

# WARWICK GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT SOCIETY NEWSLETTER

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## From WGDS...

### Letter from the Editor

Dear All,

This is the second and final issue of the WGDS Newsletter this year. As in the last issue, it includes articles that attempt to tackle all things related to issues of globalisation and development, both directly (through the academic articles) and indirectly (through more personal accounts, interviews, and reviews of various talks and films).



Since this is the last edition, I would like to sincerely thank Professor Rai for all the effort she has put into making this happen as well as the support she has provided us throughout the year. I would also like to thank my editing team for bringing all the pieces of the newsletter together and finally all the students without whom this obviously wouldn't be possible.

Wishing everyone a great summer – whether it be spent at Warwick or abroad – and best of luck in what is to follow!

Samar Farah  
*Editor, WGDS Newsletter*

## Quotes:

*“All of life is interrelated. We are all caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied to a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly”*

*~Martin Luther King Jr.*

*“If something is sustainable, it means we can go on doing it indefinitely. If it isn't, we can't.”*

*~Jonathon Porritt*

*“Clothes make the man. Naked people have little or no influence on society.” ~Mark Twain*

*It is the absence of broad-based business activity, not its presence that condemns much of humanity to suffering. Indeed, what is utopian is the notion that poverty can be overcome without the active engagement of business.”*

*~Kofi Annan*

*I do not like this word "bomb." It is not a bomb. It is a device that is exploding.”*

*~Jacques le Blanc, French ambassador on nuclear weapons*



### SPICES

A wide selection of spices imported from Yemen are on display for sale at the annual festival of 'Global Village' in Dubai, U.A.E. This event runs throughout the month of January and includes everything from food, clothing and handicrafts to home accessories from all over the

world: a true example of globalisation.

submitted by Samar Farah



**Making a living...**

Ghanaian street vendors selling one-man-thousand (a type of fish) and various foods to travelers. Street vending is a common activity on major streets in Ghana, where anything from fruits/snacks to main meals are sold. For many of these young women, this is their main source of income.

*submitted by Elinam Adadevoh*



**Warwick Global Development Society Forum**

*The objective of the 2007 Forum was to build on the course work that the MA students had covered since October 2006, and to explore areas and topics that students believe to be of pressing concern in the fields of globalisation and development.*

## Academic Articles

### GEOGRAPHIES OF EXCLUSION AND POLITICS OF INCLUSION

~Professor Shirin Rai

Paper presented at the Round Table on *Race Based Exclusions in the Teaching of IR*, International Studies Association Conference, March 2007, Chicago

When we examine the geographies of exclusion we are simultaneously examining the politics of inclusion. The needs of metropolitan centres attract populations to it, but also contain and shape the inclusion. The ghettos of subalterneity that emerge tell us about both, the expanded needs of metropolitan power and its servicing by the subaltern other. And yet, the flourishings in the ghetto do challenge as well as serve the needs of the metropolis. The question then, following Spivak, is not only ‘can the subaltern speak’, but also ‘can the metropolis hear’?

The ‘hearing’ often takes form of illustrative engagements. The approach often lead to museum like displays of the exoticised other – teaching us about civilizations declined, peripheral but colourful examples of weakness in one or other form. This illustrative power holds sway in curricula through which metropolitan power teaches its own as well as the elites of emerging economies – both servicing the needs of the metropolis. When the day is done, the glass cabinets with their displays of decline can be locked away in darkened rooms, having created value in instruction as well as the fees charged for entry to the space of that instruction.

But what of the voices of the ghettos? Peripheral and contained perhaps, but also escaping and dis-

turbing the dominant flows of communications. Worried by all sorts of internal demons – accountability, authenticity, representation – engagement with the dominant flows of communication display post-colonial anxieties that don’t make for ‘easy listening’ of neat composition. The internal disturbance resonates in the fractured, sometimes tortured articulations of anger, but also in alternative visions of changing landscapes.

If this mapping of exclusion and inclusion resonates at all with the state of IR, then where do we go from here? Raising this question in the academy is in itself critical – what we teach, how we teach and who teaches are all questions that need repeated airing. However, if we accept the power of the metropolis as shaping our lives, then the answers to these questions will continue to reflect that power despite the challenges that the ghetto and the museum poses by their presence in the

metropolitan landscape. It is the political flourishings there that will continuously bring us back to the ‘how’ of both exclusion and inclusion. These dissident voices do this, as Ashley and Walker have suggested, through four strategies of dissidence:

- 1) Ambiguity rather than certainties
- 2) Struggle to create new spaces where we can think ‘other-wise’
3. Proliferation of many voices
4. Resist-Knowing – avoiding ‘paradigmatic conceit’\*

They do this because they crave not only interpretative autonomy but also a transformative politics that address both the exclusions and terms of inclusion in the teaching of IR.



\*Reading Dissidence/Writing the Discipline: Crisis and the Question of Sovereignty in International Studies, ISQ 34(1990).

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## GLOBAL GOVERNMENT: GLOBAL SCALE ACTION FOR GLOBAL SCALE PROBLEMS

~Calyn Shaw

In this article I would like to use the 2007 Reith Lectures by Jeffrey Sachs 'Bursting at the Seams' as backdrop for a larger argument, which I have been mulling over for the better part of four years.

This year's guest of the Reith Lectures, a series of annual BBC radio talks given by prominent intellectuals of the day, was Jeffrey Sachs - one of the world's leading development economists. He is the Director of the Earth Institute at Columbia University in New York and one of the architects of the UN's Millenniums Development Goals. However, Jeffrey Sachs is not uncontroversial, and even in the Reith Lectures he faced strong criticism for his beliefs. One of the most striking aspects of the 2007 Reith Lectures was Sachs' unapologetic optimism, his belief that we, as a human race, can and will do better in the future to meet the most pressing of world challenges which accompany globalisation. Following each of the five lectures, Sachs was challenged on his optimism. Audience members from London, Beijing, New York, and Edinburgh expressed skepticism about Sachs' arguments and pessimism about our overall capabilities as a race. However, Sachs thundered away unwaveringly that we can, and indeed must, overcome the reality that our world is 'bursting at the seams'. For Sachs:

*Our generation's unique challenge is learning to live peacefully and sustainably in an extraordinar-*

*ily crowded world. Our planet is crowded to an unprecedented degree. It is bursting at the seams. It's bursting at the seams in human terms, in economic terms, and in ecological terms. This is our greatest challenge: learning to live in a crowded and interconnected world that is creating unprecedented pressures on human society and on the physical environment.*

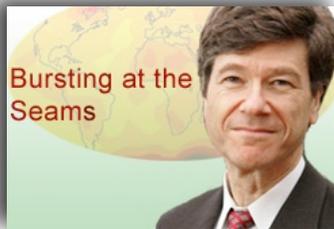
The solution Sachs offers is not complex and it is most definitely attainable. What Sachs advocates is cooperation in the form of global scale action for global scale challenges. According to each of

the lectures this global cooperation will emerge from the recognition of shared goals and accountability and will be facilitated by empowered local solutions. Sachs argues that:

*The way of solving problems requires one fundamental change, a big one, and that is learning that the challenges of*

*our generation are not us versus them, they are not us versus Islam, us versus the terrorists, us versus Iran, they are us, all of us together on this planet against a set of shared and increasingly urgent problems. By understanding those problems, understanding them at their depth, understanding what we share with every part of this world in the need to face these challenges, we can find peace. But we are living in a cloud of confusion, where we have been told that the greatest challenge on the planet is us versus them, a throw-back to a tribalism that we must escape for our own survival.*

This is not idealism but the logical rejection of the pervasive dichotomies of 'us' versus 'them', which currently plague international politics. Furthermore, Sachs replaces this destructive reliance on exceptionalism by postulating more important dichotomies such as a collective global 'us' versus environmental crisis, or 'us' versus poverty. Why is this so important? Is it important because, not only was it said by a famous person in front of a famous audience, but because it is politically profound. The rejection of exceptionalism, the rejection of 'us' versus 'them', and the argument for the collective 'us' versus common global 'enemies' is a call for the unification of mankind not under empire but against what he outlines as three global challenges. Using his argument these



challenges can, and should, become global unifiers.

