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Peace mediator sees signs of imminent genocide

AID EFFECTIVENESS
The progress made since the Paris Declaration of 2005

NEW UN CHIEF
Hope for stronger multilateralism

Populist politics

In German in E+Z
Entwicklung und Zusammenarbeit.
Both language versions
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Front page: Duterte supporters at a campaign rally.
Photograph: Favila/picture-alliance/AP Photo

FOCUS

Populist politics

The fence is already up

Donald Trump's campaign was a textbook example of populism. It has fast become clear that his rule will have impacts on its southern neighbour, writes Virginia Mercado, a Mexican scholar. **PAGE 20**

Civil society's shrinking space

The Konrad Adenauer Foundation is close to Germany's Christian Democrats and supports civil-society organisations abroad. Its partners are being increasingly constrained in many countries, as the Foundation's Frank Priess reports. **PAGE 24**

Nostalgia and empty promises

Political populism is common in Southern Africa, where former liberation movements are now in government. SWAPO-member Henning Melber accuses leaders of reminiscing about the struggles whilst paying little attention to current hardships and inequality. **PAGE 25**

Defining the nation

To tighten his grip on power, Egypt's President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi claims to be his nation's saviour. As Ingy Salama, a journalist, points out, however, his idea of the nation does not include every Egyptian. **PAGE 29**

National suicide

From May to December 2016, an average of 30 Filipinos were brutally murdered every day. President Rodrigo Duterte has encouraged the bloodshed. Alan C. Robles, a Manila-based journalist assesses the matter. **PAGE 31**

Inequality and environmental dangers

The globalisation hype of the 1990s ended with the financial crisis of 2008. Growing inequality and environmental problems are lasting challenges, as economist Jürgen Wiemann elaborates. Populists benefit from related worries. **PAGE 35**

Divided continent

The rise of right-wing populism is throwing Europe off-balance. Their propaganda is casting doubt on the freedom of religion, free movement for EU citizens and the right of asylum. Journalist Daniel Bax provides an overview. **PAGE 37**

EDITORIAL

Worthless promises

Recep Tayyip Erdogan is a depressing example of a populist leader. Thanks to him, his nation is deeply divided and engulfed in violence. He promises to save Turkey if the constitution is changed to give him more power. The truth, however, is that he has been wielding more power for more time than any Turkish politician in the years before he formed his first government as prime minister in 2003.

In the beginning, he relied on broad alliances. He needed them to reduce the undemocratic power of the army, the judiciary and the government bureaucracy. Such pluralism was healthy. In recent years, however, he has turned against former allies, including the Gulenist movement that was close to his own version of Islamism for a long time. He rekindled the civil war against Kurdish rebels, and Turkey has also become a target of ISIS terrorism. Pressfreedom and civil rights have been suspended. Investors are staying away, and so are tourists.

Erdogan is an unusual populist. His autocratic tendencies only began to mark Turkish governance after many years, but ever since, violence has been escalating fast. In important ways, his approach fits the narrow definition of "populism". He claims to speak for "the" people and feels free to define – and redefine – who exactly belongs to the people. His grand promises are not fulfillable (in his case because political stability is incompatible with strictly enforced Sunni dominance in Turkey). To justify his authoritarian rule, he needs to point out dangers. To a relevant extent, he is creating the terrorists he is fighting.

Today, a depressing number of countries is led by populists. Donald Trump in the White House means that the USA is one of them. Populists claim to promote the common good, but they are inherently divisive. They always complain that their people are being taken advantage of by others. Those others may be minorities, some kind of "elite" or foreign countries. Conspiracy theories abound. Someone must be blamed for promises not coming true.

Populists do not like public debate. Discussing policy details would undermine their grandstanding. They want to give orders, not discuss. Unless they control civil-society organisations or media outlets, they resent them. When in opposition, they see corruption everywhere, but once they hold office, they try to remove checks and balances. They do not want to be held accountable.

This attitude can lead to violence – at national and international levels. And even if there is no violence, populism compounds global problems. Issues like climate protection, poverty reduction and many others require joint action, not thinking in zero-sum terms. No, one side's gain is not always another side's loss. Many important things can only be achieved collectively – the UN's Sustainable Development Goals for example.

