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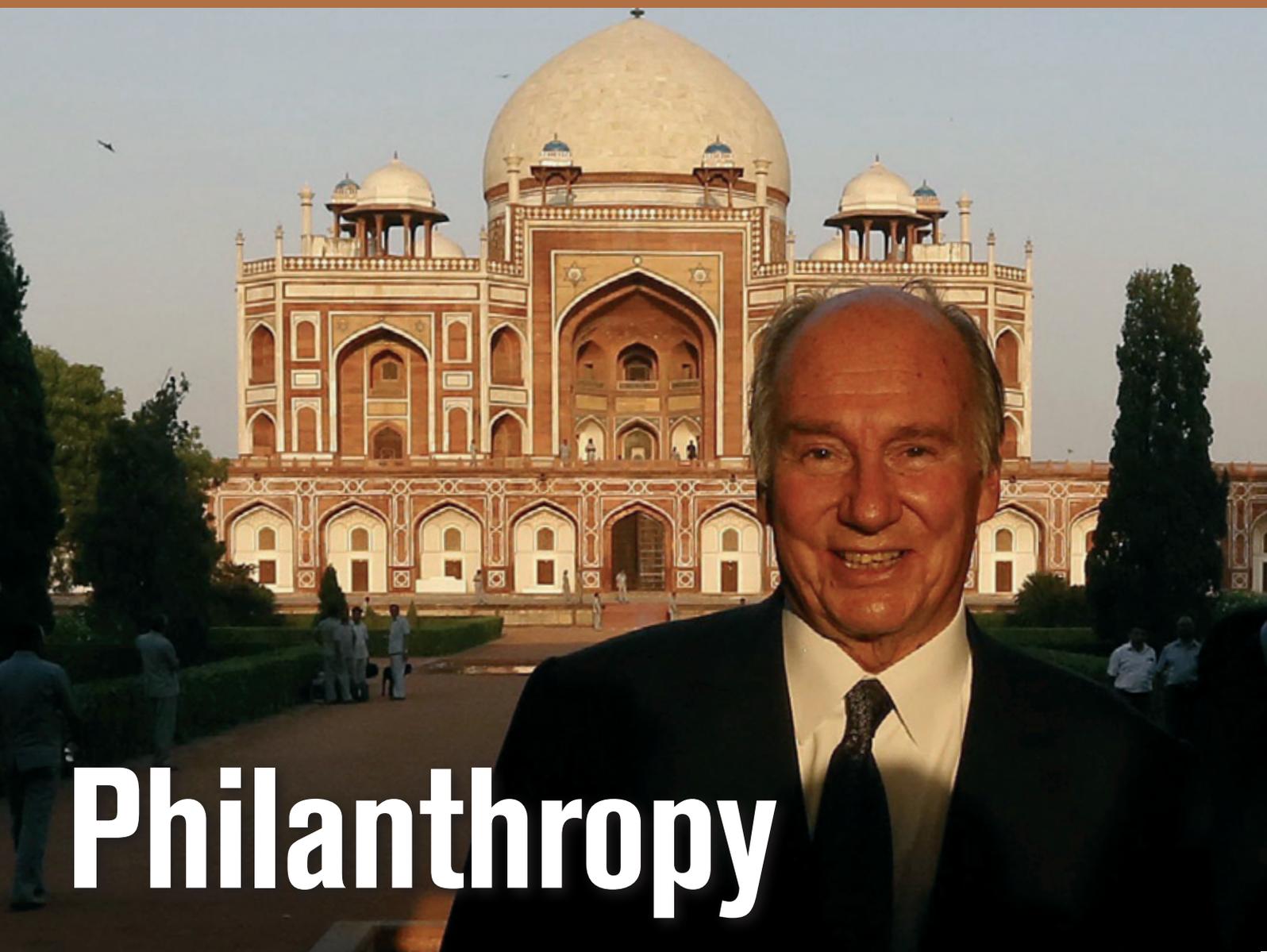
An agreement on how to deal with civil strife would make sense

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How Mexico intends to achieve the SDGs

LABOUR MARKET

Opportunities for disabled youths in Rwanda



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In view of failing state agencies, private-sector philanthropy is becoming ever more important in India **38**

FOCUS

Philanthropy

Nice try

The Mo Ibrahim Prize is meant to reward responsible leadership in African countries. It is a potential game changer, and a few changes might make it more effective, argues Ghanaian scholar Vladimir Antwi-Danso. **PAGE 23**

Helping families

The list of countries where Aga Khan institutions operate features countries where poverty is widespread. Other development agencies appreciate cooperating with them, Kenyan journalist Alphonce Shiundu reports. **PAGE 24**

Creating an elite

The movement of Fethullah Gülen has established schools, educational institutions and clubs in many countries. Observers are sceptical however. They claim the movement has cult-like structures and a secret agenda. Timur Tinç, a Frankfurt-based journalist, assesses things. **PAGE 27**

In support of worthy causes

Many developmental programmes would not be feasible without support from philanthropic foundations. Some of them are closely linked to private-sector corporations. Thomas Loster of the Munich Re Foundation discusses the pros and cons in an interview with D+C/E+Z. **PAGE 29**

Setting the global agenda

Bill Gates and other super-rich private donors have great influence, but they lack democratic legitimacy. World leaders must provide multilateral organisations with sufficient funding, demands Barbara Unmüssig of Heinrich Böll Foundation. **PAGE 32**

Triple mission

Medico international, a German public charity which endorses the human right to health, has set up a foundation. Executive director Thomas Gebauer elaborates the approach. **PAGE 36**

From charity to impact-investing

Corporate philanthropy is gaining momentum in India. With state agencies failing, this is a welcome trend. But it has downsides too, writes Aditi Roy Ghatak, a Kolkata-based journalist. **PAGE 38**

Dangerous generosity

Bill Gates is a rich and generous person. His and his wife's foundation is playing an increasingly important role in global development. It is prominently involved in a new initiative called Co-Impact, which is designed to coordinate efforts by philanthropists around the world.

Indeed, the mega-rich of many countries are increasingly interested in philanthropy. Their charitable giving is being done in a professionalised, business-minded way, so extremely prosperous individuals are gaining ever more clout in public life. Sometimes, they remote control policymaking by pledging to co-fund government programmes.

To some extent, they are stepping in where state agencies are failing. While this is certainly helpful in the short run, it is worrisome in the long run. The public good must not be left to private individuals' good intentions, and it is not up to them to define the public good. Doing that is the job of elected legislators and governments, who are responsible to all people, not just to the most prosperous. Philanthropists have agendas of their own, and they can be driven by ideological, religious or business preferences.

Private donors can actually do serious harm. The Turkish government believes that Fethullah Gülen, who runs Muslim schools and other charitable institutions, was the mastermind of an attempted military coup. In the USA, the American Enterprise Institute, which is sponsored by plutocrats, has an agenda of denying climate change and demanding tax cuts. Low taxes, however, are one reason why many state agencies are unable to do their jobs properly. Of course, state agencies fail for other reasons too. Corruption, nepotism, negligence and underdeveloped capacities all matter. Dysfunctional government agencies would certainly do well to learn some private-sector lessons. And yes, it makes sense when top managers assume corporate social responsibility. Private donors are welcome to contribute to public debate and to fund relevant measures. The goal, however, must be to ensure capable and democratically legitimate governments. In the same sense, multilateral agencies' capacity to act must not depend on private donations either.

Let's not forget that some of the super-rich did not accumulate their massive wealth in a benign way. Gates himself is an example. Microsoft, the corporation he founded, enjoyed something of a global monopoly at the end of the 1990s only because IBM had run into antitrust problems and was forbidden to use a disc-operating software of its own. Microsoft filled that niche and was soon the target of antitrust-proceedings itself. At the turn of the century, Gates had the reputation of a greedy monopolist. He only became a philanthropist later.

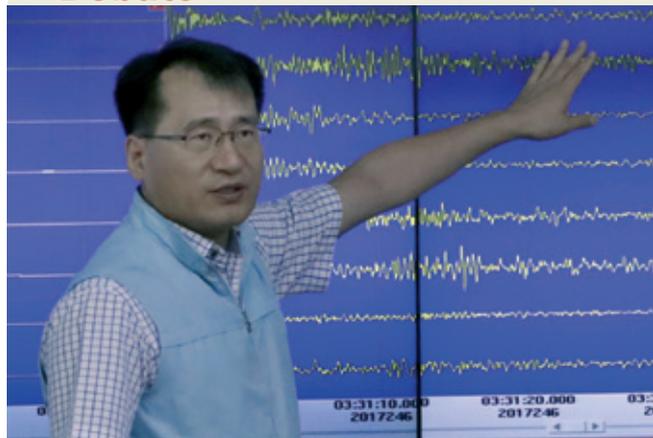
Mark Zuckerberg is another incredibly successful person. His and his wife's fortune is estimated to be worth about \$ 40 billion. They have pledged to donate 99% of that money in their lifetime. Zuckerberg owes his wealth to Facebook, a social-media platform that mines users' private data and serves as a launch-pad for fake news. The entrepreneur says he wants to help to build communities, but the platform he created pays very little taxes and contributes to undermining democracy. Humankind needs him to focus on making Facebook a transparent and trustworthy forum rather than maximising its profits and promising to donate to worthy causes later.

► You'll find all contributions of our focus section plus related ones on our website – they'll be compiled in next month's briefing section.



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Debate



North Korea's nuclear obsession

The more isolated North Korea becomes, the more its erratic regime longs for weapons of mass destruction. It is stoking nationalism and keeping the world on tenterhooks by testing nuclear arms and long-range missiles. Political scientist Maysam Behravesch assesses the matter. **PAGE 15**

Tribune



The Mexican approach

Mexico's government is introducing important institutional reforms and drafting new policies in order to rise to the double challenge of climate change and the Sustainable Development Goals. In the eyes of Helge Arends of GIZ, the mainstreaming of both agendas is essential. **PAGE 17**

Dismantle barriers

In Rwanda, young people with disabilities struggle to find decent jobs. The government is promoting their inclusion in the labor market, but a lot still needs to be done, as four students from Marburg University argue on the basis of a research project. **PAGE 19**

MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS

A call for radical reform

The UN needs a new approach to keeping and building peace. According to Michael von der Schulenburg, a former officer of the UN as well as the OSCE, the international community should strike a new “grand bargain” on how to deal with collapsing states, belligerent non-state actors and intrastate conflicts. Such an agreement, he argues, would help to safeguard interstate peace as well.

By Hans Dembowski

Since the end of World War II, inter-state wars have become rare. According to Schulenburg, the interstate peace we are now used to rests on two pillars: the benign collective security system of the UN on the one hand and the terrible threat of massive destruction in nuclear war on the other hand. Governments that have nuclear weapons feel safe from foreign attacks because they know they could retaliate in a devastating manner.

In Schulenburg’s eyes, the twin pillars have proven their worth in past decades. He warns, however, that both are getting weaker. According to him, the authority of the UN is weakening, and the deterrent impact of nuclear arms is being undermined by the growing number of countries with nuclear capability. Moreover, he sees a trend of for-

eign powers being drawn into civil wars as well as risk of belligerent non-state actors acquiring weapons of mass destruction. Global peace may therefore be more threatened than is generally believed.

As Schulenburg elaborates in his new book “On building peace”, the past three decades have been marked by collapsing statehood and civil wars. Drawing on his vast experience as an officer of the UN and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) in various crisis regions, he wants the international community to rethink its concepts of peace building and peace keeping. He has first-hand experience of many of the world’s trouble spots, including Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, the Balkans, Sierra Leone and Haiti.

Schulenburg convincingly spells out that peacebuilding is more important – and should precede – peacekeeping. In situations of civil strife, international peacekeepers cannot simply step in and keep warring parties apart because they are normally not considered to be impartial. Establishing a sense of shared norms and nationhood is essential for both building and keeping peace, the author argues.

In Schulenburg’s view, the western model of democratic nation-states and indi-

vidual rights cannot be replicated in strife-torn countries where community ties and allegiances matter much more. Distrust is rampant. Masses of people have suffered violence, and still fear the enemies. As Schulenburg points out, the priority must be to build trust.

Schulenburg makes a distinction between the notions of the nation and the state. They are related, but different. His metaphor is that the nation is the soul whereas the state is the body. Formalised state institutions can only work well where people share an understanding of purpose. This assessment makes sense, but the author ultimately fails to solve the hen-and-egg problem: What comes first nationhood or statehood? Institutions are needed to keep internal peace, but they are hard to build without trust. A minimum of conventional peacekeeping by foreign security forces thus seems to be required, even though it’s hard to bring about.

PERTINENT ISSUES

Schulenburg deserves attention because he is raising the right questions, even though he does not consistently offer convincing answers. No doubt, the international community needs a coherent approach for dealing with belligerent non-state actors. No doubt, it needs globally accepted rules concerning when and how to intervene in civil wars. No doubt, it needs to develop a way to build nationhood as well as statehood in post-conflict settings.

In Schulenburg’s eyes, the scope of the UN Charter should be expanded. He proposes a grand bargain that would do two things:

- it would make the nation-state itself and the relationships within nation-states subject to international law and norms, and
- it would empower the UN by giving it a mandate to deal with intrastate conflicts.

Schulenburg admits that defining a set of binding norms for all nation-states will require extensive international debate. However he points out that the UN has already adopted many relevant principles,



Senegalese peacekeepers preparing to leave Haiti after completing their mission.

including human-rights conventions, for example. He lists several elements of what nation-states should facilitate, including the preservation of internal peace, accountable government, access to justice, social inclusion and good governance. Liberal democracy according to the western model meets these criteria, but the author insists that other options must be considered too. In his eyes, traditional understandings of justice or inclusion must be taken into

account. Indeed, he expresses stringent criticism of western powers (see box below).

Schulenburg acknowledges that his proposal is quite radical and may seem utopian. He insists, however, that his ideas are not unrealistic, pointing out that all major political powers share an interest in safeguarding global peace. According to him, all parties involved should see the advantages of strengthening collective security. The alternative would be “to slip into a global chaos”.

The book reads reasonably well, but it would have benefited from more professional editing and proofreading. There are far too many typos, and the grammar is sometimes garbled.

REFERENCE

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Fading western doctrines

The western dominated post-Cold War order is coming to an end. Attempts to shape post-conflict countries according to the western model, have generally failed, according to the former UN officer Michael von der Schulenburg.

Schulenburg’s book “On building peace” (see main article) reveals him to be a fierce critic of western powers. In his view, especially – though not only – the USA has arrogantly tried to impose its ideas and values on the international community. As a consequence, most multilateral attempts to rebuild failed nation-states did not deliver the desired results, but even compounded the problems, as the author points out.

One of his examples is Libya. He argues that, though NATO intervened with a UN mandate to protect civilian people in Libya in 2011, the country is now in a worse shape than before. It is stuck in lasting civil strife, and the irony is that it had had one of the region’s highest human-development levels before the crisis.