Sachs identifies the three common problems we face moving forward in the 21st century as: (a) the Anthropocene, which is the idea that for the first time in history the physical systems of the planet -- chemical fluxes, the climate, habitats, biodiversity, evolutionary processes -- are to an incredible and unrecognised extent under human forces that now dominate a large measure of the most central ecological, chemical and biophysical processes on the planet; (b) the challenge of geo-politics, a challenge that Sachs calls the Age of Convergence, which is marked by a fundamental shift of economic power, and the political power that goes along with it; and (c) the challenge of the weakest links, which is the acknowledgement that in an interconnected world, all parts of the world are affected by what happens in all other parts of the world, and sometimes surprisingly so. Sachs explains that:

*In an interconnected world we have great need and basic responsibility, for our own survival, to attend to the weakest links. By that I mean those places in the world that suffer; those places in the world where people die because they are too poor to stay alive, those parts of the world which -- by virtue of physical geography, epidemiology, climate stress, rain-fed agriculture and drought-prone savannah climates for example -- face horrific challenges to even get onto the ladder of development.*

Political scientists should be acutely aware of the importance of what underlies these arguments. The ability to define the exceptions, to decide the parameters of the inside/outside dichotomy has in the past been within the purview of states. Carl Schmitt famously argued that, "Sovereign is he who decides on the state of exception." And for this reason, sovereignty and thus legitimacy in the realm of international action lies predominantly with sovereign nation states. Sachs, however, makes the 'outside' common global enemies such as environmental destruction and poverty, as opposed to other states, people, or religions, and this is fundamentally important.

Why some challenge Sachs as 'pie in the sky' idealism is precisely because they are focused on the failures of the current international structures and institutions based on old outdated notions of exceptionalism. Acknowledging, as Sachs has, the flaw of this type of thinking is important, but trying to move beyond it is extremely challenging. The process of 'othering', of framing the world as 'us' against 'them' or 'good' versus 'evil' continues to play a significant role in how global institutions conduct themselves. As a result, what are needed now to address these challenges and put Sachs' vision into practice are the suitable institutions and structures (the proper global constitution).

To reiterate the main argument of Sachs: the world can rid itself of disease, poverty and pollution through cooperation. Global problems can only be solved with global public understanding. Even the deepest skepticism, it seems, is about our very ability to cooperate, not about technical solutions to our most challenging problems. But to believe that global cooperation is beyond our capacity is a dangerous, defeatist belief. It leads to the conclusion that war is inevitable -- that mankind is doomed -- and we are gripped by forces that we cannot control. Sachs rejects this pessimism using the words of John F. Kennedy:

*For in the final analysis, our most basic common link is that we all inhabit this small planet, we breathe the same air. We all cherish our children's future. And we are all mortal.*

There is of course precedence, or at least groundwork, for stronger global cooperation. Over the past fifteen years world governments have engaged with each other to set global goals in three vital areas: protecting the environment, fighting the spread of nuclear weapons, and tackling poverty. There have been six specific agreements regarding these three key areas. Three emerged from the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio -- agreements to (a) fight climate change, (b) address the loss of biodiversity, and (c) fight deser-

tification. Two treaties were signed in the mid-1990s, which banned nuclear weapons. And the sixth specific global agreement was the Millennium Development Goals signed in 2000. These six promises are what Sachs calls the Millennium promises, and his proposal is that we should pursue global cooperation by fulfilling these promises. These must, according to Sachs, act as our compass. In this age of complexity, they should enable us to steer our most basic task of holding our governments, societies and individuals accountable to these mutual commitments. As such, each agreement should become a basic feature of good global governance.

The flaw in Sachs' argument is that he completely rejects the notion, or even the possibility, of global government. He fears the problems associated with big bureaucracy and as a result advocates strongly for local solutions, fostering a belief that global cooperation will manifest itself out of necessity. While much of the Reith Lectures are absolutely inspiring, this argument in the final lecture, which was titled: 'Global Politics in a Complex Age', seems entirely counterintuitive. It appears far more logical that global scale action for global scale problems would be best facilitated by a global governance mechanism, which would have global authority and would be democratically legitimate. One of the major problems at the global level is that we lack adequate institutions of global governance with the authority and enforcement power to provide public goods. Instead, we have anarchy and consequently weak incentives to supply public goods and strong incentives to 'free ride' and renege on international agreements. What is needed is international innovation that combines jurisdictional authority in the provision of collective goods with democratic decision-making that would give the authority political legitimacy.

Like law and order within states, the global security, conflict resolution and peace that Sachs discussed is a public good and should be placed under international leadership, not left to an indi-

vidual state or even to a coalition of states to act as policemen of the world. Much of the opposition to globalization arises because ordinary people have little control over the global forces, which shape their lives. At the national level, democratic institutions can temper market forces, maintain social order, supply public goods and bestow legitimacy on the rules, which enforce the implicit social contract. In order for Sachs' vision of collective global action supported by effective global governance to be turned into a reality, similar institutions must be created at the global level.

The logical argument here, which I alluded to at the beginning of this article, is to create a global government. The policy changes and strategies that Sachs supports, and I completely agree with, require global strategies that can only be implemented by institutions of global governance. These, in turn, require that states relinquish some of their sovereignty to global institutions and that these new institutions be organized on democratic principles in order to ensure their legitimacy and effectiveness. The question should not be whether or not global government can play a positive role in promoting collective global action against global scale problems. The key question that must be posed is how can we facilitate the development of a global government?

*Calyn Shaw is a Postgraduate student, currently studying Globalisation & Development at the University of Warwick.*



## THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF REGIONALISM: A CASE STUDY OF MERCOSUR

~Ramiro Lopez-Ghio

MERCOSUR, which in Spanish means Southern Common Market is a regional trade agreement that was founded in 1991 by Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay and Venezuela. The first four countries joined the block from the beginning, whereas Venezuela joined it in 2006. Its purpose is to promote free trade and the fluid movement of goods, people, and currency.

The origins of MERCOSUR can be found in the bilateral cooperation agreements between Argentina and Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay, and Brazil and Uruguay of the 1980s. These institutional instruments established a precedent in the region since Brazil and Argentina did not follow the politics of integration and for many years were in conflict with bordering countries. (Klom, 2003)



Brazil and Argentina saw cooperation based on agreements as a way to strengthen their fledging democracies and as a tool to increase their exports to overcome the external economic restric-



tions placed on them. As Cason (2000) states, the new governments in both countries reasoned that if they tied themselves more closely to each others' economies, a renewal of traditional disputes and conflicts would be less likely. In that sense, MERCOSUR was a tool for consolidating democracy in the region.

The aim of the block was to enhance "economic development with social justice". In its core there were two important ideas: the utilisation of open regionalism to bring economic prosperity and the political significance of the block as a "joint proposal for the shared development of these South American nations" (Peña, 1995).

The MERCOSUR's boom is linked with the increase of intra-block trade. Between 1995 and 1999, the participation in MERCOSUR as a foreign market for its members' exports (intra-MERCOSUR exports) grew from 20.4 percent to 25.14 percent. As intra-trade exports in MERCOSUR grew, the three smallest economies of the block benefited the most due to the access to Brazil's huge market. In the case of Argentina, this proportion increased from 28 to 35.6 per cent during these years (CEI).

More than fifteen years after its launch, MERCOSUR is in a stagnant position. After an initial phase of dynamism in the elimination of tariffs, no substantial advancements have taken place on the institutional front of the block. Although MERCOSUR had been conceived as a founda-

tion for the "deep integration" of its members, it has been characterized by the total absence of mechanisms and policies oriented towards finding solutions to the structural asymmetries. Therefore, MERCOSUR is now facing a crisis of credibility and there are several doubts about the relevance of its objectives (Bouzas, 2004).