Not everything that may seem utopian at some point is indeed unrealistic. Universal access to health care, for example, is achievable, but nuance matters. Any serious policy must spell out costs and who bears them. Compromise is needed, and there will always be trade-offs. That is what democracy is like.

To fight populists, we must insist on pluralism at national and international levels. Moreover, we must insist on discussing policy details. Promises that everything will be great are worthless.

* * *

As many of you will certainly notice, we have updated the layout of our e-Paper. It now resembles the print issues that we publish every two months. We have also modified the order of the sections, but are convinced that you will easily find what you are looking for.

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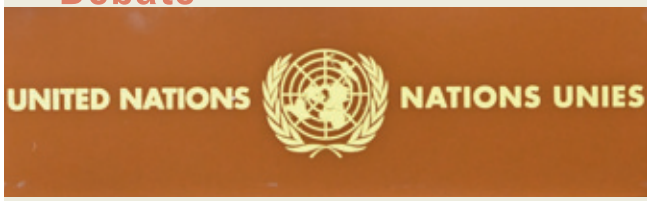
Debate



Promising appointment

António Guterres, the new UN secretary-general, differs in healthy ways from his predecessor. According to journalist Friederike Bauer, the former prime minister of Portugal is outspoken and engaging, but must pay attention of not being considered brash. **PAGE 14**

Tribune

Early signs of genocidal action

Violence is escalating in South Sudan as political disagreements are turning into tribal conflicts. Reverend Peter Tibi, an experienced mediator, told Sheila Mysorekar why genocide looks likely to him. **PAGE 15**

Focus on aid effectiveness

To improve the impacts of official development assistance, the Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation (GPEDC) was established in 2012. However, this multilateral forum needs more appreciation, for instance within the UN, as development consultant Peter Lanzet argues. **PAGE 17**

SAHEL

Lack of statehood

A salt caravan near Agadez in Niger: ancient trade routes are increasingly used by criminals to smuggle drugs, arms and even people.

In recent years, the Sahel region has been completely destabilised by civil wars in Libya, Mali, the Central African Republic and Sudan. The trafficking of human beings, drugs and arms flourishes across barely secured borders. Terrorist organisations such a Al-Qaeda and Boko Haram take advantage of the lack of statehood to expand their reach. Experts see various approaches to stabilising the region.

By Sabine Balk

Zahabi Sidi Mohamed, the president of the demobilisation commission CNDDR and a former foreign minister of Mali, is convinced that the first step to finding solutions is to gain an understanding of what the criminal groups in the Sahel region are trying to achieve. He points out that the situation was aggravated by Libya's collapse, which totally destabilised the region. Many border communities must fend for themselves as no support is provided by state agencies. He says there are unfortunately too many bad governments and too few resources in many African countries.

That view is echoed by Wolf-Christian Paes, an expert on the region at the BICC (Bonn International Center for Conversion). He stresses that dominant clans are involved in the regional dynamics and believes that the whole spectrum of trafficking – arms, drugs, even people – is closely related to Islamist terrorism. Paes says the illegal traffickers use the same traditional caravan routes that have served goods transports for centuries. The criminals benefit from the lack of statehood that marks many local communities. In some cases, they have stepped into structural gaps, including outstanding pay for example. They generate incomes for themselves and their supporters, and bribery matters very much.

Another problem Zahabi Sidi Mohamed sees is the west's failure to understand the Islamic agenda. He deplores, moreover, that no dialogue is taking place between different varieties of Islam. This is neither happening on "a broad front" nor at an "intellectual level". He regards that as a major problem and does not believe it is up to the west to get such dialogue started. The initiative needs to come from the Muslim world itself.