Schulenburg is a German citizen and has served as a UN assistant secretary general. His

assessment is that the NATO approach of “light intervention”, which relied entirely on air strikes, did nothing to promote a sense of nationhood or build state institutions, allowing various rebel militias to take hold. He insists that the intervention has weakened the legitimacy of western powers in the entire world region as well as reduced the credibility of liberal democracy as a global model. Moreover, he points out that NATO undermined R2P, the UN principal of the responsibility to protect, by using the humanitarian mandate to drive regime change.

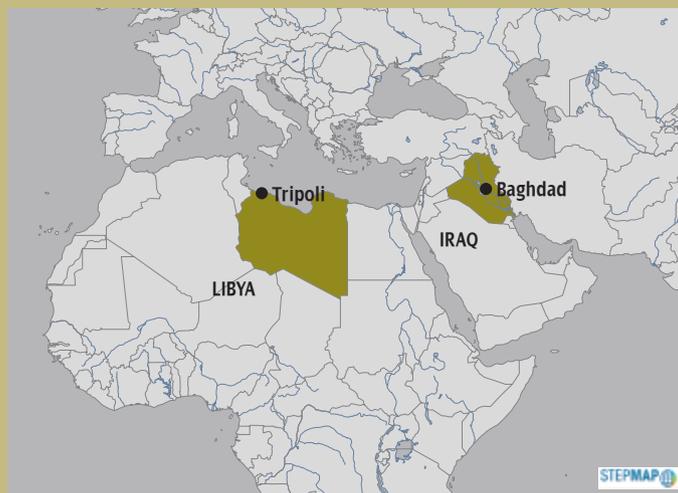
Schulenburg’s assessment of the Iraq war is equally devastating. He finds it bizarre that troops from the USA and Britain expected to be celebrated as liberators when they toppled autocratic President Saddam Hussein in 2003. After all, both countries’ track record was not good in the eyes of Iraq’s civilian people, who, for years, had been exposed to allied air raids.

It also matters that Iraqis were keenly aware of western powers having supported Saddam Hussein in his war against Iran the 1980s. They also remembered that Britain had not lived up to its pledge of granting Mesopotamia independence after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War I.

In Schulenburg’s eyes, the USA and Britain were obviously guilty of double standards. Moreover, they intervened without an explicit Security Council mandate, and thus weakened the authority of the UN.

The author argues that the idea of liberal democracy being the answer to the question of failed statehood has been proven wrong. Otherwise, the issue would not keep haunting the international community. He warns that formal elections normally do not solve the problem of national ownership in post-crisis settings. The reason is that they tend to add up to something like an ethnicity census that reads to the dominance of a specific group, without contributing to substantial policy deliberation.

Schulenburg adds that the kind of constitution, which is the foundation of western democracies and typically emphasises individual rights, cannot simply be replicated in non-western cultures. Nation-building, he argues, is a long-term endeavour that must first establish rules for the peaceful coexistence of diverse communities. In his experience, it is counterproductive when western experts contribute to drafting new constitutions fast after civic strife. (dem)



PEACEBUILDING

Comprehensive approach

Peace, security and development are inextricably linked, according to Germany's Federal Government. Its recently adopted policy guidelines on preventing crises, managing conflicts and building peace attempt to integrate foreign, security and development policy into a coherent framework for dealing with conflict. This comprehensive approach is expected to yield better results than isolated endeavours.

By Monika Hellstern

The Federal Government vows to step up crisis-prevention measures and continue developing its early warning mechanisms. In contrast to past policies, the guidelines prioritise crisis prevention which is considered more effective and less costly than acute crisis response. The government also prioritises civilian conflict-resolution measures like civilian peacekeeping. When all political options have been exhausted, however, the use of military force – in line with international law – may be the last resort.

The new guidelines acknowledge that the world is in disarray. Conflict dynamics have changed since the end of the Cold War, so new approaches must be taken. This is

especially true of fragile states where governments:

- have lost the monopoly on the use of force,
- are unable to provide basic public services and
- are not accepted by all people they are supposed to serve.

The guidelines warn that nationalism and violent extremism may spark violence. Climate change and natural disasters are similarly considered potential triggers because they reduce the availability of scarce resources and are drivers of forced displacement. The Federal Government intends to tackle these and similar challenges. It wants to contribute to long-term crisis management and peacebuilding. While appreciating that every conflict is different, the guidelines identify three basic phases:

- latent conflict,
- violent conflict and
- post-conflict situations.

The phases tend to overlap, and transitions may often be fluid. Nonetheless, the guidelines assign each phase a strategic approach with specific instruments. During a phase of latent conflict, crisis prevention measures are to be applied. Depending on the degree and cause of fragility, medium- and

long-term institution-building and capacity-building measures may be required. It may also be necessary to protect people from violent non-state actors. The Federal Government believes that promoting employment and private-sector development can reduce inequalities and, among other instruments, help to prevent crises.

Once conflicts turn violent, the guidelines call for conflict resolution and humanitarian assistance. Crisis diplomacy, mediation and the support for negotiation processes should help to end the strife. Germany can offer training programmes to strengthen delegations' negotiating skills, for example, or provide institutional structures for negotiations. Transitional development assistance in the fields of food security or infrastructure can lay foundations for long-term development. All measures must be tailored to the conflict context, constantly reevaluated and updated, according to the guidelines.

In post-conflict situations, peacebuilding measures serve to prevent a crisis from flaring up again. They should tackle people's traumas and address the drivers of conflicts. Germany supports transitional justice and reconciliation processes with the aim of investigating, recognising and prosecuting past injustices. Judges and other staff of the judicial system are to be trained. Security-sector reform, including the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of former combatants is another way to support states in the aftermath of conflict.

All measures are to be coordinated between the different Federal Ministries. The government wants to improve policy coherence. In what has become known as the "comprehensive approach", it aims to better mainstream its policies on peace, security and development. This aspiration not only includes enhanced inter-ministerial coordination but also better cooperation with the EU as well as the UN. The guidelines, moreover, promote increased cooperation with civil society, religious communities, foundations, business companies and academia.

LINK

The Federal Government's new guidelines: http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/cae/servlet/contentblob/765026/publicationFile/231263/170614-Leitlinien_Krisenpraevention_Konfliktbewaeltigung_Friedensfoerderung_DL.pdf



Defence Minister Ursula von der Leyen visiting German peacekeeping troops in Mali this summer.

HUMANITARIAN AID

Prevention is better

Due to climate change, the frequency and intensity of extreme weather events is growing globally. Heavy storms and floods occur evermore often. Usually, aid is provided to people after disasters strike, but prevention will be more effective. In Bangladesh, new approaches are being tested.

By Katja Dombrowski

The impacts of climate change severely affect Bangladesh. The main reasons are the country's monsoon climate, its delta location, its long coastline and extensive lowlands. Bangladesh ranks sixth in the global climate-risk index which spans the past 20 years and was prepared by the civil-society organisation Germanwatch. This summer,

monsoon rains that were much stronger than usual destroyed the harvest of 1.5 million farmers – and thus their livelihoods.

“Climate change is one of the main obstacles for development,” says Rashe-dujjaman Rashed, director for multilateral economic affairs at Bangladesh's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The country's high population density aggravates the situation, he argues. The government is rising to the challenges with several initiatives. It has allocated \$400 million of domestic funds to dealing with climate-change induced migration. However, Bangladesh cannot cope on its own. “We need international support,” Rashed stressed at a side event during the UN climate summit in Bonn in November.

The German Red Cross has chosen Bangladesh as a pilot country to test a new concept of humanitarian aid. So far, the agency has stuck to the usual scheme: a disaster takes place, it puts people in an emergency situation, and their needs are identified. Next, aid organisations call for donations. They use the money to buy food, medicines and other relief supplies and distribute them to the victims.

The new anticipatory approach is different. The idea is to provide aid before a disaster strikes. Doing so is possible thanks to data such as weather forecasts and satellite-based assessments. According to Stefanie Lux of the German Red Cross, such data has become very reliable, allowing for accurate estimates of, for instance, where a cyclone is likely to hit and how many people will be affected. Forecasts combined with risk assessments serve as a trigger to pay out cash.

The lessons learnt in July this year were encouraging. Before the floods hit Bangladesh, the German Red Cross distributed the equivalent of about €55 to 1,039 households each. According to Lux, that is what an average household earns per month. “The money enabled the affected people to buy food for themselves and fodder for their cattle.” Moreover, they could bring themselves and their cattle to a safe place.

An evaluation after the floods showed that the number of people who were forced to sell cattle or other assets was much smaller than usual. “Particularly very poor people, who have no savings at all, often have to sell their assets to cope with floods,” Lux reports. In emergency situations, prices tend to fall, and that compounds people's problems. After the disaster, they can rarely buy back what they sold – and thus plunge deeper into poverty.

The new approach is based on a new, forecast-based concept of financing aid. The idea is to establish an anticipatory humanitarian system. According to Lux, this is a huge challenge, not least because humanitarian agencies need to disburse money before they can start a fundraising campaign after a disaster.

NEW BMZ FUND

Climate-risk insurance is another preventive approach to deal with the impacts of climate change. In the eyes of Vera Scholz, who



Ahead of this year's floods in Bangladesh, the German Red Cross distributed cash, so affected people could bring themselves and their cattle to safety.

works for the German government agency GIZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft für internationale Zusammenarbeit) it is a “very important, cost-effective and reliable” instrument to save lives and livelihoods. The German development bank KfW offers such insurance schemes in Bangladesh. They are funded by a new fund established by Germany’s Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ).

In case of a natural disaster, the insurance disbursements serve to buy food and medicines as well as to finance the building

of shelters and schools. According to Scholz, only 150 million people globally are insured that way. The BMZ wants to reach 500 million people in developing countries and emerging economies by 2020. It aims to provide insurance schemes not only to countries, but also to cities, companies, communities or households.

Extreme weather events often force people to leave their homes. Preparedness can help to avoid that. Walter Kaelin of the Platform on Disaster Displacement (PDD) says that supporting people to stay, even

if they are at risk, is crucial. The PDD is the successor organisation of the Nansen Initiative that aimed to protect people who were displaced by disaster (see D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2017/04, p.26). In Bangladesh, hundreds of thousands of people are forced to leave their homes every year. When risks are very great, however, it is “better to move people before they become victims,” Kaelin stresses. Properly planned relocation is better than hurried escape. Making such plans is part of an anticipatory aid approach too.

GARMENT INDUSTRY

Sustainability a long way off

The ecological footprint of the global garment industry is huge, and so are its growth rates. According to experts, a comprehensive transformation to sustainability is needed along the entire value chain. So far, however, only few fashion companies have been working towards that goal.

By Katja Dombrowski

The garment industry emits 1.7 billion tons of carbon dioxide per year, according to the study “Pulse of the fashion industry”. It was recently published by The Boston Consulting Group (BCG) in cooperation with the Global Fashion Agenda. Moreover, the industry uses immense amounts of water – for growing cotton, for instance – and is responsible for major pollution due to the use of toxic chemicals. According to the study, the industry produces 2.1 billion tons of waste per year.

Sustainability is a long way off (see our online briefing on the garment industry). The industry’s high growth rates are set to aggravate the problems even further. The world population is growing, and so are the middle classes and thus the number of fashion consumers. In September, the environmental non-governmental organisation WWF published the report “Changing Fashion”, according to which global clothing

consumption has doubled between 2000 and 2014. On average, each person buys five kilogrammes of clothes per year. In Europe and the USA, the amount is even 16 kilo-

grammes. Experts forecast an increase from 62 million tons in 2015 to 102 million tons in 2030. At the same time, resources are getting scarcer. The BCG report predicts that profits are going to shrink because of rising material, labour and energy costs.

The authors of both studies agree that a comprehensive transformation is needed for the garment industry to achieve ecological, social and economic sustainability. The WWF proposes innovations on three levels:



Filippa K fashion show in Berlin. The Swedish brand is a sustainability pioneer.

- business model innovation according to the principles of reducing, repairing, sharing, reusing and recycling,
- product innovation based on recycled and sustainable raw materials and
- process innovation leading to manufacturing processes with a reduced environmental footprint, particularly regarding energy, greenhouse gas emissions, water and chemicals.

The study includes a sustainability ranking of 12 leading fashion companies. H&M, the Swedish multinational, scores best. It aims to be a global leader in energy efficiency, as Vanessa Rothschild of H&M said at the world climate conference in Bonn in November. Targets include to achieve climate neutrality along the entire value chain by 2030 and climate positivity by 2040. By 2025, she promised, every piece of clothes will be produced using 30% less carbon dioxide, and by 2030, H&M wants to use only recycled or otherwise sustainable materials. The company is working on fabrics that absorb carbon dioxide as well as on recycling

mixed fabrics. Regarding the latter, “there was recently a breakthrough,” according to the H&M manager.

Filippa K, another Swedish fashion company, aims at a closing resources cycle too. According to Elin Larsson, who belongs to the company’s management, Filippa K wants to reach that goal by following the principles of reducing, repairing, reusing and recycling. As Larsson points out, resources are not only wasted in the production process, but also by consumers. Filippa K supports its customers to act more sustainably. For instance, it provides services for renting and repairing clothes. In Stockholm, the company runs a second-hand shop that buys back – and resells – used Filippa K garments. “Today we can only guarantee full recycling for our so-called frontrunner products,” Larsson says. The goal, however, is to recycle everything. Moreover, the campaign “7 Pieces Is All You Need” encourages customers to buy less clothes.

The two Swedish companies are pioneers. The BCG report stresses that only

very few fashion companies are working towards sustainability so far. More than half of the market is made up of companies – mainly small and medium enterprises – that show no efforts at all. But even if the entire industry caught up to the best-practice frontrunners, it would not be enough. According to the authors, new approaches are needed that go beyond the existing ones.