One of the biggest challenges MERCOSUR faces is to overcome to its institutional deficit. In particular, in order to develop a strong block, members must subordinate autonomy to build up more solid institutions. However, it is unlikely that Brazil will subordinate its political agenda to the integration process and open its doors to community rules and supranational institutions. If Brazil will continue perceiving MERCOSUR as a political tool to enlarge its bargaining power in the international trade arena –something that it can reach with the current scheme- the incentives to develop such institutions and lose some degree of freedom in domestic policies are minimal. On the other hand, without solid institutions it is highly probable that MERCOSUR will remain fluctuating within these cycles of prosperity and crisis since it will rely on the agenda of the governments that are most prominent at the moment.

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## Personal Reflections

### Is Poverty the Main Cause of Security Issues?

~Judy Chih Lin

After taking Security Studies for twenty weeks, it appeared that poverty was the main cause of most non-traditional security issues. The causes of terrorism are often associated to negative impacts of globalization and modernization such as uneven distribution of resources. For example, poverty is likely to fuel ethnic conflicts and cause health security issues such as those relating to AIDS, which require investment from developed nations to prevent and stop the pandemic in Africa. Furthermore, the root causes behind transnational criminal activities such as narco-trafficking, proliferation of small arms, human trafficking and human smuggling are also related to poverty. This leads to the question of whether poverty is the main cause of problems in the world or whether it is an excuse used by states for their poor performance in delivering public goods and services to their people when real problems may be due to ineffectual governance.

Imagine an ideal world where the Millennium Development Goals are actually achieved and poverty no longer exists. Would all current security issues associated with poverty cease to exist? Or would these problems remain unresolved? I believe that the reduction of poverty will significantly reduce such issues, but it will not be able to completely eradicate these problems. Poverty may be a main cause in most security issues, but it is very likely that most of the security issues associated with poverty will remain. Not all non-traditional security issues associated with poverty are problems associated to uneven distribution of wealth. For instance, poverty and lack of job opportunities in the Middle East might make it easier for terrorist groups to recruit followers, but it is not the only cause behind support of Jihad or

religious terrorism. Public support of terrorism in many cases can be related to the clash of political ideals, and lack of understanding and respect for different cultures. This has resulted into stereotyping and intolerance of Islam, which has arguably led to the US intervention in other countries' domestic matters. The main cause of terrorism is also associated to the world order and the structure of the international system and not just poverty alone.



Prevention of transnational crimes needs more than just aid or investment from developed nations. Developed nations can provide crucial resources and technical support to combat these issues, but in the end it all comes down to the will of governments to implement measures, protocols and use resources wisely. The prevention of transnational crime requires states to create stricter law enforcement measures and create more comprehensive multilateral agreements on how to deal with the extradition of transnational criminals. Furthermore, political instability and corruption is always a problem that makes it rather difficult to ensure that resources will be going to the right places and not into the pockets of elites or corrupt government officials. With regards to human trafficking and narco-trafficking, as long as there is a market that reaps high benefits such as from the selling of drugs or people into prostitution and as slaves for hard labour, it is likely that such criminal activities will continue especially with narco-trafficking.

The eradication of poverty may significantly diminish some of the current challenges to security such as the spread of the AIDS epidemic, but it will take more than that to resolve all security issues. Development is often defined in terms of material wealth that might encourage corruption among elites. This is because development is often associated with neo-liberal thought. For instance the economic well being of states is measured in terms of GDP, GNP, purchasing parity, and a comparison between baskets of goods. This creates the insatiable desire for material goods, which is a problematic image that developed nations are imposing on developing ones. During the period of industrialization developed nations were able to exploit the environment and labour to acquire their current status in regards to development, while developing nations were unable to. If all nations followed this model sustainable development might as well be a myth. Perhaps it is best to rethink development by striving towards specifically designed models of development for different states rather than imposing a general model of development on all states.



It is convenient to say that poverty is the root cause of all global problems, but it should not be used as a general explanation for all security problems. Understanding and respect for different cultures is needed to resolve security issues

such as terrorism. Developed nations can be responsible and helpful only to a certain extent, but crucial problems such as corruption that hinder flow of resources to resolve the right issues require internal reforms within states. In the end, it is the developing states themselves that must go through a painful process of change to achieve the living standards they aspire. This implies that the idea of development will vary between states and should not be a universal concept

*Judy Chih Lin is a Postgraduate student, currently studying International Relations at the University of Warwick*

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## INTERVIEW WITH JON ELMER: THE REALITY OF THE OCCUPATION

~Samar Farah

*This year, 2007, marks the 40<sup>th</sup> year of Israeli occupation of Palestine. I caught up with Jon Elmer, a young Canadian photojournalist, who has worked in the Middle East and particularly in the Occupied Territories for the past four years. Having recently returned from Lebanon and Gaza, Jon has offered to share some insight into the intensity of the occupation and its effects on the day to day lives of people living under it; something that tends to be neglected in popular media today.*

**Q:** In 2005, Israel pulled out of Gaza as part of its 'Disengagement Plan,' arguing that it was a step taken by Israel towards peace. After having been there during that process and then again this year, what do you have to say about any changes that have taken place in Gaza since then, particularly with respect to the socioeconomic conditions?

**Jon:** By all accounts, the situation has declined significantly since Israel sealed off Gaza in the summer of 2005, and particularly since the sanc-

tions regime imposed in early 2006 after the Palestinians elected Hamas. Human security does not exist in Gaza – 1.1 of 1.4 million Gazans are dependent on UN food assistance for survival on a day-to-day basis.

According to the official “Disengagement Plan” passed by Israel’s Knesset, the move was intended to “dispel claims regarding Israel’s responsibility for the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip.” However, Israel’s legal relationship with the occupied Palestinians is not one of responsibility; it is one of legal obligation. The removal of settlers and the “redeployment” of the military from Gaza in 2005 did not end the occupation of Gaza – it worsened it. Israel remains in absolute control of the border crossings, the sea, the airspace; it prohibits entry and exit of civilian travel, comprehensively obstructs trade and export while Israeli military operations have continued in Gaza with a startling pattern of regularity.

*Al-Arqam Boys School, Gaza City | Jon Elmer 2005*



**Q:** It has been argued that the corruption within the Palestinian Authority, particularly of the Fatah leadership, led to the election of Hamas in 2005, but since then we have seen fierce internal clashes between the two factions. How serious do you view these problems to be, and what consequences do you think they have on maintaining cohesive authority as part of the newly created unity government?

**Jon:** The factional strife is serious and the lack of authority and leadership is a crisis for the Palestinian struggle. The most influential Palestinian leadership has been assassinated or imprisoned by Israel and the civil society institutions have been gutted and destroyed, particularly since the intifada began in 2000. The US and Israel are further inflaming the discord by backing anti-government Fatah forces. Under these conditions, implementing and maintaining the unity government will be an enormous challenge.

**Q:** The topic of media representation of the conflict is a major point of contestation; what, in your opinion, are some of the untrue yet prevalent beliefs about the conflict that are presented in the West, due to media misrepresentation? And what role does politics play into that?

**Jon:** The media representation of the Israel-Palestine conflict tends to over-emphasize abstract political issues like diplomacy and domestic politics while systematically under-emphasizing the daily reality of the conflict – namely, the grinding occupation and its human consequences. The checkpoints, the Wall, the constant Israeli military incursions, the expanding political prisoner population, the purposeful devastation of the economy through restrictions on movement – these are the issues that define Palestinian reality in the West Bank and Gaza. Stories about human suffering do appear in the corporate media from time to time, but generally only in isolation – not as the perfectly predictable result of Israel’s military occupation.



*Rafah, Gaza Strip | Jon Elmer 2003*

**Q:** Suicide bombing is another issue that has been incessantly debated. Many people argue that they do not support the plight of the Palestinians because they terrorise the Israelis by performing suicide bombings, which have clearly been targeting Israeli civilians. Can you comment on this issue?

