minister Taro Aso took to the G20 summit in London April 2, Japan's ambassador Takahiro Shinyo to Germany.

Aso was carrying the message on behalf of African countries whose ministers met with a high-level delegation led by Japan's Foreign Minister Hirofumi Nakasone March 21-22 in Gaborone, the capital of Botswana.

The conference was the first ministerial meeting to follow up on the fourth Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD IV) last May in Japan.

The participants noted that the global financial crisis was impacting Africa, a view that had been articulated by African Heads of State and Government at the 12th AU summit of the African Union (AU) last month (February), and encapsulated in the Addis Ababa Declaration on the Financial Crisis.

The declaration focused on the need for the international community to assist Africa's own efforts to mitigate the impact of the crisis, in terms of both practical measures and broader policy issues.

Similar calls were issued by the African Development Bank, Committee of African Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors and the African Progress Panel chaired by Kofi Annan in the run-up to the London Summit of 20 leaders from industrial and developing lands. They represent 90 percent of global GNP (gross domestic product), 80 percent of world trade and two-thirds of the world's population.

## Serious negative impact on Africa

The message with which the Japanese prime minister has been entrusted says that African countries are deeply concerned over "the serious negative impact on Africa of the current global financial and economic crisis, including the decline in commodity prices, weakened import demand, aggravation of fiscal conditions, and marked reduction of private capital inflows, foreign direct investment, and remittances".

But they share "a strong determination not to let this economic slowdown prove detrimental to Africa, and stress the need for increased efforts by both African countries and development partners, aimed at achieving the Millennium Development Goals by 2015".

Referring to the Gaborone communiqué, the message says: "The participants (in the TICAD IV ministerial follow-up meeting shared the conviction that it was time for closer synergy and coordination between and amongst African countries and their various development partners, in terms of policy development and the optimum use of financial resources, so as to ensure a sustainable economic growth trajectory across the continent."

In this context, they stress the crucial importance for all development partners to honour the steady and effective implementation of all existing commitments. The African countries also strongly plead for global initiatives "to

reactivate financial flows to Africa -- including ODA (official development assistance) grants, concessional loans, lines of credit and additional instruments".

In this context, African countries welcome the vulnerability framework, as proposed by the World Bank, and other measures announced by African Development Bank. They strongly urge the London Summit to endorse and support such initiatives that include safety-net programmes targeted at the poorest and most vulnerable on the continent.

The Gaborone gathering commended the efforts of the G-20 to propose measures to address the global financial and economic crisis and take steps to accelerate recovery, including through the concerted implementation of stimulus packages and the establishment of appropriate facilities aimed at supporting restructuring efforts and improving economic resilience.

It emphasized that "measures to address the crisis should be informed by African voices, concerns and needs, and underscored that African countries had an important role to play in contributing to global economic recovery".

They also observed that this is an opportune time to put in place a new Bretton Woods system that reflects the current global realities in the 21st century.

With a view to reaffirming its commitment to Africa, Japanese Foreign Minister Nakasone has announced 500 million dollars in new aid largely for Africa, on top of last May's pledge to double Tokyo's assistance to the continent.

Japan will also provide 300 million dollars for mainly food assistance to help Africa withstand the effects of the global economic downturn. "For the most part, this aid is intended to provide food assistance to expand social safety nets and to enhance agricultural productivity," Nakasone told African ministers gathered in Botswana's capital,

The countries receiving the food aid are Burkina Faso, Comoros, Djibouti, Gambia, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mali, Mozambique, Niger, Republic of Congo, Senegal and Togo.

Japan will give additional 200 million dollars to the Global Fund to fight AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria, he added.

Some 500 delegates representing countries, international agencies and non-governmental organisations attended the two-day conference to follow up on Japan's promise to double aid to Africa by 2012 -- from about 900 million dollars a year to an annual 1.8 billion dollars.

Nakasone took pains to insist that Japan would not back down from its promised aid, even though its economy has slipped into its worst recession in decades. "I would like to state once again that Japan is determined to carry out its commitments," he told the conference.

"The global financial and economic crisis that has arisen since this past autumn can be expected to impact the countries of Africa for at least two years to come," he said.

"What is now of the greatest concern is that there is a possibility that Africa will be profoundly affected by this crisis," he said, with a slowdown in the continent's economic growth and delays in achieving the MDGs to fight poverty and improve quality of life for the world's poor.