FLOOD OF ARMS

Moncef Kartas from the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva points out that many of the Sahel's problems were evident before the fall of the Libyan dictator Muammar al-Gaddafi. What changed after Libya imploded was that Libyan arms began to flood the region, and even civilians suddenly had access to weapons. "Large numbers of people turned up with trucks and packed them full of arms which they then stored to sell later at a profit," the researcher says. He reckons there has always been a tradition of small arms and light weapons trafficking in the region. But when Libya fell apart, the situation swerved out of control, so the international community is now desperately looking for a way out of the mess.

In Kartas' view, the solutions currently being implemented are far too military-oriented. He wants more civilian peace work to be done. What Libya needs, he says, is the rule of law, not more military force.

Sani Adamu Mohammed agrees. He heads the Small Arms Division of the Secretariat of ECOWAS, the Economic Community of West African States. Its members include the Sahel states Mali and Niger. He appreciates the "ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons, their Ammunition and other Related Materials", which was adopted in 2006. The agreement prohibits all international transfers of small arms within the community unless a member state obtains a waiver from the ECOWAS Secretariat. The agreement also includes rules concerning the control of arms production, transparency and information sharing among ECOWAS members. One of its provisions is to create a register of small arms.

Sani Adamu Mohammed admits, however, that the rules are not being observed and asks: "What went wrong?" In his view, more effort is needed to ensure the implementation of the Convention. The problem is that Niger's and Mali's borders are far away from the capital cities, and the border areas are neglected by the govern-

Photo: Lemmens/Lineair

ment. "Border communities are desperate," Sani Adamu Mohammed explains. In the face of a weak state presence, criminal cartels take over governance roles. Action to strengthen state institutions and governments is necessary, he argues.

At a recent conference held by BICC in Bonn, Susanne Baumann of Germany's Federal Foreign Office was asked whether German officials realised how near the Sahel is. It is where many migrants, refugees and drugs start their journey to Europe. Baumann replied that Germany is well aware of the many impacts the crisis in the Sahel has on Germany and Europe. This is why the Federal Government decided to lend more support to the region, she said, for example by increasing the number of German troops in Mali. In future, a total of up to 1,000 German soldiers with helicopters will participate in the peacekeeping activities of the UN mission Minusma. She stressed that this is currently Germany's biggest troop commitment in the world. She added that the Federal Government is also running a range of civilian support programmes.

Zahabi Sidi Mohamed welcomes Germany's involvement in Mali. At the same time, however, he warns that the mandate is too limited. It is confined exclusively to peacekeeping and does not allow action, for instance, against human traffickers and arms smugglers. His rhetorical question is: "How can you keep a peace that doesn't exist?" His appeal to the UN is: "Help our countries have strong police forces and armies and revise your mandate!"

Zahabi Sidi Mohamed believes the solution for the region lies in (re-)building statehood. What the Sahel needs, he says, are strong governments that respect laws, stabilise countries and secure borders. But he also sees the need for dialogue between the religions in the region in order to counter Islamist indoctrination against the west.

Zahabi Sidi Mohamed believes that international cooperation often fails to address the problems accurately. In his eyes, the troops deployed in Mali are an example. They train Malian soldiers, he says, but do not provide them with the adequate equipment. Without that equipment, the Malian army cannot do its job.

ODA

Aid increase too small

Official development assistance (ODA) keeps rising. However, the increase is far too small to meet donor countries' pledges of spending 0.7% of gross national income (GNI) on aid. Distribution is an issue too: in 2015, the members of the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) spent almost a tenth of ODA in their own countries.

By Katja Dombrowski

The DAC is a club of prosperous nations, including economic powerhouses such as the USA, Japan¸ Germany and the EU. In 2015, its members disbursed $131.4 billion in ODA. That was 6.6% more in real terms than in 2014. By ODA volume, the most important donors were the USA, Britain, Germany, Japan and France.

However, most of the additional money was spent in the donor countries themselves, especially in Europe. Much of it was used to support refugees. Related expenditure amounted to $12.1 billion or 9.2% of total ODA. If the related sums are excluded, net ODA grew only by 1.3% in real terms.