**Jon:** Rather than the gruesome calculus of evaluating methods used to kill civilians (is a 10-kg bomb on a bus more offensive than a one-tonne bomb dropped from an F16 on to a packed apartment complex?), it would be better to be concerned about the scale of the attacks and the impunity with which they occur. During the intifada, Israel killed Palestinian civilians at a rate of well over 5:1; in 2006, the death toll was 683 Palestinians and 17 Israelis.

**Q:** Israel has been building a Wall that is on average 60m wide and 8m high surrounding Israel, but that is also cutting through many areas of the West Bank. In July 2004, the International Court of Justice ruled that this wall is illegal, calling for it to be dismantled. However, the Israeli government argues that it must be built to provide security for its citizens from Palestinian terrorists, and therefore, no action has been taken to implement this ruling. From what you’ve seen, what can you say about the reality on the ground?

**Jon:** The 700-km Wall is almost entirely built in the Palestinian West Bank. It doesn’t surround Israel, it surrounds the Palestinians. It seals the West Bank Palestinian population centres into ghettos completely surrounded by Israel (Gaza was walled-off in the early 1990s). It is designed to bring the maximum number of Israeli settlers/settlements into Israel – more than 80% of the 400,000 illegal settlers in the West Bank and East Jerusalem. The Wall confirms the kind of “state” that Israel is preparing for the Palestinians.



*Dividing Abu Dis and Jerusalem | Jon Elmer 2005*

*I would like to thank Jon Elmer for taking the time to share his thoughts and experiences with WGDS. For more articles and photos by Jon Elmer, please see: [www.jonelmer.ca](http://www.jonelmer.ca)*

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## **PAMOJA: A NEW GENERATION OF LEADERS FOR A NEW AFRICA**

~ Elinam Adadevoh

From December 28th 2006 to January 3rd 2007 a great historical event occurred. The dream of Campus Crusade for Christ International was made real when about 2,300 Christian students and young professionals from 37 African countries gathered at Kabarak University in Nakuru Kenya. At the Pamoja (together) Africa conference, the delegates were challenged through plenary talks and seminars with the message that the time for Africa to take its rightful position as a leader in the world is now. The seminars touched on diverse issues such as: mentoring; HIV/AIDS; counselling skills; African youth and Westernisation; preparing for marriage; improving your family economically; power and authority; media in missions; developing a vision and mission for your life; and personal financial management. The plenary speakers were Rev. Dr. Delanyo Adadevoh, Mr. Henri Aoun, Mr. Bekele Shanko, Dr. Tokunboh Adeyemo, Rev. Munengi Mulandi and Dr. Lois Semenyé. The conference was a wake up call to all the delegates that 'it is time for Africa to arise and shine.' Africa is in a desperate situation. Even after independence, the continent is still being called a Dark Continent plagued with several problems. Africa is impoverished. HIV is destroying the future of the continent. Everyday 6,000 people in Africa die of AIDS. Corruption costs Africa 150 billion dollars a year. This need not be the case.

The truth is Africa is not a Dark Continent. As correctly stated by Dr. Tokunboh Adeyemo, it is a continent of spiritual dynamism and fervency. A continent blessed with beauty, human resources and natural resources. Botswana, Angola and the

Democratic Republic of Congo rank amongst the leading producers of diamonds. Ghana and Ivory Coast are among the top producers of cocoa in the world. Currently Nigeria produces 3.5 million barrels of oil a day. Cameroon and Madagascar have the greatest potential for hydroelectric power in the world. Africa is rich. It has unbelievable potential and riches that need to be mobilized. Africans cannot continue to live with their arms stretched out. After all, most, if not all of the external solutions designed to solve Africa's problems have failed. It is time for Africans to take their stand on developing their continent. It is time to change the current position of Africa.



Mr. Bekele Shanko posed the question: how can several of the leaders in the most corrupt African countries claim to be Christians? Indeed he is right. If one claims to be a Christian, it must affect all areas of life – in politics, in economics and in everyday relations with people. The new generation of leaders need to be Africans who hate mediocrity and corruption. The transformation of Africa requires leaders who love Jesus Christ – leaders committed to excellence and integrity. Africa will be changed if Africans live by example and become model politicians, economists, business people and so on. We must all live as examples of transformed leaders of integrity. Mr. Ben Ecklu noted that partnership is a

major key to successful development in Africa. All Africans must join hands. Africans cannot continue to topple others we see succeeding. Mr. Ecklu noted that we must live by the principle of 'live and let live.' A Ghanaian proverb says, 'One stick cannot roof a house, neither can one broomstick sweep effectively.' Rev. Dr. Delanyo Adadevoh stated that it is important that women are fully incorporated into the process of leading transformation in Africa; for 'leadership that is not engendered will be endangered.'

Who will develop Africa? I call on all my African brothers and sisters to join in the movement to develop our continent. Stand up, Arise and Shine! When you and I stand up for Christian values of selfless love, integrity and excellence in leadership, Africa will be transformed. Will you be a leader for the new generation of Africa?



This conference was not all just serious talk. There were also fun times of sports, shopping, and an exciting New Years Eve celebration of dancing, singing and modelling. For me, the major highlight of the conference was when the former President of Kenya, His Excellency Daniel Toroitich arap Moi welcomed us to his University and briefly encouraged us to commit ourselves to the development of our continent. I extend my greatest gratitude to all the speakers and organisers of the Pamoja Africa conference.

Attending this conference has challenged me. It has changed my worldview. It has changed my life. I strongly believe that it is from this event and many others like it geared towards the youth that the world will see a drastic transformation of Africa. Pamoja Africa! Together building a new Africa!

*Elinam Adadevoh is a Postgraduate student, currently studying International Relations at the University of Warwick.*

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### **LONDON INTERNATIONAL MODEL UNITED NATIONS 2007: A REPORT ON THE SOCIAL HUMANITARIAN AND CULTURAL COMMITTEE**

*~ Natasha Doyle-Bridgewater*

The eighth annual session of the London International Model United Nations (LIMUN) was held at Imperial College in London. Over three days, each representative became a diplomat of state and entered a simulated world of international diplomacy and multilateral negotiations.

For the thirty something delegates from the University of Warwick University it was truly awe-inspiring and exhilarating experience, where friends were made and knowledge was gained.

The University of Warwick was assigned the countries of Oman and South Africa. As the representative of Oman, our committee was faced with the option of debating "Human Rights in Zimbabwe" or "Human Trafficking". Delegates chose the former, having recognised that the primacy of international human rights law stems from the United Nations Charter, alongside the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Delegates from Zimbabwe and the United States played key roles in shaping the course of the debate as their discussions engaged the attention of all members.



*Warwick Delegates at the 2007 LIMUN*

The key question was whether “the Zimbabwean government had committed any human rights infringement”. Throughout the weekend strategic alliances were formed in an effort to pass a committee resolution. Though the committee found itself at odds, it was agreed that the Universal Declaration on Human Rights was in fact part and parcel of international law and should be viewed as binding *erga omnes* (that all states have a vested interest in the protection of such rights). Various draft resolutions were put forward, which included calls for the removal of sanctions in an effort to alleviate rising poverty. Unfortunately time elapsed and no formal resolution was agreed upon

The committee was privileged to have had Mr Franco from Amnesty International as a guest speaker. He gave an analysis of Human Rights Violations (H.R.V) in Zimbabwe since 2000. Mr. Franco gave a detailed analysis of the following:

- Significance of the Zimbabwean crisis from an African perspective
- An assessment of African government reaction to the crises, especially the African Union (A.U)
- Implications for Human Rights in Africa.