- IPS | GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES ■



## 'Bonn Talks Signal Start of Serious Negotiation'

By JAYA RAMACHANDRAN

The first round of international global warming talks since the disappointing Poznan conference last December concluded here April 8, signalling that a lot needs to be done over the next eight months to ensure a strong agreement in Copenhagen. Little progress was made in the formal negotiations in Bonn. But Yvo de Boer, executive secretary of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), said: Countries have narrowed gaps in many practical areas, for example on how to strengthen action for adapting to the impacts of climate change. They now have the necessary clarity to move into intensified negotiations based on texts.

De Boer expects the negotiating texts for the next round in June to further pinpoint the details of cooperative international climate change action, as well as focus work on the financial support needed to unleash action in developing countries. This is important progress given the very limited time negotiators have to get to an agreed outcome in Copenhagen in December this year, De Boer said.

Agreeing with the UN official, Washington-based International Climate Policy Director Jake Schmidt said there were some emerging proposals on the four key elements essential to getting a strong agreement:

- Strong leadership from developed countries with firm and aggressive emissions reduction caps.
- Willingness of developing countries to undertake significant emissions reductions on their own and the structure and size of performance-based incentives from developed countries to encourage even greater developing country emissions reductions.
- Reversing the rate of deforestation.
- Supporting adaptation to the impacts of climate change in the most vulnerable countries.

While there are still a number of proposals on the table for the developing country emissions reduction package, there was a lot frank conversation about the development of low carbon strategies by developing countries, Schmidt said.

Countries are also discussing the nature of the emissions reductions that they propose to achieve those low carbon strategies and how the incentives for helping achieve those actions occurs.

Of course this will be at the heart of the negotiations, but there has been a significant discussion around developing countries proposing their actions to an international registry which would significantly improve the transparency of their actions, Schmidt says in a blog.

Under these strategies developing countries could commit to reduce emissions in key sectors of the economy and receive incentives for further action through the carbon market and technology agreements. This would mean evolving from offsets to sectoral approaches for developing countries. While deforestation reductions were not central to the negotiations in Bonn, the seat of the UN climate change secretariat, a large number of countries signalled quite forcefully that they want deforestation reductions included in the Copenhagen agreement.

This is a strong sign that we might finally help create the tools to reducing the deforestation emissions that account for about 20 percent of global emissions, says Schmidt.

While most of the deforestation debate has been focused on providing incentives to reduce deforestation emissions, the U.S. hinted at its interest in also discussing the drivers of deforestation (for example, domestic agriculture demand in tropical countries and international demand for these commodities) and forest governance in a more central way. According to Schmidt, All paths will inevitably lead through the U.S. as countries are waiting for U.S. leadership to act. In fact the Bonn talks began with a loud applause that the U.S. is back.

The Bonn talks incorporated the fifth session of the Ad hoc Working Group on Long-term Cooperative Action under the Convention (AWG-LCA 5) and the seventh session of the Ad hoc Working Group on Further Commitments for Annex I Parties under the Kyoto Protocol (AWG-KP 7). Under the AWG-LCA, countries discussed how to strengthen international cooperation on reducing emissions, including from deforestation; adapting to climate change impacts; financing action and the governance of finances.

Former UNFCCC executive secretary Michael Zammit Cutajar, now chair of the AWG-LCA, noted that: These Climate Change Talks have been increasingly tactical in nature. There have been positive discussions on a range of issues, including on technology cooperation between industrialized and developing countries, as well as on the specificities of reducing emissions from deforestation in developing countries.

In view of real negotiations as of the session in June, he said that countries have the opportunity to provide input to the draft negotiating text for the June session. I invite countries to forward their input to the climate change secretariat by 24 April, so that their views on how to shape the text and what to include in the text can be incorporated.

- IDN InDepthNews | GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES ■

# Wege zur inklusiven Entwicklungszusammenarbeit

VON MAREIKE BÜBL\*

Seit dem 26. März 2009 ist in Deutschland die UN-Menschenrechtskonvention für Menschen mit Behinderungen in Kraft - das erste international rechtlich bindende Übereinkommen, das die Rechte behinderter Menschen sichert. Damit verpflichtet sich die Bundesregierung dazu, die Teilhabe von Menschen mit Behinderung in allen Lebensbereichen zu ermöglichen und bestehende Barrieren abzubauen. Diese Selbstverpflichtung betrifft aber nicht nur die Situation in Deutschland, ein eigener Artikel (32) definiert die deutsche Entwicklungspolitik neu: er besagt, dass künftig behinderte Menschen in die internationale Zusammenarbeit einbezogen werden müssen.

