

Prof. Dr. Ulrich Menzel

Introduction to Development Politics

Summer School on Water and International Relations
Sept. 5 - Sept. 15, 2011 – Technical University of Braunschweig

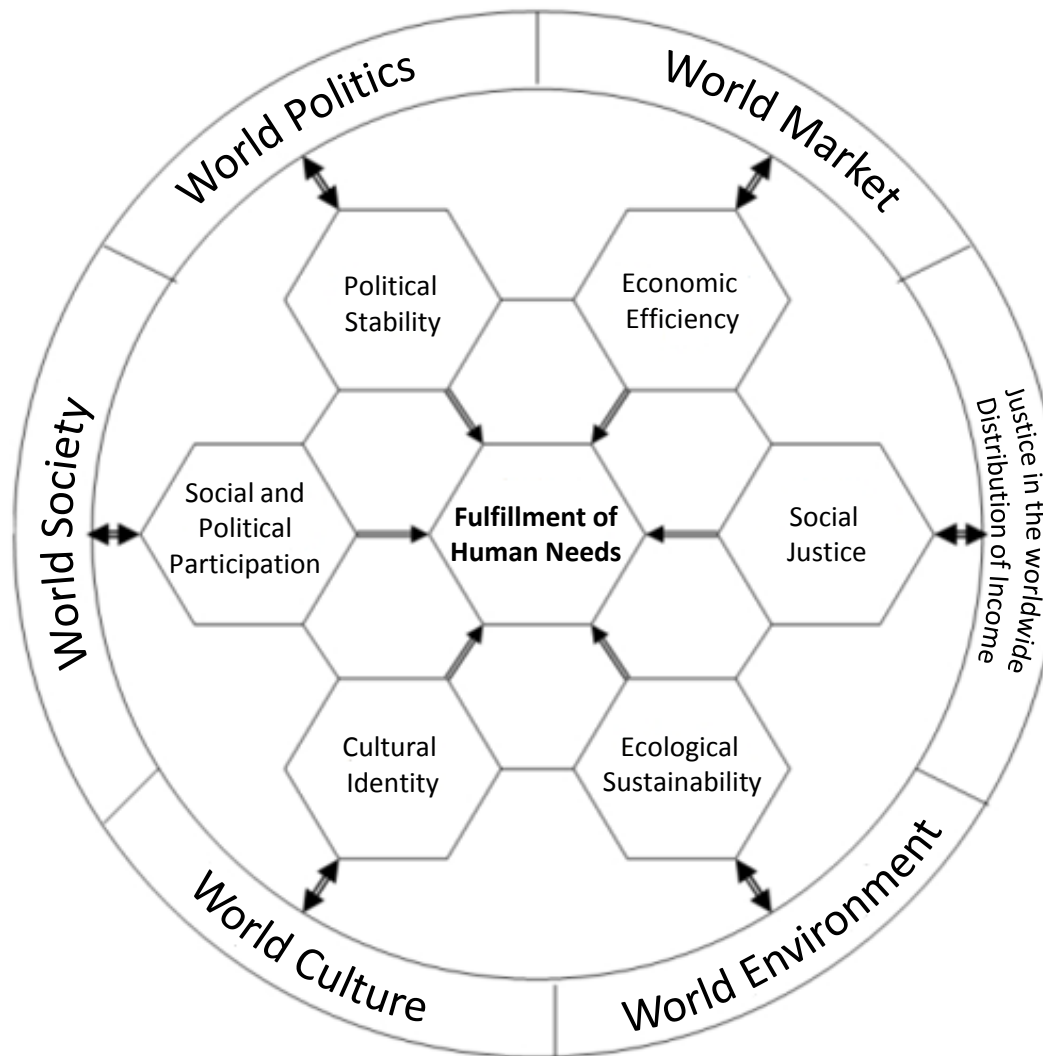
www-public.tu-bs.de:8080/~umenzel

www.ulrich-menzel.de

Contents

1. What is development?
2. The changing understanding of development
3. Terms and images of development
4. Why development politics?
 - 4.1. East-West-Conflict (Realism)
 - 4.2. New World Order (Idealism)
 - 4.3. Decolonisation
5. Institutional take off
6. Phases of development politics
7. Farewell to the old development politics