Today’s crisis in Africa arose as a consequence of corruption, economic instability, civil war and the existing tensions between civil society and the state. In Zimbabwe, the question of land was not

the crux of the problem, rather it was the need for change and the lack of solutions to effect change in the country. The escalation in H.R.V took place against a backdrop of severe economic decline (with inflation figures at 1600%) and acute food shortages. Furthermore the actions of the current government have served to exacerbate the problems in the country as the country’s president in a 2000 Referendum offered farmland previously owned by white Zimbabweans to supporters in exchange for continued rule. The failed referendum signaled the growing strength of the opposition in the country, as well as the initiation of a crackdown on what the government considered to be dissidents and ‘stooges’ of a neo-colonialist era.

Accordingly, Mr. Franco was of the belief that the A.U could play a crucial role in the commencement of reform, in addition to restraining the actions of the government of Zimbabwe.

Victory does not give a government the right to trample on its citizens. As such the A.U must recognise that protection of human rights cannot necessarily rely on the voluntary restraint of the government.

*Natasha Doyle-Bridgewater is a Postgraduate student, currently studying Globalisation & Development at the University of Warwick.*

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## **GLOBALISATION AND DEVELOPMENT: A PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE**

*~ Peter Ptashko*

When considering what to write this time round for the newsletter I thought it important to try and make a uniquely personal contribution, but also something that itself reflected on the course, and the way it has impacted on me as a student, and individual. So, after the culmination of some strong consideration, not a little amount of soul-searching and some very happy remembrances, I’ve come up with what follows. I hope you gain

as much satisfaction in reading it as I have in writing it.

The structure of the Globalisation and Development course meant that initially we examined the key theories behind 'Development'. From a personal standpoint this was not the most interesting time of the course as I prefer to look at the most pressing, practical issues that are affecting our world now, but this was obviously necessary in providing the structure behind the way we can address and hopefully tackle these problems. Most importantly, from a selfish perspective, this time provided a chance for me to get to know my classmates, and Professor Rai, more closely. This was also the time at which I put my personal experience of having lived and studied at Warwick University for three years to use – becoming involved in and supporting Warwick's Globalisation and Development Society, headed by Calyn and Samar (your editor), very good friends of mine. I've tried to provide friendly advice and support as much as possible in their academic talks and also through organising various social events.

As the year continued, we began to tackle such fascinating issues as Third World Debt, Social Capital, Transnational Production and Ecological Degradation – the last being an area of personal interest in particular. They have helped us to position the concepts we have looked at into specific modern issues, problems and situations, while also being some of the most pressing in the world today. While I was very sadly absent for part of the second term in my work for our Students' Union, the feel of the structure of the course had by now become readily apparent. Detailed and engaging presentations followed by typically informed, productively argumentative, discussions have enabled all of us on this course

to gain a proper understanding of each topic covered.

The end of the course brought the two separate groups of students, which the course had been split into, together for a 'Global Forum' – a wide-ranging and ambitious discussion of key global developmental issues. Its ambition was very much matched by its delivery. Panels on Trade, Security, the Environment and AIDS were delivered with critical and lively discussion following each of them. Everyone was able to fully engage with all the issues and, on a personal level, I felt like I was part of a wider process at the heart of addressing these issues in the longer term – surrounded by some of the people who will ultimately be charged with doing so. I was given the privilege of chairing the panel on Environmental Degradation, which analysed its many facets, and offered some frank analysis and options for the future – something that was incredibly interesting and informative for the panel, all the participants, and especially myself. The closing social and cultural event helped round off the day in a light and entertaining manner.

*WGDS Global Forum 2007, Panel on Environmental Degradation*



As I reflect on the year, though it is still not yet over, I think of the people I've shared it with, the things I've learnt and the experience I've taken with me. I want to thank everyone on my course, with several notable people who stand out and know who they are for their energy, enthusiasm, good humour and vast knowledge, which has

helped propel me through a very challenging year in many ways.

I'd also like to thank Professors Pirie and Rai, for their time, commitment, drive and passion which has made this course the fascinating and stand-out MA experience that it truly is. Thank you all, and good luck for the future.

*Peter Ptashko is a Postgraduate student, currently studying Globalisation & Development at the University of Warwick. He is also the WGDS Social Secretary.*

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## WHAT NEXT? MOVING INTO THE PROFESSIONAL WORLD

~ Joerg Wiegatz

*In 2003 Joerg Wiegatz completed his Master's degree at the University of Warwick in International Political Economy (IPE). After graduating, he interned at UNIDO, a UN agency, and has since moved to Uganda where he now works as a researcher, consultant and lecturer. In this piece, Joerg shares some interesting experiences and advice with us, the future graduates.*

My post-University experience to date is linked to exploring matters of production and trade within a development context, with a particular focus on Africa/Uganda in the later phase. When I was about halfway through the MA year in Warwick, I got approval for some funding (from the German government) for an internship at an international organization. I submitted online applications for a number of these and was accepted by UNIDO (UN Industrial Development Organization), at the headquarters in Vienna. I considered UNIDO because of my interest then in exploring issues of economic development (in particular industrial production) on the one hand and international cooperation and the work of the UN on the other.

I worked as an intern with the UNIDO Strategic Research and Economics Branch for about seven months, directly under the supervision of the Branch's Director. The activities I was involved in included: desk research and analysis of issues of the global industry in particular, trends in industrial production as well as policies and strategies for industrial development including concepts of industrial competitiveness and governance. I also became familiar with the Global Value Chains (GVCs) approach, which is being promoted by UNIDO's research and technical assistance activities. At that time, I started to feel that the GVC approach could be useful for the study of global production issues (including within an IPE framework). It is at this internship placement that I cultivated my current area of research interest (GVCs, industrial competitiveness); since then, I have managed to explore the topic further while in Uganda.



The internship gave me insights into the activities that take place at a UN headquarters (in this case UNIDO's HQ). This was very good exposure, especially at an early stage of a career. It allowed me to get a feeling for the operations as well as strengths and weaknesses of this arm of international cooperation and the aid industry in general. It further helped relating with and learning from some senior UN officials, for instance regarding their experience, views, work methods and ethics etc. They know the development scene and institutions well. Notably, some of my closest senior colleagues retired within two years after I ended my internship. I am grateful for having had the chance to work with them.

After the internship, I was assigned by a UNIDO colleague to work on a project in Uganda [1]: Here I was a consultant on industrial competitiveness in the Department of Industry and Tech-

nology in the Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry (MTTI). I supported the department's activities in terms of research and analysis, and contributed - as the local focal point of a larger team of local and international consultants - to the MTTI/UNIDO reports for Uganda on industrial competitiveness, industrial human resource development and industrial policy (not yet published). The assignment allowed me to study over a longer period the development issues in Uganda, and work with (thus learn about) different actors such as government officials, bureaucrats, representatives of donors, NGOs or business associations, development practitioners, firm managers, academics etc. Indeed, the time spent with UNIDO in Uganda and the headquarters gave me a better feel for the actual size of the problem at hand in terms of: (i) economic and social development in a country such as Uganda and (ii) the politics, bureaucracy and results of international cooperation; in both theoretical and practical terms. This personal learning process is ongoing – it has been almost three years since I have started working in Uganda.



Although the UNIDO assignment in Uganda eventually ended after a period of 16 months, to date, I still engage with some Ministry colleagues and follow some of the respective processes and

debates from a close distance. As a result, I have gotten a feel for the cycles and up- and down-sides of projects and other initiatives. Answering the question on how it is to work in the UN could take several pages; indeed, you could study the interventions, achievements and shortcomings of the aid industry in an entire University term. There are books written by UN insiders (current/former staff) or researchers and other writers that exemplify some of the issues that would probably be a part of my longer answer [2]. Indeed, after a relatively short time inside the UN you would probably face some of these arguments in a practical sense. It is, however, very good to see the operations of such institutions from inside and to try to make a contribution in different forms (e.g. in the headquarters and the field) for some time. As a young professional (in a situation similar to mine), one has to consider after working as a freelance consultant for a while if one plans to continue this way, or if one wishes to try to become a more permanent staff member with the international public service, or if one would like to work in other functions and/or fields. That's probably a matter of values, (short and long term) work interest, objectives and motivation as well as actual experiences and available alternatives at hand.