Weltweit gibt es etwa 650 Millionen Menschen mit Behinderung, davon leben rund 80 Prozent in Entwicklungsländern. Ohne Menschen mit Behinderung einzubeziehen, und ihre Belange zu berücksichtigen, kann die globale Armut nicht effektiv bekämpft werden. Wie nun die Kooperation mit Menschen mit Behinderung in Entwicklungsländern verwirklicht werden kann, das war Gegenstand der Tagung 'Nichts über uns ohne uns' - Menschen mit Behinderung als Akteure einer nachhaltigen Entwicklung', die vor einigen Monaten in Berlin stattfand.

Die ReferentInnen aus Deutschland, Indien, Simbabwe, Großbritannien, Finnland und den USA stellten auf einer Tagung vor, wie ihre Organisationen eine inklusive Entwicklung gestalten. Für die Veranstalter - Behinderung und Entwicklungszusammenarbeit, Christoffel-Blindenmission, Deutsche Lepra- und Tuberkulosehilfe, Interessenvertretung Selbstbestimmt Leben und Misereor - war es wichtig, selbst betroffene Fachleute zu Wort kommen zu lassen. Sie gelten in besonderem Maße als ExpertInnen in eigener Sache.

Diese Sichtweise entspricht einem veränderten Menschenbild, das auch der UN-Konvention zugrunde liegt: anstelle von Fürsorge geht es heute um die aktive Teilhabe von Menschen mit Behinderung, und um die Stärkung ihrer Menschenrechte. Ein wichtiger Ansatz der inklusiven Entwicklungszusammenarbeit ist die Stärkung von Selbstvertretungsorganisationen behinderter Menschen (Disabled People's Organisations - DPOs) in Entwicklungsländern. Im Sinne von Capacity Development sollen sie unterstützt werden, eigene, effektive Strukturen aufzubauen.

Auf der Tagung Anfang Dezember des letzten Jahres wurden Good Practice-Beispiele vorgestellt, wie das folgende von den Philippinen: dort ist es einer lokalen DPO gelungen, ein eigenes, international gefördertes Projekt aufzubauen, dessen Finanzierung inzwischen zu 70 Prozent von der philippinischen Regierung übernommen wurde, und damit nachhaltig gesichert ist.

## Fähigkeiten stärken

Beteiligung - Kämpfen für die eigenen Rechte - dazu brauchen Menschen auch das Vertrauen in ihre eigenen Fähigkeiten. Das kann durch gute Vorbilder gestärkt werden oder durch andere Formen des Empowerment, also Aktivitäten, die Menschen mit Behinderung ermutigen und befähigen, ihre Potenziale einzusetzen. Eine solche Maß-

nahme, die über kulturelle Grenzen hinweg funktioniert, ist das Peer-Counseling, also die Beratung von Menschen mit Behinderung durch Menschen mit Behinderung. Weiterhin ist es auch wichtig, die Vernetzung von DPOs untereinander zu fördern. Gerade kleinere DPOs, deren Organisationsaufbau noch nicht weit entwickelt ist, sind darauf angewiesen, Kenntnisse und Informationen auszutauschen. So können sie besser die hohen formalen Anforderungen internationaler Geber erfüllen, und werden auch eher von ihnen als mögliche Partner wahrgenommen.

Auch für die Mitarbeit an nationalen Armutsbekämpfungsstrategien (PRS-Prozesse), sind die DPOs auf eine gute Zusammenarbeit untereinander angewiesen. DPOs sind als Teil der Zivilbevölkerung in PRS-Prozessen zu beteiligen, um dort die Belange von Menschen mit Behinderung zu vertreten. Dies erfordert ein erhebliches Fachwissen, was gerade für kleinere DPOs eine Herausforderung darstellt.

Zusammenfassend kann festgehalten werden, dass die Zusammenarbeit mit DPOs in der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit stärker als bisher erfolgen sollte. Die UN-Konvention bietet mit dem darin enthaltenen Paradigmenwechsel von der Fürsorge zur selbstbestimmten Teilhabe den rechtlich verbindlichen Rahmen.