1. What is development?



2. The changing understanding of development

	Paradigm	Understanding of Development
16th - 18th Century	Mercantilism	Statebuilding Strengthening of State Power Wealth = Increase of Bullion available by Mining and Surplus in Foreign Trade
18th Century (Sec. Half)	Physiocratics	Increase of Rents Evolution of Society Development of Agriculture
19th Century	Liberalism	Wealth of Nations by Increase of Labor Productivity and International Division of Labor
	Neomercantilism	Catching-up Increase of the Productive Forces
	Neoliberalism Classical Sociology	Economic Growth Rationalisation and Division of Labor Social Differentiation
1920ies	Marxism	Initial Socialist Accumulation Building up of Socialism
1940ies	Keynesianism	Economic Growth
	Development Economics	Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI)

2. The changing understanding of development

	Paradigm	Understanding of Development
1950ies	Modernisation Theory	Growth led by the State State Building Social Change Mental Change
1960ies	Dependencia Theory	Autocentric Capital Accumulation Mass Consumer Goods Industrialisation
1970ies	Alternative Human Development	Strengthening of Human Capacities Satisfication of Basic Needs Sustainability
1980ies	Renaissance of Neoliberalism	Economic Growth by Structural Adjustment and Export Orientation
1990ies	Institutional Economics	Good Governance Institution Building
2000ies	Renaissance of Keynesianism	“Bringing the State Back In“

3. Terms and images of development

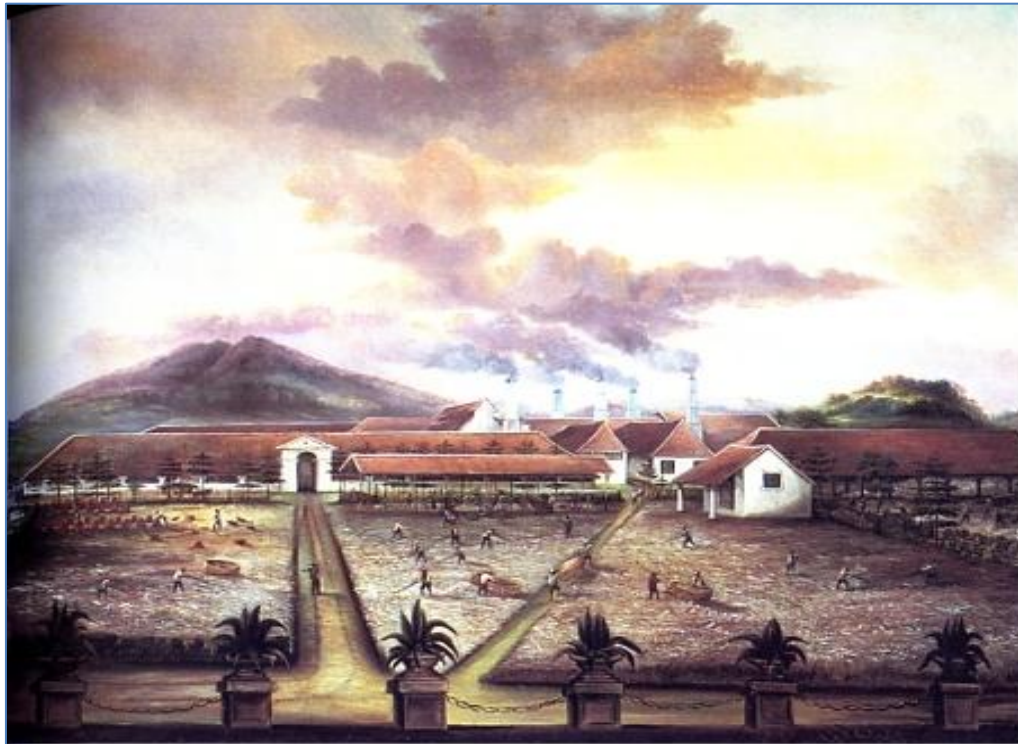
	Developed Countries Today	Developing Countries Today
15th - 18th Century	Occident Old World	Orient New World + “India“