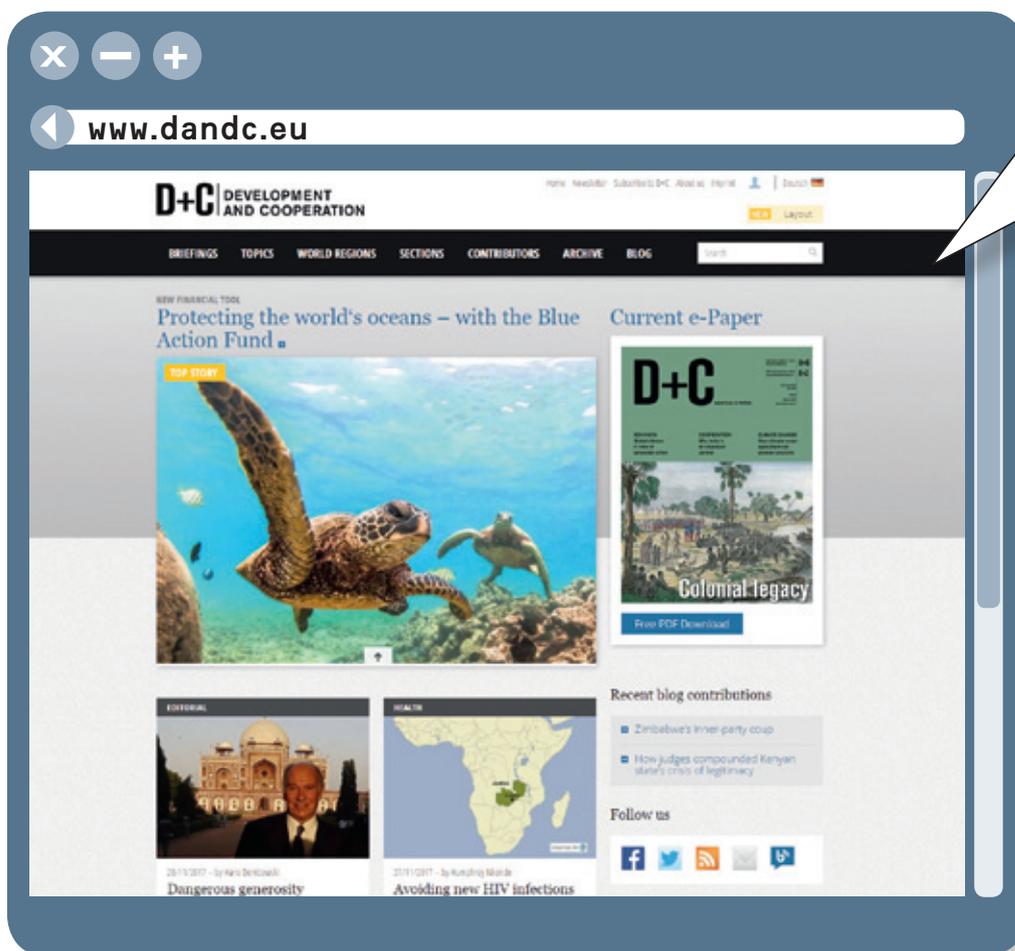
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EU

Anti-migration policy

European countries use various strategies to curb migration from Africa. However, they are being criticised by African governments including Uganda's, which takes in a large share of refugees worldwide. Simone Schlindwein and Christian Jakob describe these developments in their recently published book.

By Linda Engel

The authors stress that, contrary to media reports, migration from Africa to Europe is relatively small in numbers. In 2016, only 181,000 Africans made the dangerous attempt to cross the Mediterranean Sea to get to Europe. However, since the so-called refugee crisis of 2015, European politicians have been stoking fears that their number may rise rapidly in the next years and decades. The journalists Schlindwein and Jakob are highly critical of the current Africa policy of European countries.

According to the authors, Europe and especially Germany are still trying to shape the continent according to their interests

– decades after giving up the last colonies. The two journalists contend that the policies are anti-migration and implemented using questionable means, often in the disguise of development cooperation. To curb migration, the EU cooperates with authoritarian regimes of countries like Eritrea or Sudan and demands increased “border security” between African countries. The latter is supposed to hinder migrants from making their way to the Mediterranean Sea.

Schlindwein and Jakob use the example of West Africa to show how EU support has helped to form increasingly sophisticated border posts that hamper intra-African travel. African states cooperate with the EU either out of economic dependency or because of mounting fears of terrorism which result in calls for increased security and better border control in African societies.

However, the journalists assert that migration in Africa is nothing new. Different reasons ranging from destitution to a thirst for adventure have always made people leave their homes, temporarily or permanently, in order to live and work elsewhere. Usu-

ally, they will try their luck in neighbouring countries. The greatest number of migrants in Africa currently move from Burkina Faso to the neighbouring Ivory Coast.

The co-authors point out, moreover, that the African Union is planning visa exemption within Africa until 2018. Especially considering the long tradition of migration, African leaders have little understanding for the “Fortress Europe”. Despite their economic dependency, many African countries draw “red lines”, as Schlindwein and Jakob show.

The EU-Laissez-Passers are one measure that has universally been rejected by African governments so far. The EU wants to issue such documents when people do not carry valid passports. This would make deportations easier for the EU, since they are not possible without some kind of ID. For African countries, however, such measures would infringe on their sovereignty.

Additionally, many countries are critical of readmission agreements with the EU, according to the authors. With the exception of Cape Verde, no country in Africa has signed an agreement. Readmission agreements are supposed to ensure that rejected asylum seekers can be sent back to their home country without complications. However, African states demand visa facilitation so that at least a few migrant workers may be able to enter Europe legally, according to Schlindwein and Jakob. The EU has so far rejected that demand.

Uganda is a positive example, according to the authors. Its government refuses to close its borders to refugees. The East African country has taken in 1.3 million refugees. Many members of the ruling elite, including President Yoweri Museveni, have grown up in refugee camps themselves. Museveni criticises EU refugee policy and proves himself as a stalwart of social inclusion; in Uganda, refugees are allowed to settle permanently and to start working right away.

BOOK

Jakob, C., and Schlindwein, S., 2017: *Diktatoren als Türsteher Europas. Wie die EU ihre Grenzen nach Afrika verlagert*. Berlin, Ch. Links Verlag. (only available in German)

LINK

Taz project: Migration control.
<https://migration-control.taz.de/#en>



Erute refugee camp in Lira, Uganda. The tents were donated by Uganda Red Cross Society .

Political dynasty

Togo is experiencing unprecedented political unrest. Thousands of people join rallies organised by opposition leaders to call for democratic change in the country. Death, injury, tear gas, repression – nothing can stop the demonstrators.

Protesters in Togo demand the restoration of the 1992 constitution, which limited the number of presidential terms to two. In 2002, the constitution was amended to enable President Gnassingbé Eyadéma, the current president's father, to run for a third five-year term. The current government promised institutional reforms during the 2015 electoral campaign, but failed to keep its promise. Togo and Cameroon are the only countries in the region that allow unlimited presidential terms.

Following a bloody coup in April 1967, Gnassingbé Eyadéma came to power and ruled the country for 38

years. He was Africa's longest-serving leader at the time of his death in 2005. In April 2005, his son, Faure Gnassingbé won presidential elections which the opposition condemned as rigged. The election was followed by deadly street violence in which 400 to 500 people were killed according to UN estimates. On 25 April 2015, Faure Gnassingbé was re-elected for a third five-year term.

Togo has two major ethnic groups. The northern part of the country is dominated by the Kabyé people, while the southern, coastal part of the country is dominated by the Ewé. With the help of former colonial power France, Gnassingbé Eyadéma made sure that his fellow Kabyé people (about 12 % of Togo's population) dominated the upper ranks of the military, police and government – even though the Ewé are a much larger group (about 40 %). The longer Eyadéma was in power, the more conflicts he provoked between the two groups to stay in power.

Now, thousands of people of both ethnic groups participate in the anti-Gnassingbé rallies in the capital Lomé and in many other towns. "There is an increasing pressure from the citizens to put an end to the endless ruling of the Gnassingbé family dynasty," says Pedro Francis Amouzou, civil-rights activist and spokesman of the "Collective Sauvons le Togo" (Let's save Togo Collective). Public Pressure forced the government to introduce a draft bill on constitutional reform in parliament.

Several people have been killed during the demonstrations. Civil-society organisations condemned the use of disproportionate force by the security forces against peaceful civilians. Governmental authorities seized the press card of TV5's journalist Emmanuelle Sodji for "partial reporting of the crisis", and internet is shut down whenever there is a rally. According to human-rights activist Farida Nabourema, Togo is "at a turning point".



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FAMINE

Political solutions needed

Aid organisations help save lives. Welthungerhilfe has received donations totalling € 9 million this year for the victims of drought and war in East Africa alone. But disaster relief cannot solve the causes of distress, especially armed conflicts. The international community needs to find viable political solutions.

By Till Wahnbaeck

The good news first: we have prevented a massive famine. The death of thousands of people has been averted. At the beginning of

situation was armed conflict. The fighting – whether between government troops and opposition forces or marauding gangs – forced families to abandon their homes and villages, stopped crops being grown and destroyed health-care facilities. These catastrophes did not unfold unseen; we knew for months the nature of the impending humanitarian disasters. Reliable early warning systems enabled the number of victims to be calculated and the parts of the countries at risk to be identified.

Those warnings were taken seriously in Germany, and for months there was de-

humanitarian disaster headlined “Some things are more important than news”. Another exceptional event was the television appearance of Germany’s President Frank-Walter Steinmeier, who addressed the German nation on 9 June and appealed for donations for the people in need in Africa and Yemen.

That extensive reporting was very helpful for aid organisations’ work. Welthungerhilfe alone received more than € 9 million in donations – money that has been used to save lives. For months we have distributed food in South Sudan, reaching more than 200,000 people displaced by the fighting in the country. In the north of Uganda we help refugees from South Sudan by organising drinking water and constructing latrines and classrooms. And in the north of Somalia and Yemen we provide acute disaster relief, often with the help of partners. All of these aid projects ensure victims’ survival and would not be possible without the private donations received and the support of the German government and other international donors.

So we are not powerless or helpless in the face of humanitarian disasters. It is a good sign that sound and continuous reporting in the media not only sensitises people in Germany to the sufferings of others but also awakens a willingness to help.

Sadly, we cannot sound the all-clear, however, because the triggers of the looming hunger crisis have not been eliminated. The fighting in South Sudan, Nigeria and Yemen continues, and the situation in Somalia remains fragile. Viable political solutions need to be found for these problems. The international community must act.

The region on the Horn of Africa is also in the grip of an unrelenting drought. Kenya and Ethiopia have had no rain for nearly three years – or so little that pastoralists have lost much of their livestock. Climate change is a contributory factor, making harvest forecasts increasingly uncertain and traditional livelihoods and ways of life such as pastoralism unsustainable. Altogether, the food situation remains extremely critical for more than 20 million people.



In April, Welthungerhilfe distributed food in Somaliland. Each family ratio contained oil, powdered milk, rice and dates.

this year, the UN and aid organisations started warning of an imminent risk of famine in four countries. The food situation in Yemen, South Sudan, Nigeria and Somalia had dramatically deteriorated. Around 20 million people faced an acute risk of starvation.

In all four countries, one of the main reasons for the rapid worsening of the

tailed media coverage of the desperate plight of the people. Daily newspapers and many periodicals carried long articles on the situation in the countries affected, and TV broadcasters presented shocking images from South Sudan and Yemen. On 13 June, the regional daily Hamburger Abendblatt even featured a special front page on the



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GLOBAL CLIMATE

Decarbonise now

A global fossil-fuel phase out is the order of the day. Otherwise, the goals of the Paris Agreement will be missed. That was scientists' consensus at the world climate conference in Bonn in November (COP23).

By Katja Dombrowski

In Bonn, the member states of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) worked on the draft of a rule book for the implementation of the 2015 treaty that will come into force in 2020. The rules are to be adopted in December 2018 in Katowice, Poland. COP24 will put special focus on efforts until 2020 which mainly industrialised countries are responsible for.

There are many encouraging developments. Energy-storage batteries are getting better and transmission grids smarter. Combining different renewable-energy technologies such as wind or solar power with pumped-storage hydropower promises reliable power supply. Moreover, several countries are getting close to 100% renewable-energy supply.

Focusing mainly on power generation as was done in the past is not enough however: electricity accounts for only 20% of the world's final energy consumption, although the share is growing fast. Transportation accounts for 37% and heating for 43%. The goal must thus be a decarbonisation of the entire global economy.

Time is short. That was emphasised at COP23 too. Pilot projects are useful, awareness raising and capacity building are important, and broad-based participation is crucial. But the question is: do we have time to wait for all the good ideas to materialise and show impact? By 2030, 600 of the 800 gigatons global carbon budget we can afford if we want to limit global warming to under two degrees Celsius will already be used up – unless there is a major transition. One hundred percent renewable-energy supply in Costa Rica and Iceland, more efficient coal power plants in China and a few more electric cars in Europe will definitely not suffice.

Many private-sector companies understand these things, but too many politicians still do not. In the USA, major corporations such as Walmart and Google are leading climate action since a climate-change denier took over the White House. Their initiative is called "We are still in" (in the Paris Agreement that President Donald Trump has left). It represents \$ 6.2 trillion of the US economy. In Germany, more than 50 companies including global players such as Adidas and Siemens demand that the future federal government make a strong commitment to climate protection and phasing out coal-fired power plants. Germany used to be a front-runner in regard to renewable energies but is now set to miss its own climate targets due to counterproductive policymaking.

Policymaking remains essential elsewhere too. Regulatory mechanisms and subsidies are indispensable instruments because we do not have the time to wait for market mechanisms to bring about the needed great transformation. Decarbonisation will not make much sense if it only

happens after the melting of the polar caps. Scrapping all fossil-fuel subsidies would be a good start. A carbon price to make coal technologies unprofitable could make a huge difference too – preferably at the global level.

It does not make sense that coal mining continues in Germany and that aviation fuels are still exempted from taxes. It is a shame that EU member countries are unable to agree on ambitiously expanding renewable energies and that multilateral finance institutions such as the World Bank continue financing coal-based power generation in developing countries. Not to mention developments in China: the world's number one greenhouse-gas emitter is a green-power champion, but at the same time it is building many new coal-fired power plants. The People's Republic would surely like to export its new so-called green coal technology to the whole of Asia. That's no phase-out. It is greenwashing. This approach will neither protect the climate, nor help humanity.



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China still counts on coal for power production. Coal-fired power plant in Tongren city in the southwestern province of Guizhou.

MUHAMMAD BIN SALMAN

The Saudi Putin?

By arresting influential princes, businessmen and media moguls, the young crown prince of Saudi Arabia wants to consolidate his power. His strategy is risky.

By Sebastian Sons

These days, Saudi Arabia is politically shaken. In the night of 5 November, Muhammad bin Salman, the king's son and heir to the throne, gave order to detain 11 high-ranking princes, four ministers, several rich businessmen and three influential media moguls in a sweeping wave of arrests.

This incident has far-reaching impacts. Crown Prince Muhammad bin Salman, called MbS, is the mastermind of the purge. He has been a jack of all trades since his father Salman took power in January 2015. As acting minister of defence, he is responsible for the disastrous war in Yemen. On the other hand, he drafted the ambitious Vision 2030, a domestic economic reform programme (see D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2017/10, p. 26). Not long ago, he also became head of a newly established anti-corruption agency – which orchestrated the recent arrests. The detainees are accused of harming the Saudi nation by embezzling funds and by being „weak souls“.

MbS presents himself as a tough reformer and anti-corruption campaigner. So far, members of the royal family and other minions were considered immune. Such favouritism now belongs to the past. MbS is cleaning up. Especially Saudi Arabia's young generation celebrates him for doing so. Many of the young people are tired of the elite depriving them of career opportunities and syphoning off millions of dollars. MbS is cleverly taking advantage of their frustration by spreading the message that no one is above the law. No one is safe from him; he is the law.