Many non-governmental organisations criticise this trend. Hilary Jeune of Oxfam international says OECD aid figures should not include refugee costs because "this is aid which never leaves rich countries". And Sara Harcourt of ONE, the advocacy organisation argues: "Many countries are redirecting their aid – which is meant to fight poverty – towards covering the costs of refugees they are hosting. It's absolutely right that we protect people fleeing war and insecurity, but we also must support the world's poorest people."

ODA has been rising steadily in recent years. From 2000 to 2015, the increase was 82% in real terms. Nonetheless, donors are still far from fulfilling the pledge they made to the UN to spend 0.7% of GNI on ODA. For all DAC members combined, the share was only 0.3% in 2015. Only a few countries met or exceeded the 0.7% goal: Denmark, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and Britain. Germany's share was 0.5% up from 0.4% in 2014.

According to OECD, the largest share of total ODA, which includes funding from non-DAC members and multilateral donors, went to Syria, which received $4.9 billion. Afghanistan was second ($4.3 billion) and Pakistan third ($3.8 billion). Ethiopia and India both received $3.2 billion. The group of least developed countries got $43 billion. Total ODA for sub-Saharan Africa amounted to $42.8 billion.

Money spent in donor countries for refugees counts as official development assistance (ODA). Syrian woman in a refugee camp in Greece.

Photo: picture-alliance/AP Photo

LINK

ODA figures 2015 by OECD/DAC:
www.oecd.org/dac/financing-sustainable-development/development-finance-data/final-2015-oda.htm

DEVELOPMENT POLICY

Marshall Plan with Africa

Gerd Müller, Germany's federal minister for economic cooperation and development is pursuing a new vision in regard to Africa. He has invited civil society, the private sector and the general public to discuss his ministry's proposal for a "Marshall Plan with Africa".

By Sabine Balk

The guiding idea is to boost support for reform-minded partner countries. Müller wants to earmark an additional 20 % of Germany's official development assistance (ODA) for "reform champions". Donor policy would thus set incentives for African governments to gear nationally owned policymaking to sustainable development. Müller promises more support for leaders who fight corruption, establish tax systems, invest in education and promote gender equality, for example.

ODA, however, will not suffice to rise to the challenges. Müller points out that Africa needs jobs which only the private sector can create. The priorities must thus be to generate value in Africa instead of merely exploiting people. Müller sees ample business opportunities in Africa, including for German companies.

In Müller's eyes, 2017 will be a decisive year as the EU is working on a new Africa strategy and Africa will be high on the G20 summit that Germany will host in Hamburg. An important topic, according to Müller, is stemming the illicit financial flows which cost developing countries an annual $ 100 million. The ten starting points for the Marshall Plan with Africa are:

1. We need a new pact on the future between Europe and Africa.

2. Africa needs African solutions.

3. Prioritising jobs and opportunities for young people. It is vital that Africa's young people can see a future for themselves in Africa.

4. Investment in entrepreneurship. It's not the governments that will create all the long-term employment opportunities that are needed.

5. Value creation, not exploitation. Africa must be more than the continent of raw materials.

6. Demanding the right political environment and supporting its development.

7. Reform partnerships, not a blanket approach. The members of the African Union have committed to specific reforms in their Agenda 2063. We will be taking African commitments seriously.

8. Equitable global structures and institutions. Reforms in Africa must be matched by reforms in Europe and at the global level. The main areas are fair trade, combatting illicit financial flows and putting a stop to arms sales to areas in crisis.

9. ODA cannot provide all the answers.

10. We will leave no one behind. Germany will deliver on its shared responsibility for the least developed countries.

These starting points set the stage for a new debate on future cooperation with Africa. The Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) invites all interested parties to get involved, including Germany's African and European partners, policymakers, the private sector, academia and faith-based organisations. Online contributions are welcome (marshallplan@bmz.bund.de). The BMZ will host a series of events.

LINK

Africa and Europe – A new partnership for development, peace and a better future. Cornerstone of a Marshallplan with Africa: ***https://www.bmz.de/en/publications/type_of_publication/information_flyer/information_brochures/Materialie270_africa_marshallplan.pdf***

Photo: http://www.bmz.de/en

MINORITIES

Ethnic cleansing

In Myanmar, the situation of the Rohingya minority has worsened dramatically. Human-rights organisations accuse the security forces of ethnic cleansing, and tens of thousands of people are on the run. Hopes that the new government would deal with minorities in a better manner have been bitterly disappointed.