Spiridione Roma:
“The East Offering Her
Riches to Britannia”,
1778

3. Terms and images of development

	Developed Countries Today	Developing Countries Today
19th Century - 1945	Colonial Powers Empires	Colonies Countries of the “torrid zone”



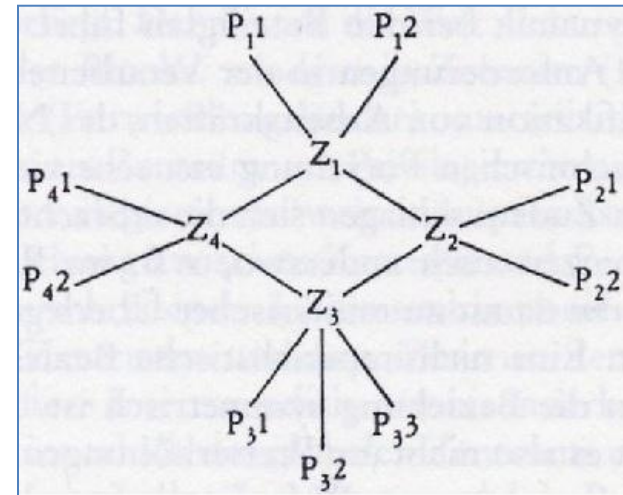
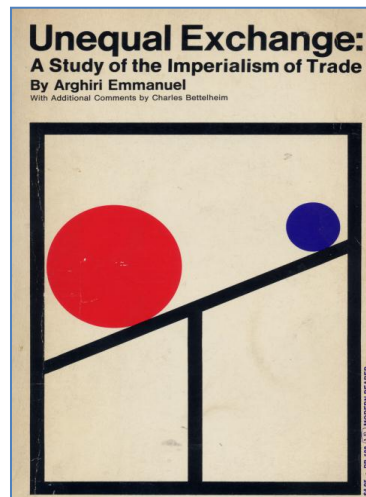
3. Terms and images of development

	Developed Countries Today	Developing Countries Today
1940ies - 1960ies	Industrial Countries Modern Societies	Developing Countries Backward Countries Traditional Societies



3. Terms and images of development

	Developed Countries Today	Developing Countries Today
1970ies	First World North Center Metropolises	Third World South Periphery Satellites Underdeveloped Countries Dependent Countries



3. Terms and images of development

	Developed Countries Today	Developing Countries Today
1980ies	Old Industrial Countries	Newly Industrializing Countries (NIC's) Oil Exporting Countries Less Developed Countries (LDC's) Least Developed Countries (LLDC's)



3. Terms and images of development

	Developed Countries Today	Developing Countries Today
1990ies - 2000ies	Postindustrial Societies	Fourth World Weak States Failed States



4. Why development politics?

4.1. East-West-Conflict (Realism)

- Truman-Doctrin (March 12, 1947)
- Inauguration Adress of Harry S. Truman (January 20, 1949)
 - “Point Four”: Development Aid



4. Why development politics?

The Inauguration Address of Harry S. Truman (January 20, 1949)
- Excerpt to “Point Four” -

In the coming years, our program for peace and freedom will emphasize **four major courses of action**.

First, we will continue to give unfaltering support to the United Nations and related agencies, and we will continue to search for ways to strengthen their authority and increase their effectiveness. We believe that the United Nations will be strengthened by the new nations which are being formed in lands now advancing toward self-government under democratic principles.

Second, we will continue our programs for world economic recovery. This means, first of all, that we must keep our full weight behind the European recovery program. We are confident [of] the success of this major venture in world recovery. We believe that our partners in this effort will achieve the status of self-supporting nations once again. In addition, we must carry out our plans for reducing the barriers to world trade and increasing its volume. Economic recovery and peace itself depend on increased world trade.



4. Why development politics?

The Inauguration Address of Harry S. Truman (January 20, 1949)
- Excerpt to “Point Four” -

Third, we will strengthen freedom-loving nations against the dangers of aggression. We are working out with a number of countries a joint agreement designed to strengthen the security of the North Atlantic area. Such an agreement would take the form of a collective defense arrangement within the terms of the United Nations Charter. We have already established such a defense pact for the Western Hemisphere by the treaty of Rio de Janeiro.