Following the UNIDO work, I continued providing services as a consultant/researcher in Uganda. The consultancy work I did for the German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) focused on issues of economic development and human resource development in Uganda and resulted in a respective background report [3]. Further, I was successful in getting a research grant from the Uganda Programme for Trade Opportunities and Policy (UP-TOP), a joint programme of the Government of Uganda (GoU) and the European Union. This research study examined forms of integration and upgrading of local firms in GVCs exemplified in matters of relations between exporters in Uganda and importers in Europe. The research team conducted in-depth interviews with 34 exporters in

Uganda and 19 importers in Europe (Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, and UK)[4]. The research idea was the result of my readings since working with UNIDO and the interest in (a) testing the earlier mentioned GVC concept and contributing to international research, (b) examining the empirical situation for Uganda and (c) analyzing implications for policy, strategy (GoU, local firms) and theory. This study has already proven to be a good foundation for engaging with international researchers who work in the same area.

Currently, I am working with the same research team again to analyze relations between local lead firms (buyers) and their smallholder suppliers (farmers) in different agro-sectors. I have also started teaching as a part-time lecturer on issues of global production and economic development at Makerere University.

After all, I am still fascinated by the work on value chains and related matters (political, social and cultural factors that for instance influence cooperation and trust patterns between actors in value chains). I plan to continue with research (including PhD) and teaching on GVC and other topics linked to IPE and related issues of economic and political development matters, probably to a significant extent continuously with an African focus.

*Suggestions for current students:* Many students of my year in Warwick that I still have contact with don't work in the aid industry or related branches. So my account might be relevant only to a small group of people, but I would sum up the issues as follows:

1. Write one essay that makes you familiar with the debates and arguments of the field that you intend to join; it can give you some expertise. I wrote one on trade issues and policies in Africa. Also, future employers might notice when you have

shown genuine interest in a relevant topic in the past. That's what I look for when I, for instance, search for a research assistant from Makerere University.

2. Further, it is good to focus on essay topics that are outside practical/mainstream considerations. It can give you intellectual depth and independence for some years. You might not have time to investigate such literature once you are a practitioner. For instance, I wrote the final thesis using Foucault's Governmentality concept to analyse Thatcher reforms in Britain. The concept is fascinating and I can use it to reflect on issues in Uganda; yet thus far it has had less direct relevance to the work I do.
3. Good work and personal contacts are key. This was the case for many of the steps I have taken since leaving University. I didn't really know anybody in the aid industry or related researchers when I was a student at Warwick. Networks come with time and are a result of different factors, one being deliberate efforts to build them. In this respect, some steps you can take are (i) to e-mail a lot and effectively (you can learn this while organizing conferences in Warwick etc.), (ii) get into some e-mail groups, (iii) show your face and (carefully) share your views at different working meetings and conferences (especially at the beginning of a working station, less later), (iv) start meaningful initiatives (e.g., I established and chaired a series of meetings with interns in UNIDO/UN-Vienna covering issues of globalisation and development and a speakers series with staff members from UNIDO and other UN agencies based in Vienna to discuss their work and related issues), and (v) develop a body of own work that helps you (as a newcomer in a

country/field) to make a contribution to relevant debates, or (vi) even if just by establishing a strong database that you can share with colleagues when appropriate (e.g., I have compiled about 300 soft-copy reports about Uganda: this can help colleagues and they can help you in other ways); and so on.

4. There will always be avenues that look good for some time but then close last minute and some that open up unexpectedly. As a young professional (working as a freelance consultant/researcher) in particular, you need to be flexible, active, self-motivated, determined, and well networked to not 'fall out' in the process and always have some new work coming up while past work ends. Depending on the concrete arrangement, expect job uncertainty and frustrations (e.g. regarding late extension of the contract, late communication from partners etc.). In my case, at each step I didn't know much in advance what would come next; the next step was an outcome of active searching, talks, applications, luck, good will of colleagues etc. There is always a 'right place the right moment' factor.
5. Expect work results/impacts that fall short of your expectations and hopes.
6. You can learn a lot from interactions with senior experts; they have experienced years if not decades of development in practice. They know the development industry (institutions, politics etc.) and might be willing to share their views with you.
7. If you have a European/American background and wish to learn about and work on the practical side of development matters: Go to work in a developing country (called 'the field' in the jargon) as soon as you can and as long as appropriate. Around two years is a good time for the beginning. You might start with a short term contract (as in my case in Uganda); but it is important to get started somewhere. If you start and remain at head-quarter level you might end up just copy-pasting arguments and findings from other reports (advice I got from an UNIDO mentor). In my humble opinion, getting your own practical field experience and developing your own views is so much better and more sustainable for your job satisfaction (and maybe even career).
8. For the first years, try to go for the experience not for the money, if you have a reasonable choice. Without substantial practical field experience you might survive and even make a career in the headquarters but you miss out a lot, might not get the respect and cooperation from field experts (if you come for a field mission from Washington/Brussels for two weeks or so) and depend more on others (who have the knowledge that comes with field work) in your judgments and thinking about certain issues.
9. It is good to work inside a *national* organization in the respective developing country. You experience and learn different things depending on whether you are based in a Ministry or in the Kampala office of the German Embassy/European Commission.
10. Don't try to 'switch countries' too quickly. There is a great benefit in seeing things evolve over time, knowing issues, and having a network of colleagues, friends etc. in a particular country.
11. Keep in contact with the motives, objectives and values that brought you into the aid industry (international cooperation). It

is easy to get distanced from them from time to time, get too much into the development slogans and jargon and lose critical perspective on the issues. However you need to 'stay in contact' with your initial motives to re-assess the path you have chosen (assess past and expected future impact) and carve out new working areas that are promising in terms of translating these motives etc. into practice (impact of one's work).

12. Keep in contact with your teachers and friends from Warwick if appropriate. It's a pleasure and you need that critical root when the development mainstream and the shortcomings of the field hit you. I missed the Warwick setting very often in the first years after graduating.
13. Review your experience from time to time (especially the impact you have made), and decide if you want to stay in or adjust the current arrangement you are in (e.g., work for NGO, or for companies, return to Academia etc.).

Thank you for giving me the opportunity to share some thoughts, however incomplete they are. In my view, PAIS and WGDS should institutionalize such feedback circles from alumni. Finally, I wish you the energy and luck needed to do the work that is fulfilling and helps you gain the experience and insights that make you an advanced expert (if that's what you strive for). You can contact me: [joergwiegratz@hotmail.com](mailto:joergwiegratz@hotmail.com)

Best greetings from Kampala,  
Joerg

### Notes:

[1]It doesn't happen very often that one can work as a consultant/staff for the same organization immediately after the internship (and the three months break in between before one can get hired by same organization in any case). Mainly because there are so many issues that have to come together to make it happen: e.g. there needs to be a project position that fits the professional experience of the person. However I know of about three other interns (out of a group of 40 so) that got a (rather short-term) job with the UN.

[2]The books that I have purchased in the last years to inform myself and reflect on related matters are in that order: 'Lords of poverty' (G. Hancock), 'My long journey to Africa' (M. Maddy), 'Confessions of an economic hit man' (J. Perkins), and 'The white man's burden' (W. Easterly).

[3]For a summary see: Wiegratz, J. (2006) Capabilities for catching-up: Economic development and competitiveness in Uganda: Implications for Human Resource Development with particular focus on Technical and Vocational Education and Training in Uganda, GTZ, Kampala, see [www.gtz.de](http://www.gtz.de).

[4]Wiegratz, J., P. Nyabuntu, and C. Omagor (2007) 'Competing and Learning in Global Value Chains - Firms' experiences in the case of Uganda, A study of five sub-sectors with reference to trade between Uganda and Europe', UPTOP report, Kampala. (This might be available online and/or as a book soon).