Auf der Tagung wurde aber auch deutlich, dass DPOs den gleichen Anforderungen partnerschaftlicher Beziehungen unterliegen, wie andere Nichtregierungsorganisationen auch. Dies erfordert eine differenzierte Unterstützung, die dem Organisationsgrad der DPO entsprechen sollte. Zur Stärkung der Zusammenarbeit mit DPOs wurden auf der Tagung die folgenden wesentlichen Empfehlungen erarbeitet:

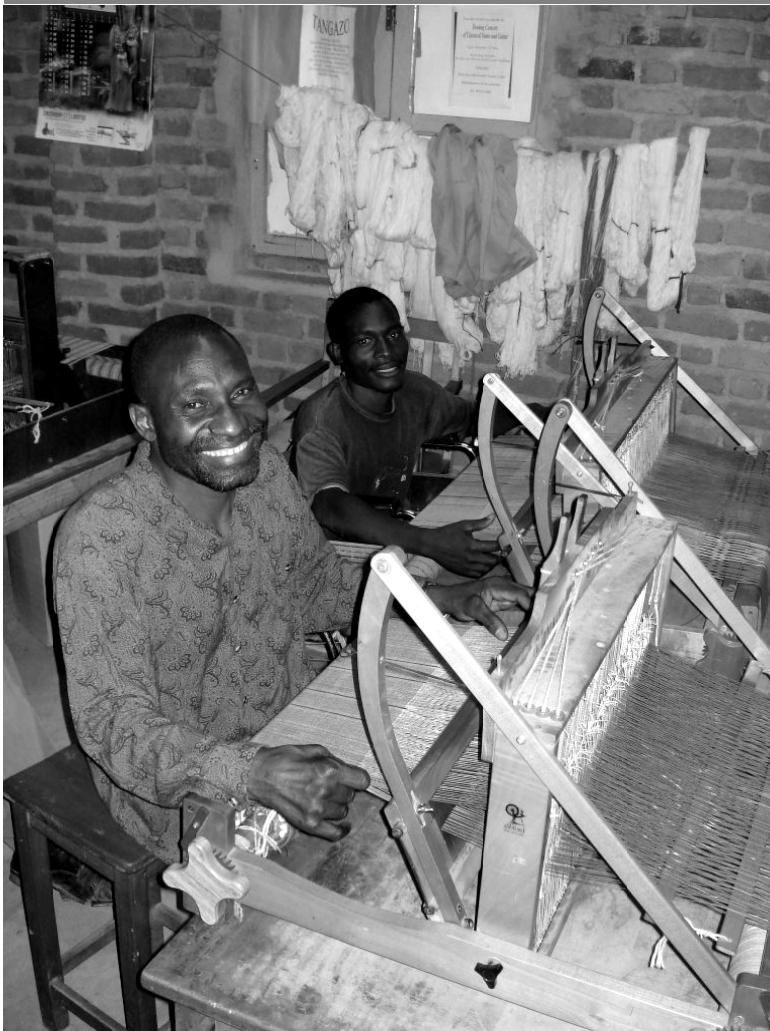
- (1) Organisationen, die FÜR Menschen mit Behinderung tätig sind, bleiben häufig beschränkt auf Programme der Wohlfahrt und Fürsorge. Deshalb werden eher Partnerschaften MIT Selbstvertretungsorganisationen empfohlen, um die Teilhabe von Menschen mit Behinderung zu gewährleisten.

- (2) Bei den DPOs das Gefühl von Ownership erzeugen, also Eigenleistung und eigene Beteiligung zu fordern, anstatt lediglich Mittel bereitzustellen. (3) Für eine nachhaltige Entwicklung ist es sinnvoller, einheimische MitarbeiterInnen (auch mit Behinderung) im Süden auszubilden, um langfristig unabhängiger von Experten aus dem Norden zu werden.

- (4) Menschen mit Behinderung stärker sichtbar machen, zum Beispiel, indem sie auf Veranstaltungen, in Öffentlichkeit und Medien auch als Sprecher auftreten. Nur so kann die Wahrnehmung von Behinderung in der Bevölkerung langfristig verändert werden. (5) Es braucht eigene Programme zur Förderung von Frauen mit Behinderung, da sie in vielen Ländern mehrfacher Diskriminierung ausgesetzt sind. (6) Menschen mit intellektuellen Beeinträchtigungen (auch geistig behinderte Menschen genannt) sind bei den DPOs kaum bis gar nicht vertreten. Um diese Gruppe mit einzubeziehen, sollten Informationsmaterialien auch in einfacher Sprache bereitgestellt werden.