The primary purpose of these agreements is to provide unmistakable proof of the joint determination of the free countries to resist armed attack from any quarter. Every country participating in these arrangements must contribute all it can to the common defense. If we make it sufficiently clear, in advance, that any armed attack affecting our national security would be met with overwhelming force, the armed attack might never occur.

I hope soon to send to the Senate a treaty respecting the North Atlantic security plan. In addition, we will provide military advice and equipment to free nations which will cooperate with us in the maintenance of peace and security.

Fourth, we must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of **underdeveloped areas**. More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas.



4. Why development politics?

- Establishment of CENIS at MIT (1951/52)

→ Containment of Communism



Max F. Millikan



Walt W. Rostow

- „A Proposal: Key to an Effective Foreign Policy“ und „Foreign Aid: Next Phase“ in „Foreign Affairs“ (1957)

→ Development Politics as part of Containment

4. Why development politics?

ORIGINS OF THE CENTER

PROJECT TROY

World War II laid the foundation for the formation of academic research centers. The CIA, physical and social sciences from MIT and elsewhere made critical contributions to the war effort, and policymakers concluded that academic research would be important after the war as well.

In 1946, as war raged in Korea and the U.S.S.R. tested its atomic bomb, the Soviets were jamming Voice of America (VOA) radio propaganda broadcasts. Undersecretary of State James V. Acheson asked MIT President James R. Killian to assemble a team to solve the jamming problem.

Killian and Humanities and Social Studies Dean John R. Burchard assembled a diverse group (including professors from Harvard and other universities) to address not only the technical issue but also matters of political warfare: what the VOA should broadcast, its audience, and to what effect, once the jamming was circumvented. This State Department project, code-named "Troy," lasted the fallow months before in which the Greeks were said to have hidden their army in order to secretly gain entrance to Troy) but in 1951 to a report, some of which remains classified a half century later.

Project Troy resulted in the establishment of a research center at MIT funded by the CIA and located in a warehouse on Albany Street. Its first study, "Nuclear Vulnerability," was conducted by Walt Rostow, the MIT economic historian who later served as national security advisor to presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

In 1952, this group moved to the Sloan Building as the Center for International Studies. Project Troy had not only led to a solution of the jamming problem, but also to the creation of an interdisciplinary center where scholarly expertise would be applied to foreign policy issues.

CIS RESEARCH PROGRAMS

CIS initially pursued three major research initiatives: international communication, economic and political development, and communist bloc studies.

International Communication

The International Communication Program examined how ideas shape foreign policy preferences, and how communications influence modernization in democratic and communist societies. The program was perhaps the dominant intellectual descendant of Project Troy, and was led by Ithiel de Sola Pool throughout its 30-year tenure.

Economic and Political Development

The program on Economic and Political Development initially focused on India, Indonesia, and Turkey—modernizing societies thought to be inherently unstable and thereby vulnerable to communism. One goal was to help direct economic planning in these countries. Another was to develop a rationale for U.S. development aid. Professor Max Millikan, Walt Rostow, Arthur W. Morgan, and Lucien Pye conducted the most influential research in this area.

Communist Studies

Communist Studies analyzed communist societies as a whole, as well as their domestic environments, and their vulnerability to subversion. One goal was to help direct economic planning in these countries. Another was to develop a rationale for U.S. development aid. Professor Max Millikan, Walt Rostow, Arthur W. Morgan, and Lucien Pye conducted the most influential research in this area.

Funding

The Central Intelligence Agency was the primary funding source for the Center's first two years, and a sponsor of various research projects until 1960. The first foundation was CIS's primary supporter through the 1960s. It provided general support for the Center, funds for projects in several fields, and endowment funds for faculty appointments. Numerous other foundations and government agencies also have funded CIS activities.

Max F. Millikan

Max Millikan's concern with the integration of academic expertise and policy practice was a reflection of his own background; he was an economist who had served in the War Shipping Administration and, briefly, with the CIA. Millikan was responsible for the Center's early focus on economic development in developing nations.

"The purpose of social science research should be to design, evaluate, and assist the policy-making capacity for judgment—not to provide fact and figures."