*We would like to thank Joerg Wiegratz for sharing his experiences and invaluable advice with WGDS.*

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Kampala



## Reviews: WGDS Lecture Series

**January 23rd, 2007**

**Catherine Hoskins: *Gender and International Trade Policy***

~by Ramiro Lopez-Ghio

In this week's WGDS lecture, Professor Catherine Hoskins argued that trade policy basically shows two patterns. Firstly, in the past few years, regional and bilateral agreements have been becoming more popular with processes that in some cases have been based on agreements characterized by a lack of transparency. Secondly, there is a broad link between trade and gender policies, without specific policies addressing this issue. In trade activity, women are disproportionately affected and tend to be disadvantaged by gender relations. In this regard there is a necessity to apply human right instruments into trade negotiations and gender criteria should be included in trade agreements as safeguards.

Gender discrimination in economic relations exceeds the field of trade, for example social reproduction is undervalued, and in many cases not counted, in economic activity. Women's contribution to economic activity by working at home is not included in the national accounts. There are movements attempting to

*Lectures are one of the medium through which theories can be dispatched. In them, speakers express a certain world view, and as such have an impact on the audience's understanding of the world. Broadly speaking, they seem to be of two kinds: the ones that just reinforce mainstream world views, and the ones that challenge them. Personally, the second kind is the one that I appreciate more. By mistreating our world views, by poking them with new concepts and dynamics, we revolutionize our own selves and enhance our capabilities.*

change this situation involving both women and NGOs.

Trade is seen as an important tool for economic growth. However, it might lead to negative consequences in income distribution between and within countries. As a result of trade activity, there are winners and losers leaving no space for compensating those harmed by the unequal relations. Trade theorists do not focus on these uneven effects. Instead, they concentrate on the macro policies that can enhance the amount of goods traded.



*Juggling work and taking care of children. The reality is extremely harsh and hard on poorer women*

In this scenario, transnational corporations have gained a more important role in trade negotiations. In order to improve investments in their countries, governments have started giving benefits to cor-

porations. As a result of this process, trade is reducing the states' capacity to act and implement policies to counter these effects. However, as time goes by development is coming up in trade agenda. Until now, this new approach has not been strong enough to deliver positive results, but there are reasons for optimism. First of all, trade is becoming more politicized. Topics such as investment, intellectual property rights and the environment are included in the trade agenda. Secondly, many governments and institutions have adopted policies of mainstream development in their agendas.

It is worth to mention some good initiatives that have been taking place in the recent past. There have been many programs that support women entrepreneurs. For example, since women do not have equal opportunities as men in terms of access to credit, these programs have attempted and been successful at reducing this gap. There has also been more emphasis placed on evaluating and monitoring trade policy using gender criteria with benchmarking schemes.

To sum up, based on Professor Catherine Hoskins' presentation we can conclude that we have a long way to go before women and men can receive equal treatment within the field of trade; however, important steps have been made in this direction.

*I would like to thank Professor Hoskins for contributing to the WGDS Lecture Series.*

**February 20<sup>th</sup>, 2007**

**Lord Professor Anthony Giddens: 'Over to you, Mr. Brown: How Labour can Win Again'**

~ by Calyn Shaw



One of the highlights of the 2006-07 Warwick Global Development Society Lecture Series was a talk delivered by Lord Professor Anthony Giddens. Lord Giddens, formerly the Director of the London School of Economics, has completed his metamorphosis from a leading academic in the field of sociology to a key policy advisor to Tony Blair and the Labour party. The basis for his talk was the pending lead-

ership change atop the Labour party.

Lord Giddens began his talk with a summary of what he believes 'New Labour' is and is not. According to Giddens, New Labour has never been void of substance as portrayed in some circles of the media. It is, in fact, based on a rich notion of globalisation acknowledging that the future of Britain must be based on a knowledge economy. Globalisation has forced a shift in the nature of Labour politics; we now have a far more reflective citizenry who hold political leaders to account everyday.

Giddens' articulation of the Third Way was, and is, based on his identification of the need for an updated centre-left political response to the pressures of a more globally aware citizenry. According to Giddens, Britain has gone from the First Way of traditional social democracy based on Keynesian ideals, to the Second Way characterized by Thatcher's market based conservatism, and now Tony Blair has ushered in the Third Way, which has brought with it a renewal of social democracy. Giddens is a strong supporter of Blair and believes this shift has been extremely positive for Britain; however, he did not shy away from telling a few jokes at Prime Minister Blair's expense:

*Q: What is the difference between Tony Blair and God?*

*A: God doesn't think he is Tony Blair.*

The jokes undoubtedly received a favourable response from the audience, but the overall message from Lord Giddens was quite serious. He believes that as Labour switches leadership and Gordon Brown takes over, the party and indeed the country are at a very crucial point in time. Naturally, as a Labour supporter Giddens believes Brown is the right man for the position and will do a good job as leader. However, despite his overall optimism Giddens took the opportunity in the second half of his lecture to identify the key issues facing Labour before the next election and what Mr. Brown will have to do over the next 12 months to ensure that Labour remains the ruling party.



*Prime Minister Tony Blair & Gordon Brown MP*

Giddens believes that Brown will have about a year to prove himself as a strong leader who is the right man to lead the country. He will over this time have to change his image. It is a difficult move from Chancellor to Prime Minister, and will be made even more difficult in Blair's shadow. Labour needs a new beginning, for Giddens there needs to be an ideological shift, a new sense of vision, and most importantly party innovation. There needs to be a 'greening' of labour with an even stronger focus on the environment. According to Giddens, Brown should also focus on a more clear definition of public space, egalitarian ideals, and a totally new foreign policy. This final point was the emphasis for much of the final segment of the lecture. Giddens described the Iraq war as "a disaster" and called on Mr. Brown to distance himself from the Bush Administration. Britain will have to continue to be interventionist, but must do it on its own terms, not on the Americans'. Iraq is proving that the US is weaker than we anticipated and Britain must focus on the emerging multipolar global situation.

Lord Professor Giddens wrapped up the lecture with a few jokes at President Bush's expense, all of which were too long to include in this review, but received roars of laughter from the audience.

*I would like to thank Lord Professor Anthony Giddens for contributing to the WGDS Lecture Series.*

### **February 27<sup>th</sup>, 2007**

#### **Professor Lisk: "AIDS is not a disease, it is a global threat"**

~by Jiyoung Yoo

Professor Lisk began by addressing the problem of eradicating HIV/AIDS around the world. Why is the HIV/AIDS pandemic a problem? First of all, it creates challenges for development, particularly in the field of public health. According to the UNAIDS and World Health Organisation 4.3 million people are estimated to have been infected by AIDS in 2006. This in turn affects the labour force and therefore leads to the deterioration of overall economic growth.

Also, the AIDS pandemic demonstrates a failure of governance, where states cannot deal with the HIV/AIDS problem. Prof. Lisk took Nigeria as an example. In 2001, 15 percent of the national budget was allocated to HIV elimination, however, this budget was cut and part of the money needed for the program was instead used to fund other prioritised development projects. Similarly, in Botswana it was claimed that AIDS care services were to be provided to the citizens for free, but in reality these services were inaccessible to many people.

The spread of this global epidemic has shown the difficulty that states face with responding to it. In other words, although a state may have the most sophisticated AIDS treatment, it may still struggle with implementing policies to decrease the spread of AIDS because of the effects of globalisation. Prof. Lisk defines globalisation as an inevitable phenomenon, which increases the prevalence of HIV/AIDS.

There are four negative impacts that globalisation has on the AIDS pandemic: poverty, migration of people, regulations with respect to patented medicine and the policy gap of global governance. Because the most highly affected countries are the poorest of the poor, they are unable to benefit from the use of antiretrovirals due to their low economic development. Furthermore, some African countries face difficulties with integrating their economies into the global market system. Unable to produce highly valued goods, such as those produced as a result of industrialisation in the developed countries, they do not have a comparative advantage in the global market economy. Therefore, these countries implement national policies that aim to improve the economic conditions for growth in order to catch up with the developed

countries. Meanwhile, HIV/AIDS is further spreading as a result of poverty.