- KOMMUNIKATION GLOBAL ■

\*Die Autorin ist freie Mitarbeiterin bei der Organisation 'Behinderung und Entwicklungszusammenarbeit' (bezev) mit Sitz in Essen.



Weber aus Iringa im Rollstuhl – Bild: Sarah McGregor | IPS

Weihnachtsdecoration und vieles mehr. Etwa die Hälfte der Produkte landet in den Regalen des Verkaufsraumes, der Rest wird über das Internet an Fairtrade-Läden in Deutschland, Großbritannien und den USA verkauft.

Seit August 2005 betreibt Neema auch ein Café. Dort werden Bestellungen aufgeschrieben oder in Gebärdensprache weitergegeben – wie, ist auf der Speisekarte skizziert. Wer einen Wunsch hat, muss einen Schalter betätigen, der in der Küche eine Lampe blinken lässt. Dort und auch als Bedienung arbeiten Hörgeschädigte.

Das Neema-Projekt begreift sich nicht als Wohltätigkeitsunternehmen. Es ist zwar auf Spenden angewiesen, finanziert sich aber auch über die eigenen Einnahmen. "Wir legen großen Wert auf die Qualität unserer Produkte und auf ein Design, das auf dem Markt ankommt", sagt Susie Hart, die Gründerin von Neema Crafts. "Wir wollen Käufer, die das, was sie erwerben, auch haben wollen, keine Kunden aus Mitleid. Das ist ein wichtiger Teil unserer Philosophie."

#### Teufelskreis aus Armut und Behinderung

In Tansania, wo 40 Prozent der Bevölkerung mit weniger als einem US-Dollar am Tag auskommen müssen und 80 Prozent der Menschen von der Subsistenzwirtschaft leben, haben es Behinderte sehr schwer. Weil es auf den ersten Blick so aussieht, als könnten sie keinen produktiven Beitrag zur Gesellschaft leisten, werden sie meist gering geschätzt.

Vielfach ist die Armut auch der eigentliche Grund für eine Behinderung. Gerade in Iringa, eine der besonders vernachlässigt Regionen des Landes, arbeiten selbst hoch schwangere Frauen schwer, sind schlecht ernährt und haben keine angemessene medizinische Betreuung während der Schwangerschaft und der Geburt. Viele Hirnschädigungen etwa sind auf Sauerstoffmangel bei der Geburt zurückzuführen. Weitere Probleme mit sich bringt die zerebrale Malaria, die das Gehirn schwer schädigt.

#### Auf der Suche nach neuen Märkten

Neema hat erst im Februar ein neues Gebäude einweihen können und würde gerne mehr Menschen beschäftigen und höhere Löhne zahlen. Dazu aber müssen neue Märkte erschlossen werden. "In diesem Jahr habe ich in einer Woche neun Hörgeschädigte wegschicken müssen, die gerne bei uns gearbeitet hätten", bedauert Hart. Das sei ihr unglaublich schwer gefallen.

Hezron Kyando, der seit einem Verkehrsunfall querschnittsgelähmt ist und drei Jahre nach dem Unglück bettlägerig war, aber konnte Hart übernehmen. Sein neues Haus ist bezahlt und sein Selbstwertgefühl wieder da. "Ich hatte schwere psychische Probleme nach dem Unfall", sagt Hezron. "Jetzt aber bin ich Weber. Ich stelle Tücher und Kissenbezüge her und bin sehr stolz auf meine Arbeit." - IPS EUROPA | KOMMUNIKATION GLOBAL ■

## Behinderte im Kunstgewerbe ganz groß

VON SARAH MCGREGOR IN IRINGA, TANSANIA

"Irgendwann nannten mich alle Matatizo. Das heißt Problem", sagt Joel Haule. Dieser Name klebte an dem seit seinem zweiten Lebensjahr gelähmten Tansanier, bis er zu 'Neema Crafts', einer kirchennahen Behindertenwerkstatt in Iringa in der Landsmitte, kam.

Für Joel fing mit der Aufnahme in die Werkstatt ein zweites Leben an. Über Jahre hatte der an den Rollstuhl gefesselte Mann vergeblich nach einem Job im tansanischen Hochland gesucht. Immer wieder musste er hören, er sei zu einer normalen Arbeit nicht in der Lage. Seit er für Neema tätig ist, weiß er, dass er seinen Unterhalt sehr wohl selbst verdienen kann.