The fight against corruption is only a pretext though. The crown prince's main goal is to consolidate his power as the future king. While his father and his father's predecessors were much older when coming into power, the concept of respecting elders does

not appeal to the 32-year-old. Instead, he wants to convince the public that he is the right one to lead the country in difficult times.

There are many crises. The economy is stagnating. Foreign affairs are marked by the conflict with arch rival Iran. Besides Yemen, Saudi Arabia has now also drawn Lebanon into the conflict – that country may sink into chaos too. Rumour has spread that Lebanese Prime Minister Saad Hariri was forced to resign on behalf of MbS and that he has been detained in Saudi Arabia. Hariri and the Saudi leadership strongly



The young Saudi heir to the throne Muhammad bin Salman wants to consolidate his power.

denied these rumours. The reason might be that the Shiite Hezbollah militia that allied with Iran was part of the Hariri government. MbS is heating up the demonisation of Iran, but he also has to find a way out of the conflict somehow. Hariri has returned to Lebanon, and how Saudi Arabia will react remains to be seen.

Domestically, MbS is taking the carrot-and-stick approach. He acts hard against possible opponents while presenting himself to the youth as an open-minded ruler who wants to create a new, modern Saudi Arabia. It was MbS who announced that

starting from summer of 2018, women may drive cars, and that cinemas will be introduced in the future. His credo is that economic reforms and social liberalisation are necessary; but his top priority is the stability of his position.

His power play is risky however. So far, the Saudi polity was based on an elaborate system of compromise. Within the royal family, princes were provided with jobs and roles to make them docile. Influential businessmen got government contracts that stabilised their loyalty to the king. It was a give-and-take-system. MbS is now breaking with this tacit understanding. He pretends to be leading a morals-driven anti-establishment movement against the very elite to which he belongs himself.

Jamal Khashoggi, a Saudi journalist, who has fallen out of grace in his homeland,

calls MbS the “Saudi Putin”, whose aim is to install a one-man rule. Although Saudi Arabia has always been an absolute monarchy, the family used to make decisions together. MbS's wish to decide everything by himself is shaking up the Saudi-Arabian family tradition.



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WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

Nuclear obsession

The more North Korea is isolated, the more attractive nuclear weapons look to its despotic leadership. This downward spiral will be hard to stop.

By Maysam Behravesht

North Korea became a de facto nuclear-weapon state (NWS) in 2006. It has since conducted no less than five nuclear tests. The latest was carried out in September 2017, and according to North Korean state media, it featured a thermonuclear weapon or hydrogen bomb for the first time.

missile in late November and claims the US mainland is in its reach. Earlier missile tests occurred in July.

It is quite obvious that North Korea's obsessive efforts over the past years to bring the US mainland within the range of its missiles are driven by fear. The dictatorship wants to prevent a US or allied attack on its territory. The consensus among international observers is that North Korea is keen on the deterrent impact of nuclear weapons and long-range missiles.

The fates of former Iraqi strongman Saddam Hussein and Libyan dictator Mu-

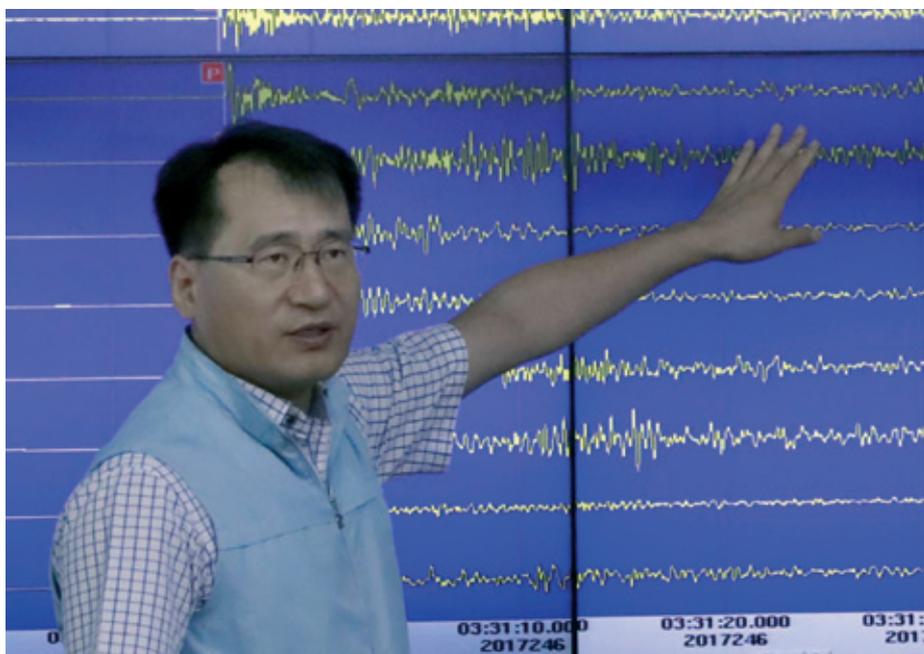
provide it with something like impunity. After all, Vladimir Putin's Russia managed to get away with the annexation of Crimea in early 2014 thanks to its massive arsenal of nuclear weapons. According to international law, Crimea is part of Ukraine.

For North Korea, however, the nuclear programme serves other needs and purposes as well. The country is marginalised in the international community, thanks to its reclusive communist regime and an ideology that glorifies self-sufficiency. There is a notable lack of allies and friends. Pyongyang has been described as a "rogue" regime by many western powers and their Asian allies.

In this setting, the possession of powerful nukes implies membership in the elite club of nuclear weapon states, and that is apparently perceived to compensate for the identity problems emanating from isolation. North Korean leaders seem to believe that nuclear capability bestows on their state the recognition and status it otherwise lacks.

This is all the more important given that North Korea is subject to tough international sanctions which were imposed by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). The last round of UNSC sanctions against the country was passed on 11 September, restricting its crude oil imports and textile exports. UNSC Resolution 2375, which was even backed by traditionally more sympathetic states such as Russia and China, also bans North Korean nationals from working abroad.

In such a harsh international environment, nuclear weapons may play in state-society relations. The sanctions hurt North Korea's economy and its people, but there is little doubt that the mastery of nuclear technology has stoked nationalism. Nuclear prowess serves to legitimise the despotic leadership in the absence of democratic institutions and fair distribution of national resources. It is ironic that the arms programme accomplishes these things for the regime, even though the country is paying an incredibly high price.



South Korean scientist assessing the earthquake caused by a nuclear test in North Korea in September.

The explosion had an estimated destructive yield of 250 kilotons. It was indeed far greater than that of ordinary nuclear weapons – which usually have a yield in the range of tens of kilotons. It also generated an earthquake with an estimated seismic magnitude of 6.3.

Raising the stakes even higher, North Korea tested an intercontinental ballistic

mmar Gaddafi have surely not been lost on North Korea's leadership. Both strongmen were at loggerheads with the United States and did not hesitate to challenge international norms. Both were eliminated soon after discontinuing their nuclear programmes. They lacked a strategic deterrent.

A "rogue" state as North Korea has reason to believe that its nuclear capability can



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RULE OF LAW

Diminished force

In the past three months, the crisis of the Kenyan state's legitimacy has deepened. A well meant, poorly designed intervention by the Supreme Court has backfired dramatically.

By Hans Dembowski

Kenya's Supreme Court earned much praise when it announced on 1 September that it would annul the country's recent presidential elections. Almost three months later, it is evident that it ultimately exacerbated the country's problems.

In a rerun election in late October, voters confirmed incumbent president Uhuru Kenyatta in office. The turnout was below 40%, which means that a huge share of the electorate did not consider the runoff legitimate. Kenyatta's legitimacy is thus dented too, and it hardly matters that almost every citizen who did vote opted for him. His repressive stance does not help; all too often, opponents are killed at rallies. Compounding problems, members of the Luo ethnic group, to which opposition leader Raila Odinga belongs, are now contemplating secession.

The Supreme Court must bear some of the blame. On 1 September it announced the annulment and ordered that the rerun be held within 60 days. It only delivered its extensive judgment three weeks later, leaving Kenya's public to wonder for 20 days what had gone wrong. In the end, the judges refrained from indicating any personal guilt, but failed to spell out how to correct systemic flaws. Their judgment did not ensure that the rerun election's legitimacy would be beyond any doubt.

There was very little time and no explicit guidelines for organising the rerun election properly. Arguing it would not be fair, Odinga unsuccessfully demanded reforms of the election commission. Next, he told his supporters to boycott the event.

As the date of the rerun approached, things were spinning out of control. A member of the election commission fled to the USA and claimed to be fearing for her life.

Everyone remembered that another member of the election commission was murdered shortly before the first election in August.

Public trust took another hit when the Supreme Court declared itself unable to decide on whether the rerun was legitimate one day before the vote. Too few of its judges assembled in Nairobi. The deputy chief justice was missing because her driver was hospitalised after having been shot the night before. Apparently other members of the bench also feared for their lives. The rerun election went ahead without the top court having decided on its legitimacy.

In its most recent decision in mid-November, the Supreme Court upheld

cannot be guaranteed. In such a scenario, judges should grant more time and spell out clearly what needs to happen in that period.

In a similar way, the quorum that a minimum number of judges must convene to decide hardly makes sense at a time when judges are afraid to assemble. In such a scenario, they must opt for teleconferencing by mobile phone. The substantial validity of an election and the authority of the country's top judges are certainly of greater relevance than a formal quorum.

Many Kenyans will never consider Kenyatta their legitimate president. Kenya's Supreme Court made an effort to keep a check on the government, as is its duty. International observers praised it for setting a continental example. Unfortunately, it did not do a thorough job and is now a diminished force.

Commenting on the Court's decision to uphold the rerun election, opposition leader Odinga said: "This ruling didn't



Election-related protest in Nairobi.

Kenyatta's victory. They probably had no other choice since the people are tired of constant campaigning, and yet another presidential election would have sapped credibility even more.

In retrospect, it is clear that the judges did pay too much attention to formalities and too little attention to the substance of justice. The constitutional requirement that a presidential election must be repeated within 60 days after being annulled does not make sense if fair and clean elections

come as a surprise. It was a decision taken under duress. We do not condemn the court, we sympathise with it." In formal terms, Kenyatta had accepted the court's annulment decision, but he nonetheless agitated against the judges and tolerated his supporters speaking of a judicial coup.

A new parliament and county governors were elected this summer. If they serve their duties as independent branches of government well, Kenya's democracy may yet prevail.

SDGS

Moving forward in Mexico

To meet the development and climate-change challenges of the future, the Mexican government is introducing important changes to institutions and policies. One main task is the coherent implementation of the sustainable-development and climate agendas.

By Helge Arends

The 2030 Agenda with its 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the Paris Climate Agreement show that the nations of the world are in fundamental agreement on the most important global challenges. Implementing these two agendas is now the daunting task at hand. Certain groundwork needs to be laid in order to achieve the SDGs

as well as each country's nationally determined contributions (NDCs) to climate protection. Going forward, it will be important that:

- ministries establish solid coordination mechanisms,
- funds are made available,
- national development plans are adjusted and
- regulatory instruments are developed and implemented.

None of this will be easy as the international community and its members confront huge challenges. Development cooperation (DC) in the spirit of the 2030 Agenda is new for all organisations involved. Some feel that the current approaches just need a few, minor tweaks, but dialogue on tangi-

ble action shows that more needs to happen. In addition to measuring progress made on the SDGs, structural issues that relate to policy formulation and implementation must be addressed. National development planning needs to adapt, and financial resources for sustainable development must be mobilised.

For Mexico, achieving the SDGs is essential to addressing several national challenges. Around 55 million of Mexico's 127 million people live below the national poverty line. Sixty percent of those in work are employed in the informal sector without any kind of social protection. The country also experiences serious shortcomings in governance.

At the same time, Mexico is one of 12 world leaders in biodiversity. It ranks ninth among the top carbon emitters and generates 1.7 % of all global greenhouse gases. More than 90 % of the energy consumed in Mexico comes from fossil fuels.

The "2030 Agenda Initiative" of Germany's Federal Ministry for Economic



To fight air pollution in the capital city, Mexico is using driving bans and cycling paths.

Cooperation and Development (BMZ) has tasked the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) with working with Mexico's Office of the President to ensure the highest level of support for the transformations which the SDGs entail. The joint initiative has three priorities. It is designed to:

- accompany the work of the National 2030 Agenda Council which is to convene governmental and non-governmental agencies with the goal of advising the president on implementing the 2030 Agenda,
- support the elaboration of a Mexican strategy for the 2030 Agenda, and
- strengthen interaction between the public sector, civil society, the private sector and research.

One focus of the initiative's work is on improving policy coherence, in particular when it comes to an integrated approach to implementing the SDGs and NDCs.

INTERDEPARTMENTAL MINDSET

Implementation of the SDGs and the Paris Agreement is in full swing. Mexico has set up a sustainability architecture and is drafting a plan for delivering on its NDCs.

GIZ has initiated dialogue on coordinating the two processes, and there is general agreement that Mexico would benefit from a mainstreamed approach. For the country's environment ministry, the SDGs are an opportunity to spur on reforms to mitigate and adapt to climate change in sectors that are not conventionally its jurisdiction. For example, the 2030 Agenda will put climate change on the agenda of the ministries of the interior and of social development.

Anchoring the climate agenda at the core of Mexican politics requires political will at the top level. Mainstreaming with the 2030 Agenda can help since the President's Office is in charge of the SDGs. Accordingly, the SDGs are given priority in all fields of Mexican development planning. Moreover, the government has been raising awareness for the 2030 Agenda among a wide range of stakeholders and the general public. It has launched information campaigns, hosted forums for debate and is considering educational formats for sustainable development. These are important steps for counteracting inevitable resistance to climate measures, such as phasing out subsidies that damage

the climate or introducing emissions trading. Broad support is needed to ensure the long-term success of these reforms.

In Mexico, debate on climate change has largely been sector specific, so it is important to highlight the positive effect climate protection will have on achieving the SDGs in areas such as health, employment, technology and innovation. This way, mainstreaming the agendas can become a forceful argument. Such an approach can prevent negative impacts of climate action on other areas relevant to sustainable development. One example is the territorial rights of indigenous peoples in the context of renewable energy projects. This is a highly controversial topic in Mexico.

Climate protection will serve the SDGs in many obvious ways. An in-house report commissioned by the 2030 Agenda Initiative showed that meeting Mexico's NDCs would have a positive effect on 47 SDG targets, including poverty reduction, employment and good governance.

Time is running out, and many countries have not recognised the win-win situation of combining climate and development policy. The two agendas are often executed in parallel instead of in concert. Once plans are set, however, it can become difficult to link them. For good reason, Mexico plans to coordinate its efforts from the outset.

HOW DOES MAINSTREAMING WORK?