By Katja Dombrowski

In October 2016, three border posts of Myanmar were attacked at the border to Bangladesh. Nine policemen died, and weapons were stolen. Officials accused radical members of the Rohingya, a Muslim community, of the assaults, and the situation has been escalating since then.

The security forces responded with brutal force, leaving more than 80 people dead, according to media reports. The government declared the area around the border town of Maungdaw a zone of military operations and imposed a curfew. Journalists, human-rights activists and humanitarian helpers may not enter the zone. Refugees report cases of extrajudicial killings, arrests, rape, torture and the destruction of buildings.

Human-rights organisations accuse Myanmar of ethnic cleansing and covert genocide. Zeid Ra'ad Al Hussein, the UN high commissioner for human rights, said in December: "Myanmar's handling of northern Rakhine is a lesson in how to make a bad situation worse." He said he was deeply disappointed because the UN Human Rights Office's persistent request for access to the area was not approved. According to him, the Office gets reports of human-rights abuses daily.

The Rohingya have long been discriminated against in the predominantly Buddhist country. They are denied citizenship and basic rights (see Ridwanul Hoque in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2016/04, p. 42, and Katja Dombrowski in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2015/12, p. 4).

Tens of thousands of people are on the run. In the last three months of 2016, 50,000 refugees from Myanmar were officially registered in Bangladesh; according to UN figures, another 30,000 were internally displaced. Since the outbreak of violence in 2012, 140,000 Rohingya have been living in camps and ghettos in the state of Rakhine. Others have fled to neighbouring countries where they tend to live in inhumane conditions. The exodus of about 30,000 people from Myanmar by boat caused a Southeast Asian refugee crisis in 2015.

Amnesty International criticises Bangladesh for detaining refugees and forcing them to return to Myanmar. According to the human-rights organisation, such action violates the principle of non-refoulement since it is absolutely prohibited under international law to forcibly send people back to a county or place where they are at real risk of serious human-rights violations. "The Bangladeshi government must not add to the suffering of Rohingya," says Champa Patel, AI's South Asia Director. "They should be recognised and protected as refugees fleeing persecution, not punished for who they are."

In an open letter, more than a dozen Nobel peace laureates have urged the UN Security Council to intervene in Myanmar. They criticise their fellow Nobel laureate Aung San Suu Kyi of failing in the Rohingya issue. Many had placed great hopes in the new government under her leadership that took office about one year ago, not least in regard to how Myanmar treats ethnic minorities. Such hopes have been bitterly disappointed.

In August 2016, the Myanmar government established the Rakhine State Advisory Commission. It is headed by Kofi Annan, the former UN secretary-general, and has the mandate to make proposals on how to solve the conflict within one year. However, the independence of the commission is in doubt, according to Christina Grein, who coordinates the Burma initiative of Asienhaus, a non-governmental German foundation. She points out, furthermore, that the commission's proposals must comply with Myanmar law, and that no Rohingya is among the nine-member commission.

Many houses of Rohingya were destroyed in Maungdaw, Rakhine.

Photo: picture alliance/Kyodo

LINKS

Amnesty International: Bangladesh pushes back Rohingya refugees amid collective punishment in Myanmar. 24 November 2016.
https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/11/bangladesh-pushes-back-rohingya-refugees-amid-collective-punishment-in-myanmar

Blickwechsel 13/2016: Menschenrechtsverletzungen in Myanmars Rakhine-Staat: Terrorismusbekämpfung als Vorwand für militärische „Säuberungsaktion"? (Human-rights violations in Myanmar's Rakhine State: fight against terrorism as excuse for military "cleansing operations"? Only in German.)
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COLONIAL HISTORY

The dark side of European enlightenment

Achille Mbembe, a scholar from Cameroon, expresses harsh criticism of Europe, but he is not anti-European, demanding that former colonial powers finally live up to the principles of European enlightenment.