#### Kein Appell an Mitleid

Seit 2003 gibt es die Werkstatt in Iringa, der Hauptstadt der gleichnamigen Verwaltungsregion im tansanischen Südwesten. Hinter dem Unternehmen steht die Überzeugung, dass auch Menschen mit Behinderung einer regulären Tätigkeit nachgehen können.

Zurzeit arbeiten 60 Menschen bei Neema. Viele waren zuvor zu einem Leben auf der Straße gezwungen. Heute produzieren sie Kuriositäten wie Papier oder Grußkarten aus Elfenbildung, aber auch Perlenstickerei, Webwaren aller Art, Bekleidung,

# 'Reise in das Herz des Feindes'

BETTINA GUTIERREZ SPRICHT MIT NAJIM WALI

*In Ihrem Buch 'Reise in das Herz des Feindes', in dem Sie von Ihrer Israelreise im Jahr 2007 berichten, sagen Sie, dass es sich bei dem Nahost-Konflikt nicht um einen Konflikt zwischen den Nationen, sondern um einen Kampf um die richtige Weltanschauung handelt.*

**Najem Wali:** Ja, mit zwei Weltanschauungen meine ich, dass wir auf dem arabischen Gebiet zwei Lager haben, ein nationales und ein linkes. Das linke Lager, damit meine ich die damalige kommunistische Partei, hat die Existenz Israels und deren Aufteilung akzeptiert, als die UN 1947 beschlossen hat, dass Israelis und Palästinenser in zwei verschiedene Staaten aufgeteilt werden können. Die Juden und die kommunistischen Araber haben das akzeptiert, aber die nationalistischen Kräfte haben dies abgelehnt. Und so ist 1948 der Krieg ausgebrochen. Den Preis für diese Ablehnung zahlen wir bis heute.

*Sie plädieren in Ihrem Buch für einen friedlichen jüdisch-arabischen Dialog. Als Beispiel hierfür führen Sie Haifa an.*

**Najem Wali:** Haifa ist in dieser Hinsicht einmalig, nicht nur heute. Auch früher, in den dreißiger Jahren, war Haifa die einzige Stadt, die mehr als fünfzehn Jahre lang einen arabischen Bürgermeister hatte, der auch mit den Stimmen der Juden gewählt worden war. Wenn man heute durch Haifa fährt, sieht man zweisprachige Straßenschilder, man sieht, dass Minderheiten verschiedener Religions- und Wirtschaftsgemeinden nebeneinander leben. In einigen Stadtvierteln sieht man zum Beispiel moslemische Araber, christliche Araber, Juden, Drunen und Bahaiten, die aus dem Iran kommen. Und auch Templaner, das sind die Urchristen, die vor und nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg aus Deutschland nach Haifa gekommen sind. Das heißt, diese Gemeinden habe es geschafft, friedlich miteinander zu leben, das finde ich bemerkenswert.

*Die Iraker, die in Israel leben, sind ebenfalls ein wichtiges Thema für Sie.*

**Najem Wali:** Die jüdischen Iraker spielten eine große Rolle bei der Gründung Israels. 1951 gab es die letzte Auswanderungswelle und Vertreibung der Juden aus dem Irak, wobei die jüdische Gemeinde im Irak eine der ältesten irakischen Gemeinden ist. Diese Gemeinde, die eine alte Geschichte hat, hat die irakische Kultur sehr stark geprägt.

Das bedeutet, dass ein großer Teil unserer irakischen Kultur gedanklich bei dieser jüdischen Gemeinde ist. Sie gehörte im Irak zur Elite, es waren Ingenieure, Ärzte, Lehrer, Richter, die ausgewandert sind. Mit ihrem Weggang hat der Irak viel verloren. Ihre Existenz war natürlich positiv für Israel, weil sie dabei geholfen hat, die israelische Gesellschaft und den Staat aufzubauen.

*Sie sagen "Israel ist wie ein großer Kibbuz" und sprechen in diesem Zusammenhang von der "Fabrik Israel".*

**Najem Wali:** Ich meine das im positiven Sinne, im Sinne der Kibbuz-Bewegung. Wenn man im Kibbuz lebt, gibt es nichts Privates, man führt eine Art gemeinsames soziales Leben. Nun leben wir in einer freien Marktwirtschaft und Israel hat sich als multikulturelle Gesellschaft an dem Kibbuz-Beispiel orientiert.