The 2030 Agenda Initiative is working at the interface between the President's Office and Mexico's environment ministry. There are three key dimensions to their efforts:

1. Thematic: Interlinking the topics of the two agendas must mark Mexico's future sustainable strategy in a way that promotes cross-sectoral debate and takes account of all advantages of climate action.
2. Strategic: Drafting mainstreamed strategies will result in mobilising sufficient resources, including technology.
3. Political: Climate debate at the highest political level will keep climate issues on the president's agenda, ensuring solid and continuing political will.

The initial results are already in. The additional benefits of implementing the Mexican NDCs in light of the SDGs have been analysed and recently presented to key ministries for review. At the same time, an ongoing dialogue on integrating the agen-



das was established between the President's Office and the environment ministry. The two authorities are increasingly cooperating on bilateral exchange with international partners. For example, they sent a joint Mexican delegation to Germany to discuss the 2030 Agenda and the implementation of the NDCs.

One positive outcome is that civil servants from the President's Office are actively involved in important interdepartmental coordination concerning Mexico's NDCs. Conversely, the environment ministry will have a special role in keeping climate issues high on Mexico's sustainability agenda.

The first steps have been taken. Now the mainstreaming of the agendas has to be reflected in implementation. Poverty-reduction programmes need to include instruments for reducing vulnerability to climate disasters. Investment programmes should promote entrepreneurship in green sectors. Resources freed up by phasing out subsidies that harm the climate must be reinvested so they benefit everyone. Core projects, like starting a Mexican energy revolution or introducing emissions trading, should continue to move forward.

Global crises shorten the attention span of politics and the public. Political priorities and positions change rapidly. The mainstreamed implementation of the 2030 Agenda and the Paris Agreement – by 2030 and beyond – will require stamina. German-Mexican cooperation will help us shift from sprint to marathon mode.



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VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Breaking down barriers

Youth unemployment is high in Rwanda, and young people with disabilities struggle in particular to find jobs. The government wants to promote inclusion, but more needs to be done to overcome institutional hurdles, physical barriers and employer prejudice.

By Maxine Bayer, Marieke Fischer, Judith Guckenbiehl and Jana Hake

Since the end of the genocide in 1994, Rwanda has experienced remarkable economic and social development. Skilled, well-trained workers are in demand on the labour market. However, the country is also struggling with extremely high rates of youth unemployment. Young people all too often lack relevant skills. There are employment opportunities for trained persons, but the majority of high-school graduates want to pursue a university education.

To counter this trend, the Rwandan government is supporting technical and vocational education training (TVET). It hopes to facilitate the economic and social inclusion of young people with disabilities, who are strongly affected by marginalisation and discrimination.

Students from the Philipps University of Marburg carried out a research project in the Rwandan capital of Kigali in 2015 to determine the potential of TVET in the context of disabilities and to assess the institutions of Rwanda's vocational training sector. The project sought to answer the following research questions:

- How do people with disabilities experience the institutional setting of vocational education?
- To what extent does participation in a vocational training programme improve a person's job opportunities in the sense of promoting social inclusion?
- To what extent can vocational training be improved to serve people with disabilities better?

While gathering data in Kigali, the students interviewed national and international experts from school boards, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and state

agencies, for instance. Of course, they also asked people with disabilities who were enrolled in vocational-training programmes to share their impressions.

The results showed that young people with disabilities are at a disadvantage on Rwanda's very competitive labour market. The primary reason is prejudice, which makes many employers reluctant to hire disabled professionals. As a result, people with disabilities frequently have no choice but to become self-employed.

Vocational training is considered an important foundation for social inclusion and living an independent life. The young people concerned want equal rights and recognition for their talents. Both the experts and the personally affected students emphasised that more needs to be done to raise awareness in society.

A POSITIVE TREND

The general trend is positive. In the past, only few people with disabilities took part in government-run vocational training. The good news is that evermore agencies are initiating relevant programmes that take into account special needs. Some of these agencies are non-governmental and/or rely on official development assistance (ODA).



This school in Kigali offers young people with disabilities vocational training in electrical engineering and building craft.

Young students hope that they will be able to use the skills they have learned to become financially independent, support their families and contribute to Rwanda's development.

Nevertheless, the integrative vocational training sector in Kigali still faces several major challenges. They include significant physical barriers and a lack of resources – primarily financial, but also



Living independently is not easy for people with a disability in Rwanda.

with regard to school equipment. Moreover, policy measures that are supposed to benefit people with disabilities tend to be implemented only in an insufficient way. Most experts hold the government responsible for such shortcomings. The students themselves confirm that the schools are poorly

equipped, but they generally find the curricula convincing.

Additional awareness-raising measures and support could convince employers to change their dismissive attitude. They should be encouraged to pay more attention to people with disabilities when recruiting

staff. A systematic approach to counsel and coach students in regard to job opportunities would make sense before young people with disabilities start a training programme and when they graduate. Options for some kind of transitional phase after leaving school and before joining the labour market would be helpful too. Increased coordination with the private sector would help to close the gap between supply and demand on the labour market.

Despite ongoing challenges, steady progress is being made towards the comprehensive inclusion of people with disabilities. In particular, the practical skills they have learned allow these young people to achieve a new level of personal independence. Important policy measures have been initiated. It remains to be seen how society and public policy will work together to pave the way towards a more equal and inclusive society. Success would certainly serve Rwanda's further economic and social development.



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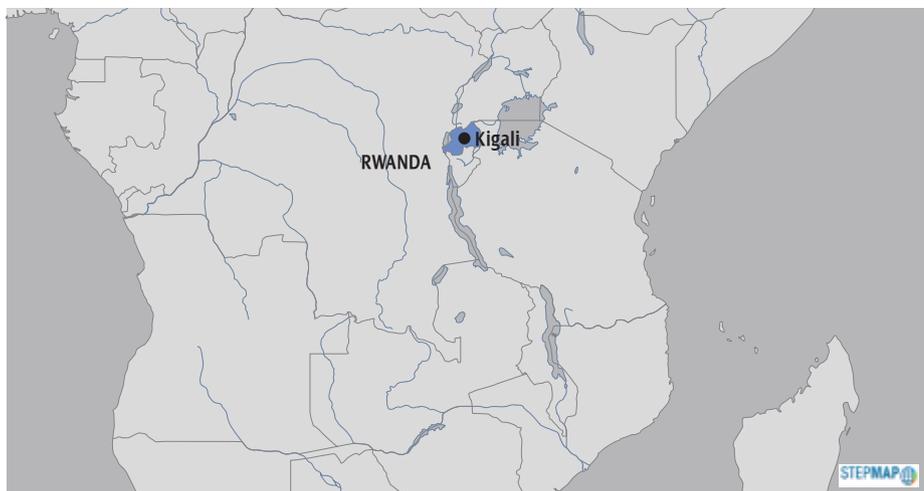
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The screenshot shows the Facebook profile page for 'D+C Development and Cooperation'. The page header includes the name 'D+C Development and Cooperation' and navigation links for 'Home', 'Like Friends', and other social media icons. The profile picture is a blue and white logo with 'D+C'. The cover photo shows a building with a sign that says 'EL PARAISO'. The main content area features a post from 'D+C' with the text: '#Opinion: Because of this despotic leadership: The more North Korea is isolated, the more attractive become nuclear weapons.' Below the text is a video thumbnail showing a man pointing at a screen. The post has 178,241 likes and 178,149 people who have liked it. The right sidebar shows 'Community' information, 'Info' (contact details), and 'Personen' who liked the post, including 'Farhad Darye' and 'China Plus News'.





Bill and Melinda Gates with Warren Buffet, who also promised to channel billions of dollars to the Gates Foundation.

Philanthropy

The influence of charitable billionaires is growing all over the world. Their generosity deserves to be praised, but their impact on policymaking is problematic. Private donations must neither be essential for democratically elected governments' capacity to act nor for the viability of multilateral agencies' programmes.

Nice try

The Mo Ibrahim Prize is meant to reward – and encourage – responsible leadership in African countries. It is a potential game changer, but it is at risk of losing relevance. A few changes might make it more effective.

By Vladimir Antwi-Danso

Mo Ibrahim is a British-Sudanese telecoms entrepreneur who introduced mobile telephony in several African countries. He later sold his company Celtel, which now belongs to the Indian multinational Airtel. His fortune is estimated to be worth between \$ 1 billion and \$ 2 billion.

With the goal of promoting better governance in Africa, the British-Sudanese entrepreneur established the Mo Ibrahim Prize for Achievement in African Leadership in 2006.

It is designed to celebrate and encourage exemplary leadership and, perhaps, to assist in resetting the negative perceptions about African governance. It is an incentive designed to motivate African leaders to dutifully serve their nations by ensuring development in conditions of freedom and democracy.

An independent prize committee decides who gets the award. Its members are eminent global leaders, including the Nobel Peace laureates Martti Ahtisaari and Mohamed ElBaradei. Previous members include Kofi Annan, the former UN secretary-general, and Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, Nigeria's former finance minister.

The criteria for the award are simple but strict. The awardee must:

- have been a former African executive head of state or government,

- have left office in the last three years,
- have been democratically elected,
- have served his/her constitutionally mandated term, and
- have demonstrated exceptional leadership.

Apparently, it is not easy to find worthy persons that fit the criteria. In the 11 years since its inception in 2006, the prize has been awarded to five persons. The winners were Joaquim Chissano (Mozambique) and Nelson Mandela (South Africa) in 2007, Festus Gontebanye Mogae (Botswana) in 2008, Pedro de-Verona Rodrigues Pires (Cape Verde) in 2011 and Hifikepunye Pohamba (Namibia) in 2014. In the years 2009, 2010, 2012, 2013 and 2015, 2016 and 2017 the prize committee did not select a winner.

Why is the award not a yearly affair? The most probable answer is that, in some years, no former African leader deserves the award. This answer would necessitate another question: must the criteria be interpreted so strictly? In any examination, even if all candidates perform poorly, some cer-



Former Mozambican President Joaquim Alberto Chissano (l), former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan (c) and British-Sudanese businessman Mo Ibrahim (r) participate in the inaugural Mo Ibrahim Prize for Achievement in African Leadership in Alexandria in late 2007.

tainly perform better than others. Why not reward them? A 50% failure to award the prize is quite disheartening.

Of course there are no rules about prizes that say they have to be given out every year. Indeed, the Nobel Peace Prize has skipped a number of years since its inception in 1901. Given that the monetary reward of the Mo Ibrahim Prize is huge, some observers believe that the costs are the reason it is only handed out so infrequently.

In comparison with the Nobel Peace Prize, the Mo Ibrahim Prize lacks global focus (it is Africa-focused) and name recognition. But one unique and/or significant feature about the latter is the value (in quantum terms) of the prize. The recipient of the Mo Ibrahim Prize is awarded \$ 5 million in an initial payment that is spread over 10 years, with \$ 200,000 every year after that for the rest of their life. The Nobel Prize has never gone beyond 8 million Swedish Kronor (a little less than \$ 1 million) and a gold medal. By comparison therefore, the Nobel Prize is the biggest in the world, with a global focus, but the Mo Ibrahim Prize is the richest but with a limited focus – Africa.

AN INCENTIVE FOR CLEAN GOVERNANCE

The prospect of being granted such a fortune is meant to be an incentive for clean

governance. It is a hint to leaders that they can become rich without using their public office for personal gains. It is also meant to help to change the perceptions of African leadership by showcasing exceptional role models. It promotes a culture of good governance, continuity and stability. In this sense, the significance of the prize does not necessarily lie with its winners but also with the conversation around leadership and good governance that it generates. Leaders could leave office peacefully and continue in other public roles, thus ending the cycles of vengeance politics and tendencies towards clinging to office at any price. The sad truth, however, is that destructive patterns of exploitative governance are deeply entrenched in Africa, and a randomly granted prize for exceptional good governance is not likely to make a big difference.

Another worry about the Mo Ibrahim Prize is its horizon. Is leadership found only in heads of state and government – and don't other political leaders need incentives to behave well too? The quality of governance concerns society as a whole and, while the top leaders certainly matter, they alone cannot change a country's culture. Members of cabinets and parliaments, municipal leaders and ordinary citizens have roles to play for governance to improve in Africa.

Finally, it must be insured the prize committee handles its job in a fair and appropriate manner. So far, it is not to be blamed. The Nobel Peace Prize however should serve as a warning example. Many observers see opportunism at work. For example, awarding the prize to US President Barack Obama early in his first term was considered inappropriate. The reputation of the Mo Ibrahim Prize must not be put at risk in a similar way.

Mo Ibrahim was most generous to establish the prize, and he deserves praise accordingly. However, the scheme should be reconsidered. If interest in it wanes, Africa will be the loser. To sustain its positive impact, two changes might help. First of all, it would make sense to award the prize every year, even if the prize money might have to be reduced. Second, the prize should become less elitist and consider all African citizens who make major contributions to improving governance. As an alternative, a similar prize might be instituted for them.



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Helping families to escape the cycle of poverty

The list of countries where Aga Khan institutions operate features countries where life is hard, poverty is dire and more help is needed. Because of the institutions' excellent reputation, other development agencies appreciate cooperating with them.

By Alphonse Shiundu

In a grainy video from 1957, a man of 20 years age is escorted to the throne, crowned and made the leader of what today is a vast com-

munity of an estimated 20 million Ismailis, a branch of Shia Islam. The youngster went up to the throne as Prince Karim al Husseini Shah and came down as His Highness the Aga Khan IV.

He is an unusual monarch in the sense of not having a geographic realm. His personal fortune is kept secret. Forbes estimated it at \$ 800 million in 2010. Today, his nationality is British, his background is South Asian and he lives in France. Passed on to his young shoulders in 1957, was not just a title

but also a ton of responsibilities that were initially defined by his grandfather.

Today, the impact of his tenure and his work dots every sector of society in nearly 30 countries. The Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN) and the Aga Khan Foundation (AKF) are important institutions. They are difficult to describe in one word or one sentence. Philanthropy doesn't quite fit, nor does entrepreneurship. Social enterprise comes close. The Aga Khan frowns upon such framing because it doesn't tell the whole story.

The Aga Khan's mission includes setting up clinics, hospitals, banks, universities, schools and even programmes in agriculture, food security, economic inclusion, microfinance and the empowerment of civil society. His approach to development is multidimensional. The AKDN is a major stakeholder in the Serena Hotels for example. Moreover, the Aga Khan founded what

became the Nation Media Group in Kenya. Among other things, it publishes leading East-African newspapers such as The Daily Nation in Kenya and The Daily Monitor in Uganda. More recently, the Aga Khan founded a journalism school in Kenya.

According to Sam Pickens, a spokesperson of the AKDN, the following quote is a succinct explanation of his top leader's motivation: "This work is for us a part of our institutional responsibility – it flows from the mandate of the office of imam to improve the quality of worldly life for the

from the start, the Aga Khan pointed out that "it would be wise to devote more time to recruiting and producing highest qualified staff".