—Millikan, "The Role of Research in Research"

Walt W. Rostow

Walt W. Rostow's theories of modernization were to prove highly influential in shaping U.S. foreign policy during the 1950s. He also directed early CIS studies on the Soviet Union and China.

Millikan and Rostow believed that academic specialists should not only study the economic and political development of modernizing societies, but they should also inform U.S. policy. One of their concerns was that modernization's inevitable success not give rise to anti-democratic politics.

"It is plain that the Communist world poses two threats to the United States—a policy threat, and an ideological threat... two national efforts, one military and the other political, achieving intensity must go forward together as part of a total effort to protect the interest of American society."

—Millikan and Rostow, "A Position: Key to an Effective Foreign Policy"

Ithiel de Sola Pool

Ithiel de Sola Pool was the major figure behind CIS's early research in communication. He was an important proponent of social science research on important issues of public policy.

"The only hope for American government in the future is through the extension of the social sciences by government... I can think of no greater contribution a social scientist could make than to help improve the effect or leverage of the social work."

—Pool, "The National and Social Sciences: Diverse Research for Government"

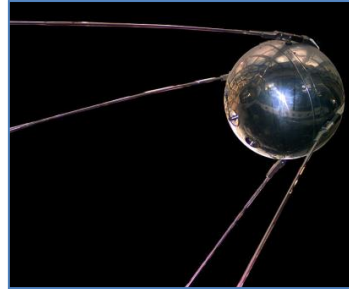
1960 International Communications seminar

A 1960 International Communications seminar, led by Ithiel de Sola Pool (third from left), and sociologists Daniel Lerner (right, arms folded).

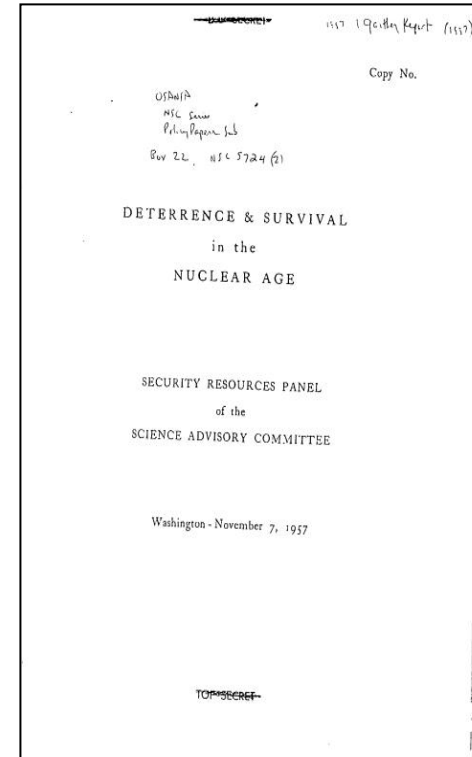
http://web.mit.edu/cis/www_highlights.html

4. Why development politics?

- “Sputnik-Schock” (1957)



- “Missile Gap” (End of 1950ies)



- Cuba-Crisis (1963)



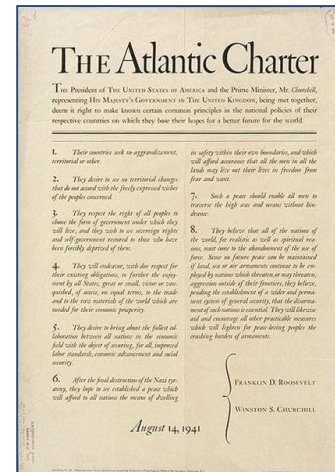
4. Why development politics?

4.2. New World Order after 1945 (Idealism)

- Franklin D. Roosevelt: “Four Freedoms” (January 6, 1941)



- Atlantic-Charter (August 14, 1941)



- UN-Charter (June 16, 1945)



- Foundation of CEPAL (February 25, 1948)