By Hans Dembowski

Mbembe has an "Afropolitan" vision of his continent's future. The way Mbembe uses the term, Afropolitan means that human rights are to be respected and that everyone must have the opportunity to make a difference in public life. The scholar also rejects rhetoric of victimhood. He does not paint a romantic picture of Africa, but sees many shortcomings, including poverty, violence, exploitation et cetera. Multi-ethnic and multi-cultural South Africa, where he now lives, is the country that comes closest to the Afropolitan vision, whilst wartorn failing states are the farthest from it.

Mbembe's book "Sortir de la grande nuit – essai sur l'Afrique décolonisée" (Escaping the long night – essay on decolonised Africa) was originally published in French. The German edition was only launched last year. There is no English version so far.

Mbembe emphasises that African history is intertwined with the history of other continents, so diaspora communities matter. Migration from Africa (forced in the past and voluntary in more recent times) as well as migration to Africa (especially during the colonial conquests) have left their marks on all countries concerned. The experience of racism is shared by all. Mbembe insists that the idea must yet take root that every African person is entitled to a self-determined, assertive life on an equal footing with any other person on earth. In this regard, European enlightenment is an unfulfilled promise, not a historical achievement.

Postcolonial splendour in Senegal's capital Dakar.

Double standards were typical of the colonial powers. While European thinkers developed the philosophy of enlightenment, their countries were involved in the slave trade and built oppressive empires, denying subjects with darker skin colours rights and opportunities. The imperial powers fostered racism as they claimed to spread civilisation.

A striking example of such double standards was Thomas Jefferson, the main author of the USA's Declaration of Independence. The document states: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness…" Jefferson was a slave owner, and the USA only abolished slavery a century later after a bloody civil war. Racism still haunts the USA.

European powers' approach to race was equally oppressive, Mbembe argues. The way western powers treated black people never fit their enlightened rhetoric.

Mbembe's writing is forceful. The reasoning is interesting, but some metaphors are a bit ambiguous. The book lacks tangible policy proposals.

Mbembe certainly deserves European attention nonetheless. We Europeans are often unaware of our rhetoric concerning good governance and human rights ringing hollow in African or Asian ears. We tend to believe that racism and colonialism are things of the past in our cosmopolitan era. When Europeans discuss human rights with Africans they normally think of the freedoms of expression, assembly and association, not noticing that Africans are thinking of refugees drowning in the Mediterranean Sea. In this depressing context, it is reassuring that Mbembe points out that he is not anti-European, but simply wants Europe to live up to its own principles.

To some extent, however, he seems to be overly obsessed with Europe. The German version of the book has 300 pages, and 100 of them deal with France. One third of the book is thus not an essay on decolonised Africa, as the book's subtitle promises, but one on post-colonial France. Yes, European and African history are linked and must be seen in context. However, focusing on European failure probably will not do much in terms of driving Afropolitan success. As Mbembe himself points out, it is ultimately up to Africa to solve African problems, and Europe's influence is decreasing.

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Photo: dem

NIGERIA

A country at rock bottom

A mother feeds her malnourished child at a medical station of Doctors Without Borders in Maiduguri, Nigeria.

Due to its big economy, Nigeria was long seen as a beacon of hope in Africa. The country has been struggling with major crises in recent years, however. Without outside support, the most populous African nation risks "being turned upside down". This is what Wolf Kinzel of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) concludes in a short recent study.

By Sabine Balk

Kinzel is a frigate captain and was deputy military attaché at the German embassy in Nigeria from 2013 to 2016. He identifies four sources of crisis:

- the threat posed by Boko Haram, the Islamist terror militia, which has caused famine in the north-east of the country,
- acts of sabotage against oil production in the Niger Delta,
- smouldering tensions between crop and livestock farmers in the country's so-called "middle belt" and
- the aspirations of Biafra secessionists in the country's south-east.