Reading a list of the countries where Aga Khan institutions operate is like perusing the countries where life is hard, poverty is dire and more help is needed. There's Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Egypt, India, Kenya, the Kyrgyz Republic, Madagascar, Mali, Mozambique, Pakistan, Portugal, Russia, Syria, Tajikistan, Tanzania and Uganda. According to Pickens, the foundation's goal "is to bring

ent on short-lived aid". Pickens says the foundation is "determined to support communities to break this cycle".

AGENDA OF EMPOWERMENT

An interesting aspect of the Aga Khan approach is the emphasis on letting the people and the communities take charge of the programmes. This is perhaps the reason why the foundation says it is able to achieve much with "a small staff, a host of cooperating agencies and thousands of volunteers".

The AKF focuses on bolstering rural development, health, education and civil society. In Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, this dovetails perfectly with elusive independence-era visions of fighting disease, hunger and illiteracy. To some extent, it steps in where state agencies are absent or fail the people. Not least because of population growth, exclusion and marginalisation remain serious challenges in East Africa however.

The Aga Khan promotes secular pluralism even though he is a faith leader. It probably plays a role that Ismailis are a religious minority and have all too often suffered persecution themselves. He is, however, a sponsor of Muslim architecture.

The Aga Khan does not fund all activities from his personal fortune. A large share of the money is generated by the businesses his group is involved in. The AKF and AKDN often cooperate with other development agencies, most of which appreciate the Aga Khan's excellent reputation. The AKF also runs fundraising campaigns in North America and Europe and has "resource mobilisation offices" in Canada, the UK and the USA.

Shafik Sachedina coordinates Ismaili institutions on behalf of the Aga Khan. He says that his boss does not think in terms of days or months, but rather generations. "To have impact on the quality of life of people requires that you stay with this issue until you are able to take out poverty and degradation," Sachedina once told a TV team. "It is not a quick fix solution."



His Highness the Aga Khan IV.

concerned communities." This is what the Aga Khan said over a decade ago when he was given the Tolerance award at the Evangelische Akademie Tutzing, a Protestant institution in Bavaria. He only rarely speaks or merely appears in public.

He has certainly always emphasised quality. "It is easy enough to send everyone to school simply by building more classrooms; it is much harder to see that all the students are more than half educated," the Aga Khan said barely six months after ascending to the throne. "A school with unqualified teachers is like a shoe without a sole, and a school with qualified teachers and unresponsive students is like a shoe without laces. Both are deficient." Right

together the required human, financial and technical resources to assist the poorest and most marginalised within strategic geographies, especially women and girls, such that they achieve a level of self-reliance and improved quality of life".

Pickens points out that the AKF believes that the cornerstones of thriving communities include reliable hospitals, schools, community centres and flourishing economies. Equally essential are informed and engaged people who have the space and collective power to shape their own futures. Lacking in environment marked by these things, families will "remain in the cycle of poverty, clinging to limited government services and depend-



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Reaching out to disadvantaged communities

To understand the impact of the Aga Khan Foundation (AKF), one has to look at specific programmes. The foundation has improved the lives of many people on Kenya's ocean coast for example.

In Mombasa and the neighbouring counties of Kilifi and Kwale, the AKF has been engaged in pre-primary and primary education for almost four decades. Several million dollars have been spent, and various partners, including the Canadian government, have been involved.

In 1982, the Aga Khan visited Mombasa, where he met Muslim leaders. They told him there was a need to improve childhood education. The situation was dire in Mombasa, because fewer Muslim children than Christian children went to primary and secondary schools, and the performance of those that did was not as good as their counterparts' performance in the Christian schools.

The parents knew that the problem began very early. Due to shaky foundations built in their children's early years, it was not a surprise that they failed their primary and secondary school exams. Because they failed in formal education, their fate was to be stuck in the vicious cycle of ignorance, illiteracy and poverty.

In 1983, researchers confirmed this view. According to their study, "quality pre-school education for three-to-six year-olds was critical to their future development". The AKF became involved.

In the meantime, more than 250,000 children have benefited from the programme. Not all of them were Muslims. The AKF does not promote sectarian approaches but spreads the message of communities living peacefully together.

On the Kenyan coast, the AKF also has a history of improving food security. Its rural support programme started out with model projects in three of the region's poorest sub-counties. According to an AKF official, the places concerned "face harsh climatic conditions, are geographically remote and generally have low access to government services". Many residents still lack access to clean drinking water, infrastructure is poor, and there is limited access to education and health care.

Over a 15-year period, the programme has grown from four village organisations to 195, with over 230,000 members. The AKF reports that the programme helped to build 121 dams and small farm reservoirs that provide access to water for domestic and productive use in the target communities. As a result, many households were able to increase their agricultural production and incomes.

The programme also helped to improve access to water, sanitation and hygiene in 50 schools for 30,000 children.

Another achievement is that 24,000 community members now rely on 47 kilometres

of water pipes. Families were encouraged to establish kitchen gardens for improved nutrition. Moreover, 250,000 trees were planted. The foundation says it has trained over 200,000 Kenyan farmers on how to increase their productivity. Such numbers are impressive.

In rural Tanzania, the AKF is taking a similar approach. The target group is smallholder farmers in the remote Lindi and Mtwara regions, which are near the Mozambican border. "The programme supports multiple economic activities that improve agricultural production by mainly enhancing produc-



A mosque in Mombasa.



tivity and educating farmers on better marketing practices," the AKF spokesperson reports. "Its key focus has been on the rice and sesame value chains, as well as on increasing access to financial services through community-based savings groups." The savings groups allow households to pool their funds and take small loans.

As of 2014, the foundation reports, a total of 54,000 smallholder farmers had doubled their rice and sesame yields while strengthening environment-friendly agriculture skills. The microfinance initiative has seen more than 120,000 people save a total of US\$ 2.2 million as at the end of 2013. (as)

Creating an elite to lead the state

The movement of Turkish imam Fethullah Gülen has relied on schools, educational institutions and clubs to expand to many countries, including in Africa. Many experts view the movement with scepticism, however. They claim that it has cult-like structures and is pursuing a secret agenda, only pretending to be an open-minded education initiative with a moderate take on Islam. Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan considers Gülen public enemy number one.

By Timur Tınç

Seventy-six-year-old Fethullah Gülen became an imam at the young age of 18 and built a large following as an itinerant preacher in the 1980s. Operating under the motto “build schools, not mosques”, he enjoyed the active support of Turkey’s secular governments between 1986 and 1997. Tutoring centres, dormitories and universities sprang up like mushrooms, becoming the fi-

nancial basis of the movement. The finances were managed by Kaynak Holding. Media companies, clinics and a bank – Bank Asya – were added as well.

At the same time, wealthy business people opened more than 1,000 schools in 160 countries in the former Soviet republics, particularly in the Caucasus and the new Balkan states, as well as in Africa and Central Asia. These institutions offer a modern, secular education. Turkey’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs supported their construction, and the degrees were recognised by the Ministry of National Education.

“Gülen was styled as a ‘model Muslim’ who offered a synthesis of Islamic values and the separation between Islam and politics prescribed by Kemalism,” explains Islam expert Bekim Agai of Goethe University Frankfurt. But a close examination of Gülen’s writings reveals that his version of Islam is oriented towards the conservative mainstream, according to Agai. His goal, the

scholar says, is to educate a pious elite that is capable of leading and ultimately controlling the state.

Thus the Gülen supposedly philanthropic movement managed *peu à peu* to undermine Turkey’s state apparatus, writes Günter Seufert of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) in a study: “Because the network refrains from ostentatious displays of religious identity, and because Gülen cooperated with the state in the past, supporters of the movement were able to survive a series of purges and build insider relationships within the state bureaucracy.” They are believed to be particularly strong within the police force, the justice system and the military since the early 1990s.

This situation took on a new dimension with the electoral victory of the conservative Islamic AKP in 2002. The party of then-Prime Minister Erdogan joined forces with Gülen’s supporters who were already civil servants. Both groups were pursuing the same goal: they wanted to turn Turkish society away from the hated Kemalist ideology and towards a religious identity. AKP politicians lauded Gülen as “honoured teacher”.

At the time, the imam was already living in exile in Pennsylvania, USA. He had left Turkey because his movement was accused of Islamising the military following a coup on 28 February 1997.

NO CONNECTION TO TURKEY OR ISLAM

Abroad, the Gülen movement functions as a global representative of conservative Islamic values and Turkishness. “Its goal is to spread the Turkish language and culture around the world,” says Bayram Balci, a political scientist from the French Institute Sciences Po. Its foundations, educational and cultural institutions in other countries are not only concerned with reaching the Turkish diaspora, but also cater to members of the host community. These people often have no connection to Turkey or the Islamic religion.

In Western Europe and the USA, the movement focuses on the social advancement of disadvantaged people and inter-faith dialogue with Christians and Jews, Balci reports. According to him, supporters often conceal their link to Gülen. In the Caucasus and in Africa, Gülen supporters have



Nationwide wave of arrests of alleged Gülen supporters on Turkey's police force in April 2017.

founded businesses and taken part in economic cooperation. The AKP has also made use of these contacts. Between 2002 and 2013, the number of Turkish embassies in Africa grew from 19 to 34. “Gülen supporters were the vanguard of Turkey’s soft-power offensive,” Balci explains.

The investigative journalist Ahmet Sik describes these activities as the “civil face” of the movement, which serves as a façade for its militaristic nature. This suspicion was borne out for the first time during the so-called Ergenekon trials. In 2007, Turkish prosecutors loyal to Gülen accused hundreds of former military officers, opposition lawmakers, journalists and attorneys of belonging to a secret organisation that supposedly wanted to overthrow the government. “With falsified evidence and false statements, they made life hell for thousands of people,” Sik says. He himself was arrested in 2011, shortly before the publication of his book, “The Imam’s Army”, which describes the infiltration of the security apparatus. “This is a mafia that is using religion as an instrument to gain power. It functions like a secret service,” Sik says of the movement’s cult-like structure.

In 2010, WikiLeaks released internal e-mails from Stratfor, a US-based security consultancy. The e-mails support this claim, quoting informants from the movement who describe clear hierarchies and chains of command as well as the “recruiting process” at Gülen schools. “The most loyal students were carefully placed in important positions in the government, while the most talented were sent to the military academy,” the e-mails reveal. Early on, Gülen himself had described his supporters as “recruits”. They came first and foremost from Turkey, of course, but also from the dormitories, called “houses of light”, that the movement established in the west, including in the USA and Germany.

The American magazine Foreign Policy reported as early as 2010 that although the Turkish government managed to curb the power of the military, a new “shadow state” had emerged. Erdogan recognised it as such and accused the special courts, which were full of Gülen’s cadre, of operating as a “state within a state”.

Fuelled by panic and the realisation that the Gülen movement – where 10% to 15% of Turkey’s population might belong to – gained too much power, Erdogan an-



nounced in November 2013 that he was closing the movement’s tutoring centres. Just one month later, on 17 December, the public prosecutor’s office, which had close ties to Gülen, started a comprehensive corruption investigation against Erdogan and his associates. Shortly after, President Erdogan renamed the movement the Fethullahist Terror Organisation and declared that Gülen was the public enemy number one. Tens of thousands of public prosecutors and police officers were fired or transferred. Gülen institutions and media companies were closed or taken over by the state.

MASTERMINDS OF THE COUP?

The conflict between President Erdogan and the Gülen movement ultimately escalated in the failed coup attempt of 15 July 2016, during which over 250 people died and 2,200 were wounded. Just hours later, the AKP government stated that Gülenists were behind it. Journalist Ahmet Sik sees things a little differently: “I think that there was a faction within the military and that the Gülenists were among the masterminds. Nevertheless, I believe that members of the faction betrayed each other the night before the attempted coup and during the aftermath.” The secret service knew of the plans by 3 pm and was able to take appropriate precautions and negotiate with parts of the faction.

Gareth Jenkins of the Swedish Institute for Security and Development Policy agrees. He thinks that Gülenist officers had probably gotten wind of the next purge of the security apparatus and wanted to head it off with a coup. Jenkins considers it un-

likely that Gülen himself directed the entire operation. He does not believe there is any evidence for that theory and questions whether Gülen even knew about the coup in advance.

Erdogan called the coup “a gift from God” and declared a state of emergency. Because of their alleged ties to the Gülen movement, he ordered 150,000 persons suspended or fired from the military, the justice system and the education sector. More than 50,000 people were arrested. By as early as October 2016, around 4,500 companies and institutions had been nationalised. Over 300 companies – including Kaynak Holding – worth almost € 12 billion were taken over by Turkey’s banking supervisory authority and used to fill the state coffers. Opposition leader Kemal Kilicdaroglu from the Kemalist CHP called the government’s actions a “civil coup”.

The Turkish government also managed to exert pressure on the foreign countries in which the Gülen movement is active. In 19 of the 36 African countries where the movement has a presence, the Turkish government has succeeded in taking over Gülen schools through the state-funded Maarif Foundation, which was established in October 2016. Nevertheless, the US rebuffed Turkey’s request to extradite Gülen. Germany’s Federal Government also refuses to extradite Gülen supporters who fled to Germany after the attempted coup.



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“The pros outweigh the cons”

Many developmental programmes and projects would not be feasible without support from philanthropic foundations. Such dependency goes along with risks however. Thomas Loster, the chairman of Munich Re Foundation, assesses the issue.

Thomas Loster interviewed by Sabine Balk and Hans Dembowski

What function do foundations – and philanthropists in general – serve in international development?

I see a double role. On the one hand, they meaningfully complement the efforts made by national development agencies, for instance by contributing funding. On the other hand, they do relevant research and fund studies, some of which are very valuable. The Munich Re Foundation, for example, has prepared studies concerning micro-insurance all over the world. Such insurance schemes help to better protect people in poor countries from plunging into poverty after shocks such as illnesses or accidents, for example. Our data can serve to improve

social-protection programmes that are run either by governments or private-sector institutions. Many foundations are backed by a private-sector company. Accordingly, their agenda tends to be somewhat different and more results-driven than many approaches typically taken by state agencies that respond to politics.

When a major corporation starts a charitable foundation, that step will most likely serve a PR purpose, won't it?

Yes, that suspicion makes sense, and it will hold true in some cases. It matters, however, that foundations act somewhat independently of their main sponsors, and that is true of corporate foundations too. When a private-sector enterprise establishes a foundation, that is basically to be welcomed, and we should appreciate its pride and its urge to communicate its achievements. So yes, there is a PR element, but it normally is PR for a worthy cause.

Are there corporate foundations, according to you, that basically serve the PR purpose?

Well, that does happen. Normally, however, foundations work in a transparent way and can be assessed by what they contribute. They certainly have a profile of their own. If a foundation only serves a PR purpose, that will be noticed easily.

Who funds foundations, and who controls them?