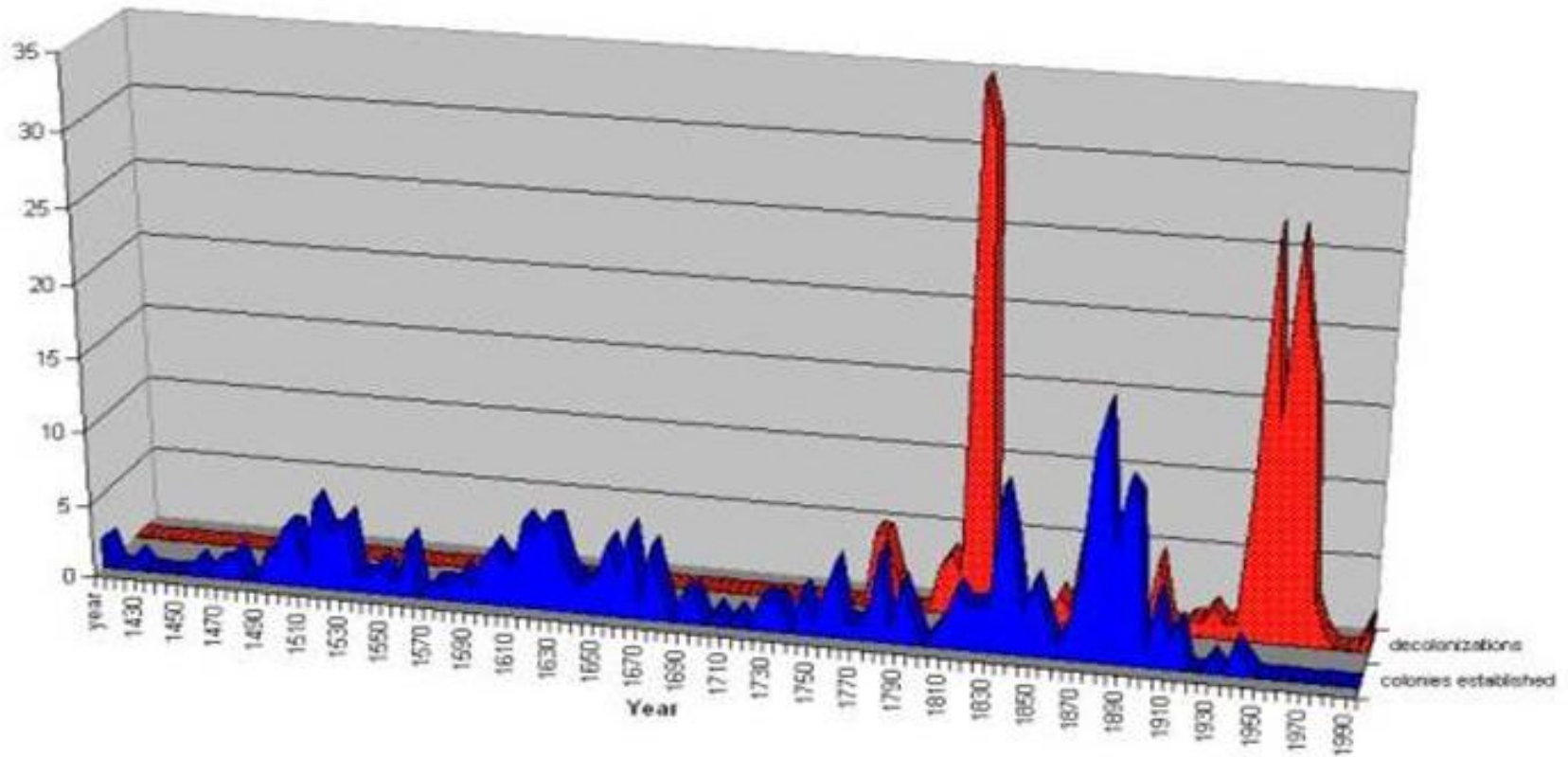
4. Why development politics?