Although Boko Haram has lost influence, the terror group is still operational, according to the author. Kinzel is sceptical about the December 2015 announcement by Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari that Boko Haram is all but defeated. The SWP scholar argues that Boko Haram has split into two factions, one of which has withdrawn to Nigeria's north-eastern region where it originated and harasses civilians with bombs, suicide attacks and armed robberies. Following the strategy of the international terror organisation ISIS, the other faction is directing its attacks against state property, churches, foreigners and international agencies, Kinzel states.

"Due to the disastrous security situation, agriculture and food supply have nearly collapsed in north-eastern Nigeria," he writes. According to UNICEF, more than 4 million people are at risk of famine, and there are now 2.6 million internally displaced persons (IDPs). In the region concerned, people's suffering is worse now than it was in 2009, when the radicalisation of Boko Haram began. According to the SWP expert, it indicates just how volatile the region is and that social injustices contributed to Boko Haram's rise. The IDP problem must not be underestimated either, he insists. Although Nigerians are too poor to flee to Europe in large numbers, they already constitute the largest group of refugees arriving in Italy.

The conflicts in the Niger Delta are of an entirely different nature – but they too weaken the state. Various parties are launching attacks on oil infrastructure and pipelines and demand a bigger share of resource revenues, according to Kinzel. The situation is confusing, and the ties between the various groups are not well understood. They range from criminal gangs that want to plunder all the way to political movements that actually hope to improve the people's living conditions. The Nigerian government is attempting to solve the problems by military means, Kinzel writes. It introduced a new strategy in 2016 and is now reaching out to the civilian population by building schools and medical facilities in order to improve the standard of life. In view of its budget problems, however, the author doubts the government will fully implement this strategy.

In the middle of the country, a conflict between nomadic livestock herders and settled farmers has been smouldering for decades. Since 2014, violent clashes have left more than 1,000 people dead, Kinzel writes. In his eyes, the reason is worsening resource scarcity due to climate change and population growth. Since the state's presence cannot be felt in wide areas, both sides are becoming armed increasingly. Similar conflicts haunt various countries on the southern rim of the Sahara, including Chad (see article by Djeralar Miankeol in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2015/07, p. 24).

To overcome the crises, Nigeria needs fast, comprehensive and – most important – long-term help, according to the SWP expert. The low oil price has reduced government revenues, and that trend is aggravating all problems. Kinzel believes that Germany should support the Nigerian police and armed forces, for example by training them in terms of crowd and riot control, thus contributing to containing violent conflicts. Training could serve to make police officers and soldiers behave as dependable public servants, thereby winning the respect and trust of the people.

LINK

Kinzel, W., 2016: Nigeria is faltering – and not only because of Boko Haram.
https://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/aktuell/2016A80_kzl.pdf

Photo: picture-alliance/AP Photo

CLIMATE CHANGE

Pay particular attention to the poor

The impact of cyclones and droughts is set to get worse, so vulnerable countries must expect national incomes to decline, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) warns. To cope with increasing disaster risks, developing countries should therefore adopt short-term and long-term strategies.

By Hans Dembowski

In a working paper published in late 2016, Emmanuel Alano and Minsoo Lee, two ADB experts, assess the macroeconomic implications of natural disasters, with a focus on typhoons and droughts. They show that extreme weather is likely to harm agriculture and tourism, and may thus "roll back years of development gains and exacerbate inequality".

Cyclones, they write, are prone to reducing economic growth by up to three percentage points. If a country is set on a permanently lower growth path, such losses are never recovered. In other cases, it may take many years to get back to the pre-disaster trend. The authors acknowledge that a disaster can also spur growth, if better infrastructure is built to replace what was destroyed. They warn, however, that it normally takes two decades for a country to recover from a cyclone.

Some storms are utterly devastating. According to the ADB, the damages caused by Cyclone Winston, which hit Fiji in February 2016, amounted to more than $500 million or about 11% of gross domestic product. Moreover, 25% of tourism bookings were cancelled immediately after the event.

At typical drought will reduce the annual growth rate by one percentage point, the experts argue. They point out, moreover, that rising temperatures in general mean less favourable conditions for agriculture. In their eyes, climate change is thus set to harm the livelihoods of poor rural communities in particular.