Secondly, globalisation has led to a higher interdependence between countries in the field of international human security as a result of increased migration. This has made the response to the AIDS epidemic more complicated in comparison to traditional responses to various diseases. Thirdly, the resources needed to combat AIDS are all concentrated in the developed countries. For instance, developed countries have patents, implemented by the TRIPS agreement under the WTO, which allow them to maintain ownership of HIV drugs. Finally, the HIV/AIDS pandemic has been paid very little attention to within the field of development. For example, the World Bank, one of the largest multilateral organisations, has disregarded it in its PRSPs (Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers). Therefore pressure must be placed on these organisations and powerful states to keep the issue on the main development agenda.

These factors indicate that due to the malgovernance of states and international bodies, we have failed to prevent the spread of HIV infection. Therefore, new policies for implementing HIV/AIDS treatment must take into consideration the economic needs,

poverty levels as well as the national contexts within which these policies are implemented in the developing countries. Also, emphasis must be placed on the sharing of responsibility between developing and developed countries to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS. This, however, must be matched by the participation of multilateral institutions such as the World Health Organisation, G8 and the African Union, all of which have a great responsibility to help tackle this issue.

In conclusion, I found Prof. Lisk's lecture very persuasive in that it addressed the importance of globalisation and governance when dealing with the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

*I would like to thank Prof. Lisk for contributing to the WGDS Lecture Series.*

**March 6<sup>th</sup>, 2007**  
**Paul Cammack: *Politics of Global Competitiveness***  
 ~by Francois Patuel



In the lecture he gave on March 6th 2007 for WGDS, Paul Cammack elaborated on the politics of global competitiveness. [1] Why are states and international organisations making a case for competitiveness? How can this be apprehended theoretically? [1]

Cammack began by presenting and defending his theoretical perspective. He maintained that Marxism was the best theory to account for international relations and globalisation. Indeed, he considered International Political Economy (IPE) as too mainstream to offer any critical assessment on world affairs. Its economic and state-centred bias prevents theorists to capture the essence and the power struggles, which are behind capital and trans-state social relations. Marxism, on the other hand, is constructed around these two concepts. It can explain the stages of capitalism, the dynamics that lead to globalisation and the efforts of policy-makers to create a global market. Classical theories, such as realism or liberalism, would have been unable to explain why OECD policy makers were giving advice both to their member states and their direct competitors. The eternal neo-neo debates only serve to distract the theorist and dissimulate the power relations, which are at play in capitalism.

After examining the discourse of Western states and international organisations -and particularly of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Cammack noted that there seemed to be an effort by policy-makers worldwide to promote capitalist competitiveness. This is what he coined as the politics of global competitiveness. He illustrated the phenomenon by quoting the Chief Economist of the OECD, and various OECD reports and policy recommendations. In sum, according to the organisation, competition is good for growth; therefore it is good for everyone.

Cammack was struck by this observation for two reasons. Firstly, the OECD is a club of developed countries, which used to deal only with the affairs of its member states, in their interests. It is now expending its mandate to recommend policies to other states. In other words, it is giving advice to the competitors of its member states. Secondly, the politics of global competitiveness is all the more problematic as prominent member states of the OECD, such as the United States or France, relinquish to lift their protections on their national enterprises and submit them to the law of global and perfect competition.



Cammack explains this bizarre trend with the necessity of capitalist policy makers to expand and secure capitalism, to make it global. For it is either global or impossible. It relies on endless accumulation, requires ever more innovation and consumption. Under the rule of competition, firms have to constantly innovate and adapt. Therefore, competitiveness is the dynamic that allows for the maintenance and reproduction of capitalism.

In that context, the State, under the guidance of the OECD and other international institutions serves capitalists by providing an ever-widening space where capital can flourish, where the hegemony of capital over labour is guaranteed by the fundamental principle of competitiveness. Thus, in Cammack's opinion, there is no retreat of the State. On the contrary, international institutions transform and reinforce the State, adapting it to the demands of capitalism.

If, for the sake of the experiment, we adopt Cammack's Marxist analysis, various questions arise. One of them is the nature and motivations of the capitalist policy makers. Their interests differ from the ones of the bourgeois -the capital holders. The latter benefit from being protected by their states. They often strive to obtain a position of monopoly. Subsidies and other mechanisms, which distort the market, help them survive and reach such a position. Therefore, efforts of policy makers to expend the realm of competitiveness, where such support would be prohibited, can actually go against the direct interest of capital holders. Here, there is a tension between the so-called capitalist policy maker and the bourgeoisie. Yet, the policy maker does not act in the interest of workers either.

When questioned about these actors, Cammack insisted that they were not the typical bourgeois. He defined them as organic intellectuals.

The reference to the Gramscian concept is interesting. For Robert Cox organic intellectuals “serve to clarify the political thinking of social groups, leading the members of these groups to understand their existing situation in society and how in combination with other social groups they can struggle towards a higher form of society.” [2] Yet, in the system described by Cammack, the organic intellectuals are at the same time the thinkers and the leading members of social groups. This particular position allows them to justify their policies with their own theories, and their theories with their policies. All their power relies on this vicious circle.

It could be argued that the capitalist policy makers represent a new category of actors involved in class struggles. They are the new technocratic force that drives global capitalism, neither in the interest of

the bourgeois, nor in that of workers, but in its own name, for the sake of capitalism itself. Capitalist policy makers emancipate capitalism from the classic class struggles, transcending the claims of the bourgeois and workers, and making capitalism stand on its own as a regulatory mode of social organisation.

The implications of such an argument are far reaching. The emergence of these new actors cannot leave the Marxist understanding of capitalism unaffected. However, this is a lecture review, and it is not appropriate to take that matter further. My point is that Cammack’s presentation was at the same time challenging and fertile. It offered a particular perspective on the doings of International Institutions and created a space to be explored theoretically. This is what every lecture should be like.

*I would like to thank Prof. Cammack for contributing to the WGDS Lecture Series.*

### Notes.

[1] Paul Cammack is the Head of the Politics and Philosophy Department at the University of Manchester and, more importantly, a leading Marxist theorist. His work is dedicated to offer a Marxist explanation of the international organisations’ policies and their agendas.

The lecture is based on a paper published by the Institute of Global Studies, University of Manchester: Paul Cammack, "The Politics of Global Competitiveness," *Papers in the Politics of Global Competitiveness* 1 (2006).

See also:

Paul Cammack, "What the World Bank Means by Poverty Reduction, and Why It Matters," *New Political Economy* 9, no. 2 (2004).

[2] Robert W. Cox, a political scientist, is Professor Emeritus at York University, Canada and credited as the founder of the Neo-Gramscian approach to the study of International Relations and Global Political Economy.

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## In Conclusion...

I would like to thank all the MA candidates in the Globalisation and Development program as well as all the other PAIS MA candidates for their contribution this year to the Warwick Global Development Society. As this year's President, I have been thoroughly impressed with the extra time many students made available, on top of the required academic commitments, for lectures, social events, and the newsletter. I would also like to thank the academics that came from all over England to participate in this year's lecture series, and Professor Shirin Rai for being the impetus behind the WGDS and for organizing most of the talks. The lectures were insightful and informative, and served as a great resource and supplement to our course work throughout the year. Finally, special thanks are in order to Samar Farah, editor of this newsletter, and all her co-editors. Their work to produce two outstanding newsletters this year has been amazing. I wish everyone a fantastic summer, good luck with your dissertations, and all the best to you in your future pursuits.

Best Regards,

Calyn Shaw

*President, Warwick Global Development Society*

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Of course we have progressed a great deal, first they were coming by bullock cart, then by jeep – and now this!

Laxman India