4.3. Decolonisation

- First Wave: Independence of the USA and Latin America (end 18th/19th Century)
- Second Wave: Decolonisation in Asia: India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Korea, full sovereignty of China after 1945
- Third Wave: Decolonisation in Africa (1950ies/1960ies)
- Fourth Wave: Small and Island States (1970ies/1980ies)
- Fifth Wave: Former Republics of the Soviet Union (after 1990)

4. Why development politics?

The Waves of Decolonisation

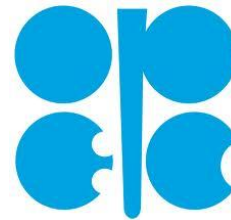


blue: new colonies
red: decolonisation

4. Why development politics?

Political Differentiation of former colonies:

- Members of the Western Bloc (Latin America)
- Members of the Eastern Bloc (China, North Korea, Vietnam, Cuba etc.)
- Non-aligned Countries (Third World)
 - Bandung-Conference (1955)
 - Foundation of OPEC (1960)
 - Conference of Belgrad (1961)



4. Why development politics?

4.3. Decolonisation

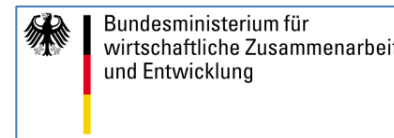
- Non-aligned Countries (Third World)
- ...
- Foundation of UNCTAD (1964)
- Group of 77 (1967)
- UNCTAD II in New Delhi (1968)
- UNCTAD III in Santiago de Chile (1972)
- First Oil Crisis (1973)
- 29th General Assembly of the UN
("New International Economic Order") (1974)
- Chinese "Theory of the Three Worlds" (1974)
- UNCTAD IV in Nairobi (1976)
- Second Oil Crisis (1978/79)
- Cancún Summit (1981) (= End of the North-South-Dialogue)



5. Institutional take off

Foundations of Development Organisations (1961-1965):

- USAID
 - Alliance for Progress
 - DAC of OECD
 - BMZ
- (1961)
- UNCTAD (1964)
 - UNDP (1965)




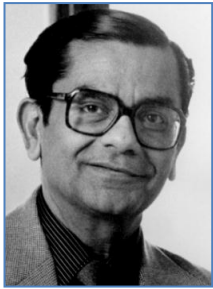


6. Phases of development politics

	Decades	Paradigms
1940ies	Formation Phase	Keynesianism, Dualism Theory, Growth Theory, Structural Functionalism <div data-bbox="1342 396 1611 711" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="1632 396 1864 711" data-label="Image"> </div>
1950ies	Pioneer Phase	Development Economics, Modernisation Theory, Terms of Trade-Debate <div data-bbox="1342 875 1628 1195" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="1647 875 1870 1195" data-label="Image"> </div>


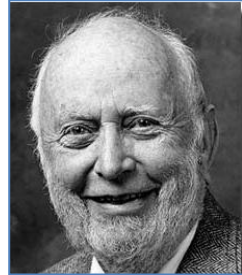
6. Phases of development politics

	Decades	Paradigms
1960ies	First Development Decade	<p>Long Term Development Plans, Import Substitution Industrialisation, “Green Revolution“, “Growth first, Redistribution later“, “Industrialisation first, Democratisation later“, Development Politics as Containment</p> <div data-bbox="1408 582 1601 841" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="1649 552 1875 841" data-label="Image"> </div>
1970ies	Second Development Decade	<p>Dependencia Theory, New International Economic Order, Basic Needs, Appropriate Technologies, “Redistribution with Growth“, “Limits of Growth“</p> <div data-bbox="1348 1098 1605 1296" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="1649 1008 1875 1296" data-label="Image"> </div>

6. Phases of development politics

	Decades	Paradigms
1980ies	Third Development Decade	Neoliberalism, Structural Adjustment, Development by Trade, Sustainable Development, Global Governance  
1990ies	“Lost Decade“	Washington Consensus, Social Development, Human Rights, Humanitarian Intervention, Good Governance, Political Conditions for Development Aid, “Clah of Civilisations“  

6. Phases of development politics

	Decades	Paradigms
2000ies	Crisis Decade	<p>Institution-Building, New Institutional Economics, Merger of Conflict Resolution and Development Politics, Development Politics as containment against “New Threats”</p> <div></div>

7. Farewell to the old development politics

- The End of the East-West-Conflict
- Development and/or Wealth in the South
 - Gulf States
 - NIC's in East- and Southeast-Asia
- New Competition from Asia
- Weak States and Humanitarian Intervention
- New Threats from the South ("Rogue States", Terrorism, Organized Crime, Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction, Migration, Global Shadow Economy)
- Military Intervention by Political Reasons and Merger of Development Aid, Disaster Aid, Humanitarian Intervention, Military Intervention