Normally, they are endowed with capital, which can actually amount to billions of euros. The money is invested, and the returns are used to fund the foundation's work. In times of low interest rates, smaller foundations increasingly depend on other sources of funding, including donations. They may also co-fund efforts with other agencies. A foundation's charter defines its mission, and in most cases, there is a board that supervises the operations and the budget. Laws differ from country to country. In Germany, a regulatory government agency ensures that foundations act according to their mission. Non-profit foundations, moreover, are accountable to the national revenue service. German foundations are actually regulated quite stringently. In other countries, of course, other rules may apply.

Is there a need for stronger oversight of foreign foundations?

That's an interesting question. A big foundation, such as the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, for example, will probably be difficult to regulate. Typically, there is some kind of state agency to do that. Legislation demands that foundations must serve the common good, not generate profits, and perform in a transparent manner. There are specific reporting duties. Moreover, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) keep an eye on foundations regarding matters they are interested in. Consider climate change, which is my personal area of expertise. Greenpeace is quite a watchdog. Accordingly, the public is made aware of misbehaviour, for instance, when the Koch brothers' foundations fund climate denial in the USA. Ultimately it's all about good governance. The World Health Organization (WHO) has adopted a Code of Practice to stem the brain drain of health-care professionals from poor countries. I believe that knowledge of problems and misbehaviour spreads fast in our times of social media. Perhaps it would make sense to do more monitoring, but that



The Munich Re Foundation supports disaster preparedness in developing countries: volunteers are trained in flood monitoring in a poor neighbourhood of Beira, Mozambique.

would imply a rather big international effort.

You just mentioned the Koch brothers, billionaires who fund climate denial. According to them, such action is philanthropy. How do you tell political propaganda from charitable action?

I obviously do not endorse their approach at all. And according to Greenpeace, other

has to consider everything diligently. All in all, however, I think the pros outweigh the cons.

Generally speaking, prosperous donors from the private sector are always formed by their own background. The Gates Foundation emphasises the use of masses of data. The Siemens Foundation promotes technical innovations. Your foundation, the

emerging markets. What is there not to like? Sure, corporations and private persons will give their foundations a mandate that suits their experience. A physician, for example, is more likely to start a foundation that supports medical research than one that promotes music or something like that.

In his book about philanthropists in the USA, David Callahan warns that private donors are increasingly influencing policymaking (see D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2017/07, p. 4). One reason is that public budgets are very tight. What is your take?

I too find this worrisome. Large foundations are very influential, and to some extent they are taking on public tasks. They are running important research on issues such as education, security et cetera. One really has to pay close attention and raise alarm when something goes wrong. The media are playing an important role, and D+C/E+Z is living up to that responsibility by reviewing Callahan's book, for example. That said, I think that foundations are rather small players compared with other lobbying groups. Just consider the automotive or energy lobbies in Europe or the gun lobby in the USA.

Do we really need foundations?

Yes, I am convinced that we do. As I said, foundations close funding gaps and implement projects that would otherwise not happen. Foundations are promoting worthy causes. The Mercator Foundation Germany is an example. It focuses on topics such as climate change, social inclusion and cultural education. Another important foundation is Deutsche Bundesstiftung Umwelt. Its capital amounts to more than € 2 billion. From its inception in 1992 until 2016, it spent more than € 1.5 billion on about 9,000 projects. This engagement matters very much. The gigantic US-based Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation is investing billions of dollars in issues like improving health care in developing countries, fighting malaria, tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS, for example. It is making a very positive difference.



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The flood warning system in Buzi, Mozambique, relies on volunteers who measure precipitation levels three times every day and pass the data on to the head office.

foundations are acting the same way in the USA. Things like this will always happen where there is freedom of expression. And yes, there will always be some black sheep. But that is true of NGOs too. One cannot say in principle that they are good or bad. It always depends on the context.

What risks do foundations imply for the development sector?

Well, the Gates Foundation, which I have already mentioned, pays medical staff so well that some doctors and nurses left their African countries in the past. That has contributed to some regions now being underserved. So yes, there certainly are risks. One

Munich Re Foundation, appreciates approaches that involve insurance schemes. Mustn't the general public be wary in view of corporate interests?

I think the commitment of the foundations you just named is self-explaining. We, for example, are the foundation of the Munich Re corporation, the world's leading reinsurer. We are doing the best to spread information on the merits of micro-insurance in developing countries and emerging markets. This kind of insurance serves the poor by closing protection gaps. We also promote disaster preparedness. The Siemens Foundation is focusing on entrepreneurship and innovation in developing countries and



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Private-sector billionaires setting global agenda

Microsoft founder Bill Gates and other super-rich donors are channelling billions of dollars into international development cooperation. Their financial stakes give them a great deal of influence – without democratic legitimacy. World leaders should provide multilateral organisations with enough funding to make donor-driven development irrelevant.

By Barbara Unmüssig

With an estimated worth of \$ 88.5 billion, Bill Gates is the richest man in the world. He is also the most generous. Through the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF), he and his wife have donated billions from their private fortune to “good causes”. In 2010, the Gates joined forces with Warren Buffett, the second richest person in the USA, and initiated the “Giving Pledge”. They are calling on millionaires around the world to join them in donating at least half of their personal worth to charity. So far, 168 millionaires have pledged to do so. Buffett has promised to donate 99 % of his wealth, mostly through the BMGF.

The rich assuming responsibility, giving back and doing good: it all sounds promising and positive, especially today when multi-lateral organisations are chronically underfunded. As successful business people who have managed large corporations and projects, they can also offer valuable experience and skills that could help where governments and other institutions are failing. This narrative of the well-meaning philanthropist taking on the world’s troubles may seem attractive, but should we accept it unquestioned?

DONORS AS ADVISORS

With around \$40 billion in its coffers, the BMGF is the largest philanthropic organisation in the world. According to its annual reports, it has donated a total of \$42 billion since it was established. The BMGF focuses its activities on international development

cooperation with health and agriculture at the forefront. It spends more on health-care development than any single national government, and it comes in fifth in terms of providing support to agricultural initiatives in less developed countries.

This impressive record of financial contributions goes hand-in-hand with equally impressive political influence. Bill and Melinda Gates are represented on a number of international commissions and boards. The BMGF was the only non-governmental organisation invited to speak to the UN on the Post-MDG (Millennium Development Goals) Agenda in 2013. In 2014, Melinda Gates was the keynote speaker at the World Health Assembly, the World Health Organization’s (WHO) decision-making body. In 2010, then UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon appointed Bill Gates to the MDG Advocacy Group set up to mobilise support for the goals.

In short, Bill and Melinda Gates are regularly asked for advice on health, reproductive rights and climate policy, although they are not experts in any of these areas. They work at eye-level with various UN organisations. Executives from their foundation regularly move back and forth between the BMGF and multi-lateral institutions and corporations. The UN Development Programme (UNDP) has noted that philanthropic foundations no longer see themselves as merely donating money. They expect to be treated as full-fledged development partners who get a say in problem analysis and agenda setting.

The BMGF’s influence, and such the personal influence of Bill and Melinda Gates, on the global health and agricultural agenda is immense.

The WHO is the main player in global health care. Its mission is to help all people attain the highest level of health by fighting disease and promoting public health around the world. Its main source of funding is voluntary contributions provided by member states. Yet the organisation is stuck

in a chronic financial crisis, since governments’ payments regularly fall short.

Therefore, the WHO depends on alternative sources of funding. Roughly half of its budget comes from philanthropic foundations, NGOs and the private sector. In 2016/17, the BMGF contributed 14 % of the budget. The WHO and its international health governance thus hinge on the whim of private parties. Gates and other super-rich individuals are under no obligation to continue their support from one year to the next. Accountable to no one, they could suddenly decide to withhold funding at the drop of a hat. This would leave the WHO and the global health-care system in turmoil, and the global community could do nothing about it.

Another problem with philanthropic donations is that they are generally earmarked for specific purposes. This is true of 80 % of the WHO’s total budget. In other words, the global health agenda has been taken out of the hands of the WHO’s General Assembly and is being set by private donors. These donors have the power to make decisions on what the multilateral organisation does and what it prioritises. They can refuse funding for projects that do not fit their agenda.

MARKET AND TECHNOLOGY

The BMGF thus increasingly shapes international health care. It takes a market-based approach, relying primarily on technical solutions to complex problems. The BMGF funds large immunisation campaigns, for example, and distributes medication and mosquito nets to prevent the spread of malaria. These measures undoubtedly help. But they do not address the structural reasons why governmental health budgets are chronically over-stretched. The foundation prefers campaigns that can be implemented like business projects – with a lot of money, private-sector contacts and quick, measurable results.

In particular, the foundation favours public-private partnerships. PPPs, the argument goes, are effective because they reduce the overall cost of medical treatment. The problem is that this argument has been proven wrong. According to Doctors without Borders, in 2014, comprehensive immunisation for children was 68 times more expensive than it was in 2011, while GAVI,

a PPP set up to improve child immunisation rates, only managed to reduce the cost of some vaccines in a few countries.

Moreover, the GAVI approach is insufficient to stem disease. A vaccine alone does not make someone healthy. Hunger, thirst, poverty and social inequality also play a significant role in poor health and the spread of disease.

Allowing private-sector donors to define the research agenda is particularly problematic, as they tend to shift the focus to developing newer and better vaccines to prevent transmittable diseases like malaria and HIV/AIDS. This limits research into non-communicable diseases, or ways of preventing pneumonia, diarrhoea and malnutrition, even though these cause 75% of all child mortalities.

The BMGF's research and funding favour pharmaceutical multinationals like GlaxoSmithKline, Novartis, Roche, Sanofi, Gilead and Pfizer. The foundation and its founders hold shares in many of these companies, which leads to a clear conflict of interest. The corporations profit from the Gates Foundation's focus on pharmaceutical strategies, and the resulting corporate profits put dividends back into the donors' pockets. "I'll scratch your back if you scratch mine" has proven to be a clever business model, and the philanthropy label gives it a positive spin.

The Gates Foundation has also been criticised for being a major shareholder in corporations, whose products promote cardio-vascular disease, diabetes, obesity and other chronic illnesses. According to its 2015 tax returns, the foundation holds Coca Cola shares worth \$ 538 million. It also owns stock in the food-industry giants Unilever, Kraft-Heinz, Mondelez and Tyson Foods as well as alcoholic-beverage producers Anheuser-Busch and Pernod.

Global health policy and disease prevention require more comprehensive and inter-disciplinary approaches. In 2008, a WHO report highlighted that social and economic factors have a greater impact on the health than access to medical care. These factors include levels and distribution of income, living and working conditions, education and environmental hazards.

It is bewildering that the BMGF's agenda focuses disproportionately on technical medical services rather than on systemic change and improving socio-econom-

ic conditions. It would make sense to invest in expanding and improving a country's ability to promote the health and welfare of its citizens, but funds flow primarily into the private sector and onto the balance sheets of American and European pharma multi-

channelled to American or European NGOs that implement the measures.

Critics rightfully accuse philanthropists of using their development approaches to open up African markets to large American and European corporations and NGOs,



Melinda Gates addressing the World Health Organization (WHO). In 2016/17, 14% of the WHO's budget came from the Gates Foundation.

nationals. This is in part due to the broad application of the PPP model. A few rich businesspeople are setting the global policy agenda, even though people on the ground might have different priorities altogether.

UNDERRATED AGRO-ECOLOGY

The situation is similar in global agriculture. The BMGF tends to see a lack of technology and modern farming skills as the primary drivers of hunger and malnutrition. This approach to fighting hunger is not new and goes back to another philanthropist – John D. Rockefeller in the 1960s. Since 2006, the Gates and Rockefeller foundations have joined forces to promote what they call the "Green Revolution in Africa" to the tune of \$3 billion so far. The idea is to use hybrid seeds, biotechnology, synthetic fertilisers and genetic engineering to increase agricultural output. Around 96% of all funding is

all too often generating profits for the donor institutions themselves. More sustainable local, social and environment-friendly alternatives like agro-ecology continue to be underrated. They are relegated to the sidelines.

Moreover, the paternalistic top-down approach robs local people of the freedom to shape their economies and lives themselves. The risks and side-effects of technological development, from genetically modified seeds to the negative impact of industrial agriculture and the methods it employs, are rarely discussed democratically.

Bill Gates is exerting considerable influence on international development policy and increasingly setting the agenda. As civil-society stakeholders and NGOs have often pointed out, his role has no democratic legitimisation. Unfortunately, the same critics seem to conveniently forget that the international activities of NGOs,



The Gates Foundation is distributing huge numbers of mosquito nets in Africa. This helps prevent the spread of malaria, but does nothing to address structural problems.

multilateral organisations and governments are generally not discussed and subjected to a process of democratic and global legitimisation either.

Philanthropists like Bill Gates are not solely to blame for the problematic, one-sided

tendency to try to solve complex structural problems and crises with high-tech quick fixes. It is not their fault either that socially fair and environmentally sound options are often ignored, and that the acute medical and technological aid provided to

people has not been accompanied by more comprehensive social change. These are indeed overarching problems of global policy-making.

Governments are trying to duck their responsibility for upholding general welfare and promoting overall well-being of their citizens. Appropriate taxation of the elites and middle classes should be the order of the day. Governments must generate the revenues they need for health, education and research budgets. Otherwise, they will not be able to provide services for the poor social strata or public goods in general.

Philanthropists cannot be blamed for the fact that 80% of the WHO's budget is earmarked and the organisation's hands are tied on which policies to promote. National governments are responsible for ensuring their citizens can live good lives and for ending humanitarian crises. It is their duty to provide multi-lateral organisations with enough resources to fulfil their missions. That includes adequate financial and human resources, as well as participation of civil society, local people and experts.

At the end of its 2008 report, the WHO concluded: "Social justice is a matter of life or death." Social justice determines whether people starve, live in poverty, catch infectious diseases, and die as a result. Philanthropists like Bill Gates and his dedication to "worthy causes" are not the root cause of misguided development policies, but they do represent the flip side of the social injustice coin.

In a world in which the very few own more than the poorer half of the world's population, the real issue is not how billionaires chose to spend their fortunes. The point is that amassing tremendous fortunes causes poverty, social inequality and environmental destruction. This underlying issue needs to be addressed. We cannot win the battle to end hunger, poverty and disease in the world by relying on the generosity and agenda-setting of well-meaning philanthropists. We can only solve the problem of inequity by creating a socially and environmentally just world for everyone.



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Promoting democratic values

Germany currently has six political foundations that receive funding by the German government. Each is associated to a party that has been elected to seats in the Germany's federal parliament, the Bundestag, at least twice in a row. They are: the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (Social Democrats, SPD), the Friedrich Naumann Foundation (Free Democrats, FDP), the Hanns Seidel Foundation (Bavarian Christian Democrats, CSU), the Heinrich Böll Foundation (Alliance 90/the Green Party), the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (Christian Democrats, CDU) and the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation (the Left Party). The right-wing populist Alternative for Germany (AfD), which won seats in the Bundestag for the first time in October this year, has announced plans to nominate a foundation to receive funding, as well. In order to qualify for public funding, however, the party would have to be elected to the Bundestag for a second term.