Wenn die Kibuze auseinanderfallen, könnte dies auch ein Zeichen dafür sein, dass Israel auseinanderfällt. Deshalb behält man die Kibuze bei, versucht sie zu modernisieren und der Zeit anzupassen. Somit muss sich auch die israelische Gesellschaft modernisieren und der Zeit anpassen.



*Wie sehen Sie, als Fazit Ihrer Reise, Israel und die Israelis?*

**Najem Wali:** Ich schätze bei den Israelis, vielleicht weil es ein junger Staat ist, dass sie immer zu neuen Ideen neigen, das ist kreativ. Ich habe in meinem Buch versucht, meinen Landsleuten dieses gesellschaftliche Modell vorzustellen, denn auch der Irak ist ein sehr junger Staat. Im Jahr 2003 haben wir wieder von vorne angefangen, alle Institutionen wurden neu gegründet. Ich wollte den Irakern diese Gesellschaft, in der Juden leben, die aus der ganzen Welt kommen und offen für neuen Ideen und eine Auseinandersetzung unter sich sind, zeigen, damit sie nicht immer denken, dass Israel ein Feind ist.

*Zum Schluss Ihres Buches sprechen Sie von einer "politischen Reise in das Herz des Feindes".*

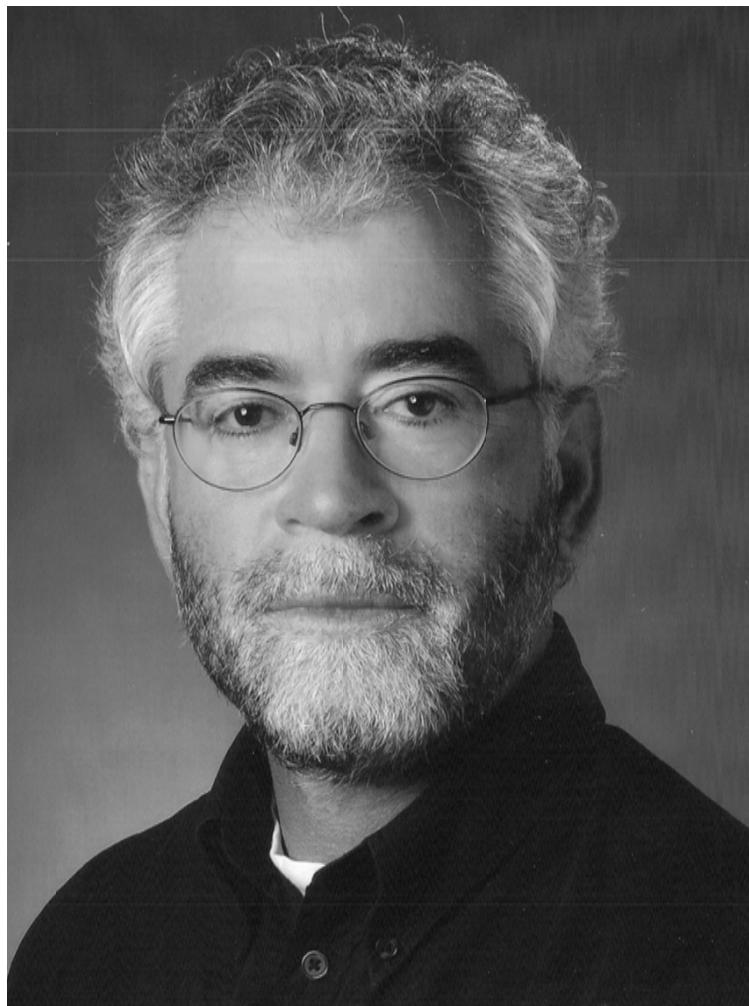
**Najem Wali:** Es ist auch ein politisches Buch. Ich wollte kein trockenes Buch schreiben, in dem es nur darum geht, wer der Feind oder Freund ist und wie viele Kriege oder Tote es auf beiden Seiten gibt. Ich wollte weg von der üblichen Nachrichtenberichterstattung und Propaganda. Es ist das erste Buch auf Arabisch, dass die israelische Gesellschaft darstellt und untersucht. Bei uns gibt es so ein Buch nicht, keiner von uns durfte etwas Positives über Israel berichten, man sollte Israel von vorneherein als Feind betrachten. Daher ist es kein politisches Buch im Sinne der Alltagspolitik. - KOMMUNIKATION GLOBAL ■

**Najem Wali, Reise in das Herz des Feindes. Ein Iraker in Israel, 240 Seiten, Hanser Verlag, München 2009**

## The Last Utopia

BY JULIO GODOY

Practically since its conception, in the late 1940s, "development" has remained a vague concept and has been seen as a catch-up industrialization process.



A swift revision of the numerous definitions of development used in the copious studies devoted to the theme since the 1940s leaves us with an ambiguous, ambitious idea:

The South Commission defined development as the "process which enables human beings to realize their potential, build confidence and lead lives of dignity and fulfilment."

It is a process which frees people from exploitation. It is a movement away from political, economic or social oppressions."

### Catch-up conception

The catch-up conception pretends to show us the way to get there: Poor countries, if only they follow the example set up by industrialized countries, will eventually get "developed".

If the first conception's only use is to envision an ideal, the second conception is purely nonsense. This is not an appropriate place to explain the multiple reasons why it is so.

But remember that most industrialized countries are also former colonial powers, and that practically all poor countries in the Southern hemisphere were colonies. ■

The South Commission defined development as the "process which enables human beings to realize their potential, build confidence and lead lives of dignity and fulfilment. It is a process which frees people from exploitation. It is a movement away from political, economic or social oppressions."

Not to mention the intricacy and tortuousness of historical processes. To mention one example: Conventional wisdom tends to forget that the formidable economic growth the U.S. reached during the 1940s and afterwards is directly attributable to World War II, which created an impressive demand for industrial goods, badly needed after the crisis of the 1930s.

Should poor countries engage in colossal wars to reach "development"?

Now that the world is facing, literally, a global crisis - global in several senses: financial, economic, but also social and environmental, reaching all corners of the planet - provoked by the way the industrialized countries' economies have functioned since decades, the mere idea that poor countries follow the "development" path taken by the former appears as what it always was: fundamentally wrong.

**Imagine if the People's Republic of China, India, and Brazil would have as much automobiles per capita, as the U.S. or Germany.**

China, without reaching the consumption levels of the U.S.A., has already become the largest emitter of greenhouse gases in absolute terms. Imagine global warming if China, India, and Brazil would follow the industrialized countries' path! Better not.

### A mantra

A mantra repeated recently in the industrialized countries is that efficiency is the key to reverse global warming trends. Yes, of course, efficiency is indeed necessary. But efficiency alone won't do the trick.

More radical actions are required, especially two: Renunciation and redistribution - at the end of the day, equal social justice is one of the highest objectives of development.

Human kind must learn to live without many goods and services it takes now for granted, if it really wants to conserve the planet as a suitable habitat.

It must also learn to share really essential goods, to avoid that the poorer suffer the most from renunciation. This is the last utopia we have to turn into reality, not only to conserve the planet but also to finally reach the equivocal and yet desirable goals of development. - GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES ■



## 25 Years North-South Dialogue 1983-2008



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### GLOBAL COOPERATION COUNCIL (Nord-Süd-Forum) e.V.

advocates dialogue for international understanding and interaction for change in the interest of a genuine worldwide cooperation. It was founded under the name "Nord-Süd-Forum" on February 25, 1983. The newly emerging world calls for a departure from the entrenched patterns of thinking. Instead of clinging on to enforcing military security, for example, there is need to help usher in global human security.

Precisely this is what the Global Cooperation Council endeavours. While serving as a platform for dialogue, it facilitates within the framework of HumAN Development Services - HANS - an exchange of practical experiences. Thereby we are supported by several institutions and organisations as well as committed individuals, on whom we could always rely since the inception of the North-South-Forum, the precursor of the Council.

Web address: [www.gc-council.org](http://www.gc-council.org)

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United Nations Regional Information Centre  
Résidence Palace | Rue de la Loi/Wetstraat 155  
Quartier Rubens, Block C2, 7th & 8th floor | 1040 Brussels, Belgium  
Tel.: +32 2 788 8462 | Fax: +32 2 788 8485

United Nations Regional Information Centre / Liaison Office in Germany  
UN Campus | Hermann-Ehlers- Str. 10 | 53111 Bonn, Germany  
Tel.: +49 228 81 5-2773/-2774 | Fax: +49 228 815-2777  
Website: [www.unric.org](http://www.unric.org)  
E-mail: [info@unric.org](mailto:info@unric.org)