The political foundations work to promote people's civic participation, support young academic talents with scholarships and support the development of democracies abroad. Most have headquarters in the capital Berlin with branch offices in Germany's federal states as well as in every world region. The foundations are tasked with offering socio-political and democratic education, providing information and policy analysis at home and abroad. They seek to build on the principles of liberal democracy and adhere to the basic tenets of solidarity, subsidi-

arity and tolerance in all their activities.

In practice, the foundations work – often in cooperation with selected partners – to

conduct historical research into the development of parties and political movements. Like think tanks, they prepare political analyses, empirical studies and informational material on a range of topics. They also work to preserve art and cul-

derstanding between peoples. They support international development, based on the rule of law and democratic standards.

From an international perspective, Germany's political foundations are unique. They are a legacy of the young Federal Republic, which, after the Second World War, was determined to learn the lessons of the failure of the Weimar Republic (1918–1933). The political foundations were established – or in the case of the Ebert Foundation re-established – with the hope that they would help to stabilise German democracy. Their mission was to carry the political parties' democratic values out into civil society and promote democratic culture.

Although each foundation is politically associated and close to a political party, they are legally and financially independent and free to organise and select partners and staff as they see fit. They act autonomously in a spirit of openness, transparency and accountability. The foundations determine how to contribute to public debate and select the locations of their offices abroad independently. As non-profit organisations, they receive public funding from the Federal Foreign Office as well as the Federal Ministries of the Interior, Education and Research, and Economic Cooperation and Development. The level of funding for the political foundations is determined during budget negotiations and adopted as part of the federal budget. Public funding is meant to ensure the foundations' independence and accountability, as well as to allow for longer-term planning. They are, however, bound by clear regulations on how to spend their funds. (bu)



The Friedrich Ebert Foundation is Germany's oldest political foundation: Kurt Beck, the chairman, during the celebration of the foundation's 90th anniversary in Berlin in 2015.

provide civic education and encourage people's active involvement in public affairs. They support scholarship and research, as a basis for politi-

ture and award scholarships and grants to young people. Abroad, information transfer and international exchange aim to help to promote un-

Triple mission

Medico international is a Frankfurt-based public charity that endorses the human right to health. Over a decade ago, it started a foundation of the same name. Executive director Thomas Gebauer discussed the medico approach in an interview with D+C/E+Z.

Thomas Gebauer interviewed by Hans Dembowski

How do you assess the global trend of super-rich philanthropists becoming ever more important?

Well, philanthropy misses the important point that people must have a legal entitlement to the fulfilment of basic needs. The Swiss scholar Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, who lived at the time of the French Revolution, is believed to have said that charity means “to drown rights in the cesspool of mercy”. That is still true. The essential question is always whether people in need have a right to relief or whether they must depend on mercy. The latter is increasingly the case, and that reflects the trend of society being refeudalised, returning to before the French Revolution.

But isn't medico international doing charitable work?

Yes, we are in the business of humanitarian aid, and in view of all the suffering around the world, that is necessary. We are committed to a triple mission:

- we defend the aid that is necessary,
- we criticise the reality of aid, and
- we want to move beyond aid.

Our goal is to see social-protection systems that are run in a sense of solidarity all over the world. Legal entitlements to essential services must minimise needy people's dependency on the goodwill of others. Until that is achieved, however, humanitarian aid will stay necessary, and so will criticism of the circumstances that make it necessary.

When people donate money to medico or to the medico foundation, don't they basically have the same motive as rich philan-

thropists like Bill Gates, Warren Buffett or Michael Bloomberg? They want to do good.

The big difference is that our donors do not pursue any self-interest, but the individuals you just mentioned do. Our donors are not using their money to design aid according to a business model, as Bill Gates is doing in regard to the World Health Organization. Whoever donates to us endorses our triple mission. The relationship we have with our donors is marked by trust and shared convictions, rather than by control and leveraging.

Why did medico international establish a foundation more than a decade ago? In Germany, several developmental NGOs have adopted similar strategies.

Well, we were considering several things: We wanted to safeguard our independence, and that included becoming less dependent on government funding. Moreover, we wanted to make sure that we can respond to crises that are not spectacular enough to attract media attention. Finally, we wanted to be able to plan long-term. According to German law, a public charity must spend the revenues of fundraising campaigns fast.

In contrast, we can use the revenues that accrue from the foundation capital in support of activities that require stamina, such as drafting health policies or promoting global campaigns, like the one against landmines in the 1990s. We knew that some of our donors wanted to bequeath a share of their personal wealth to social causes in the long run. Some had inherited considerable fortunes and wanted to pass on their inheritance. So it made sense to establish the foundation as our second organisational leg. It allows us to act in a more independent and flexible manner.

What is the current state of affairs?

Well, the foundation's capital is now worth a bit more than € 20 million. We know that medico figures in various people's wills, so it is set to increase. Many people in Germany own considerable fortunes, and some of them want to have a long-term social impact.

How is the capital invested?

Basically, we consider ethical criteria, including sustainability. We must ensure that our capital stock is not diminished. In view of highly volatile capital markets, we decided to invest some of our capital in a building we would use ourselves. Construction started last summer near Frankfurt's river shore, and a few weeks ago our offices and those of like-minded organisations have moved in.



The newly built medico-international house in Frankfurt.



Community-based elderly care in rural Bangladesh.

How are you using the building?

Our offices occupy some of the floors, and we rented out the others to initiatives that are involved in the kind of social work that we appreciate, including a local housing charity and a counselling service for traumatised refugees. This kind of environment suits us, enabling all of us to have a joint political and cultural impact on Frankfurt’s urban society. The ground-floor has become an event location which we can use for panel discussions, exhibitions, networking at the local and inter-regional levels and other purposes. Another important aspect is that the highly problematic trends that are rocking the urban real-estate market do not affect us any longer. The rents we and our neighbours pay don’t benefit some real-estate investor, but actually serve our mission.

The partner organisations medico supports in developing countries and crisis regions focus on providing essential medical care at the grassroots level as well as on making the conditions in which people live healthier. Does the growing clout of mega-rich individual donors mean that this kind of organisation is getting less funding?

What I notice is that aid is becoming increasingly capital-minded. That applies to official

development assistance too, and not only in Germany. Evermore often, social bonds are being promoted, with the goal of mobilising private capital for social-protection causes. The International Committee of the Red Cross only recently launched the first “humanitarian impact bond” internationally. Investors, who provide funding for rehab centres in Syria, for example, are promised a return of seven percent. Such profits will ultimately be paid with tax money, on top of the bond repayment, mind you. Another example is that – unlike grassroots organisations – pharmaceutical corporations, medical-technology providers and institutions like the Gates Foundation always get a say in international health policymaking. The grassroots organisations are keen on changing the unhealthy conditions people live in and don’t care much for high-tech approaches and fast results. Global development affairs are increasingly following a business logic.

Does that not fly in the face of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that are geared to better social services around the world? Unfortunately, the SDGs themselves are geared to a business logic. The idea is to achieve them through economic growth, as is spelled out in the fine print of the

SDG agenda, rather than to redistribute the existing wealth. When I got involved in international-solidarity matters 40 years ago, we were inspired by authors like Paulo Freire and the liberating message of their “educación popular”. That included the staff of Germany’s bilateral development agencies. Today, the focus is on pragmatic adjustment. Educación popular has given way to silly sounding rhetoric of “financial literacy”. People aren’t seen as adult citizens who are actively involved in public affairs, but merely as little entrepreneurs who must compete with one another to protect their livelihoods.



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foundation. In the early 1990s, he was a co-founder of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL), which was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1997 for its contribution to bringing about the Ottawa convention’s anti-personnel mine ban.

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From individual charity to impact-investing

Corporate philanthropy has been gaining momentum in India. With state agencies failing to deliver welfare, corporate and non-governmental organisations are stepping in. This is a welcome trend but has downsides too.

By Aditi Roy Ghatak

India is a nation of huge social disparities. Several hundred million people live in desperate poverty amidst incredible individual wealth (see my essay in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2017/05, p. 29). India has the world's seventh largest number of billionaires of 90, with total wealth of \$206 billion, according to international business consultancy Bain (2017).

All major religious faiths in the country emphasise the duty to aid those who are worse off than oneself; prosperous industrialists have willingly complied with such traditions (see box, p. 39). However, they are increasingly taking business-like, professional approaches in what is called corporate social responsibility (CSR) to focus on critical voids.

Bain's recently published "India Philanthropy Report 2017" states that the nation must plug public-budget gaps worth \$ 8.5 trillion if it is to achieve the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by 2030. It states: "It needs significant additional funds, along with systemic changes at the policy and service-delivery levels, to achieve these goals. Although the government remains the largest enabler of change, the role of private philanthropy is critical."

Traditionally, wealthy business families have long since acted charitably. This is true of dynastic names including Tata, Birla, Bajaj, Godrej, Mahindra and many others. Leading India's independence movement, Mahatma Gandhi exhorted businesses to invest in social development for the greater good. Accordingly, funds were invested in education, health, rural development, water projects and movements to abolish untouchability.

Post-independence entrepreneurs have joined in. Azim Premji, the chairman of the IT service company Wipro, invested \$2 billion worth of shares in his philanthropic Azim Premji Foundation, for example. The Shanghai-based data company Hurun, which regularly compiles an India Philanthropy List, says that Shiv Nadar (HCL Technologies), Kris Gopalakrishnan (Infosys) and his wife Sudha and Mukesh Ambani (Reliance Industries) were the most generous individual Indian donors last year. Nadar, the top donor, spent the equivalent of €82 million on worthy causes, mostly promoting education. The Gopalakrishnans (€41 million) and Ambani (€39 million) supported education, health care, rural and social development amongst other things.

The current crop of Indian philanthropists are influenced by international role models, especially North American ones, though there is a clash of traditions. Earlier, Indian business leaders kept silent about their charities. Infosys chairman Narayan Murthy says: "I personally believe that philanthropy should not be talked about

much." Ajay Piramal, from a long-established business family engaging in philanthropy, shared that view earlier. Today, he says that the examples set by Warren Buffett and Bill Gates have inspired him to adopt a different attitude: "So, now I've started talking about the work we do."

Change is evident in other ways too. Dasra, an Indian philanthropy foundation which focuses on strategic issues, urges philanthropists to go beyond immediate, individual impact and think of collective action. Dasra means "enlightened giving" in Sanskrit, and its sponsors include Indian as well as multinational corporations. Its mission is to compile data, provide advice and draft strategies.

The Tata Trust shares Dasra's view: "India has to move like other countries into a more sophisticated form of philanthropy, which makes a difference and is designed to make a difference rather than just creating edifices." The Trust has an excellent reputation and a long history. It started as the JN Tata Endowment Scheme 125 years ago (see my essay in D+C/E+Z 2015/12, p. 19, print edition 2016/01-02, p. 32).

Today, India's philanthropic foundations and trusts are trying to deliver pan-Indian solutions and create platforms for cooperation with a broad variety of partners, including government agencies, private-sector businesses, civil-society organisations, multilateral agencies, think tanks et cetera. Due to the professionalisation of charities, the philanthropic institutions are

The Azim Premji Foundation's website.

increasingly becoming independent from family businesses.

The Tata Trust, for instance, has signed up with the Department of Science and Technology to fund social enterprises. It is collaborating with the state government of Maharashtra to facilitate a social transformation project that would impact 1,000 villages. In cooperation with the Khan Academy, an online education provider, it is rolling out e-learning programmes in government schools across a dozen Indian states.

The Mahindra-owned Naandi Foundation has a team of more than 300 full-time professionals and more than 3,000 front-line development workers, often recruited and trained from within the communities. It has its footprints in 16 Indian states, including some of the biggest. Naandi is touching the lives of more than 5 million underserved people. Its agenda includes the promotion of safe drinking water, urban elementary schools, training for unemployed youth, agriculture marketing support to tribals and other things.

It has even opened an exclusive retail store in Paris, marking the global debut of a luxury Indian coffee brand, “Araku”,

a home-grown blend of Arabica coffee cultivated by the tribes of Araku Valley in Andhra Pradesh, using advanced bio-dynamic farming practices.

POINTS OF CRITICISM

While India does need large-scale philanthropy to drive social innovation and compensate for the stodgy bureaucratic ways, the rise of philanthropy does have downsides. Some 120 million small and localised programmes are suddenly bereft of support. The withdrawal of funding in favour of big-ticket philanthropy has taken its toll.

Making matters worse, the central government has been cracking down on non-governmental organisations, especially those that get funding from overseas. The government argues that they are fomenting anti-nationalism, though many of them are providing essential services and giving voice to legitimate grievances. That the central government only wants philanthropy with a servile mindset, does not augur well for the nation’s future.

Not all corporate action is entirely voluntary moreover. The government requires private-sector businesses with annual rev-

enues of more than the equivalent of € 120 million to earmark two percent of their net profit for CSR. Corporate measures to comply with this demand tend to be designed in ways that serve the interests of the sponsoring company as well.

It is even worse that philanthropic institutions sometimes help owners to dodge taxes. In a country, where corruption is common, this is no surprise. Charitable action can be tainted in other ways too. In 2015, a major scam involving educational trusts was uncovered. Money worth tens of millions of euros had been siphoned off.



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LINKS

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<http://www.bain.com/publications/articles/india-philanthropy-report-2017.aspx>

Naandi Foundation:

<https://www.facebook.com/NaandiFoundation/>

Dana, zakat and charity

India has a long tradition of charitable action. Religious faith plays a role. India is moving up the ranks of countries measured in the CAF World Giving Index. Its ranking has improved to 81 from 91. Given the size of the Indian population – more than 1.3 billion – Indian givers easily outnumber those of other countries in sheer numbers. The CAF states that some 340 million Indians participated in helping a stranger in 2016 (down from 401 million in 2015), 265 million gave money (up from 203 million in 2015) and 256 million volun-

teered (up from 200 million in 2015).



Indian religions such as Hinduism and Sikhism set great store by “dana”. It resembles the Christian idea of charity, and the related Muslim principle is called “zakat”.

Based on national survey data, the Pratichi Institute, which is run by Nobel laureate Amartya Sen, reckons that donations by Hindus amount to almost €2 billion annually. The respective figures are €220 million by Sikhs, €55 million by Christians and €340 million by Muslims.

In view of the dramatic social disparities, such charity does not suffice. Development efforts must be coordinated and designed properly in order to drive sustainable change (see main article, p. 38). The sad status is clearly spelt out in India’s rank on the human development index: 130. Its rank on the SDG Index is 110. (arg)

The global garment industry is a huge CO₂ emitter, environmental polluter and waste producer. Only a few fashion companies like the Swedish label Filippa K adopt a different approach.

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Photo: Britta Pedersen/picture-alliance/dpa