The ADB experts propose several ways to adapt to growing risks, including urbanisation, building climate-resilient infrastructure and establishing better early-warning and disaster-response systems. They emphasise that diversified economies are better at coping with hardship than those that depend primarily only on agriculture and perhaps tourism. Farmers are likely to lose their entire harvest. Businesses in other industries rebound faster, the ADB authors argue. They praise urbanisation, as it leads to diversification, higher wages and more opportunities in general.

To some extent, the inflow of international aid can compensate disaster damages, the working paper acknowledges. It states, however, that aid is unlikely to suffice in the long run in view of increasing damages. Moreover, it reduces incentives to invest in adaptation.

The authors appreciate multilateral approaches to risk management. They praise the Caribbean Catastrophe Risk Insurance Facility (CCRIF), and find its model is worth copying. CCRIF is a multilateral insurance scheme. It charges premiums from governments which, in return, get immediate relief when disaster strikes. In 2016, the government of Haiti received almost $20 million from CCRIF after the island nation was hit by Hurricane Matthew. The facility paid another $9 million to other governments in the affected region (see D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2016/12, p. 20).

The ADB working paper also points out that prosperous nations have social-protection systems that prove useful in emergencies. Poor countries lack such systems and thus face an "adaptation deficit". The authors make it very clear that policymakers must pay attention to social inequality: "Since the poor suffer the most from the effects of natural disaster shock, adaptation efforts should address needs such as relocation, resilient infrastructure, new resistant crops and government transfers to more sustainable ex-ante strategies and risk-sharing mechanisms like disaster insurance."

The damages caused by Cyclone Winston amounted to 11% of Fiji's gross domestic product.

Photo: Phibbs/picture-alliance/AP Photo

LINK

Alano, E., and Lee, M., 2016: Natural disaster shocks and macroeconomic growth in Asia. ADB Economics Working Paper Series No. 503.
https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/218461/ewp-503.pdf

Once bitten, twice shy

37-year-old Mike Bere looks at the green two-dollar-notes that were recently introduced to the market by Zimbabwe's central bank and shakes his head. "I will accept these notes for as long as they work, but I will not stock more than twenty dollars. I don't have a lot of faith in them," says Bere, adding that he had to wait in a bank queue for longer than three hours to withdraw only $ 50. He was given $ 30 in American greenbacks and 20 in Zimbabwean bond notes.

Despite public protests, the Zimbabwean government introduced the controversial quasi currency known as bond notes at the end of November. The idea is to alleviate the country's cash shortage. The notes are denominated as $ 2 and $ 5 respectively. The government promises they will stay pegged to the dollar.

John Mangudya, the governor of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ), says the bond notes are backed by for-ex reserves. According to the state media, the bond notes are a way of putting an end to cash hoarding and of becoming less dependent on foreign currencies.

Zimbabwe is an unusual country because it no longer has a currency of its own. To stop the hyperinflation that had gripped the country in the first decade of this century, the use of foreign currencies was introduced. Several currencies are accepted – including the South African rand, the British pound and the euro. US dollars, however, have become the dominant tender by far, accounting for approximately 97 % of money currently in circulation.

The introduction of the bond notes is now causing consternation among Zimbabwe's citizens. Many Zimbabweans have horror memories of losing all of their monetary savings because of dramatically rising prices in 2008 and 2009. The government mismanaged the economy and kept printing more money. At the end, the 100 trillion Zimbabwean dollar note was so worthless that it didn't even buy a loaf of bread.

Accordingly, the bond notes are regarded with suspicion. Many Zimbabweans doubt the government's ability to manage the new system well and fear the printing presses will soon be running at full speed again, causing a return to hyperinflation.

To soften resistance, the central bank is currently running a huge publicity campaign. So far, it has issued bond notes worth $ 75 million. People have serious doubts, however, and have taken to withdrawing as much cash from banks as they can.

Withdrawal limits of bond notes have been set at a maximum of $ 50 per day and $ 150 per week. Long queues of people desperate to withdraw their money from banks have become the order of the day throughout Zimbabwe.

"We are a peculiar nation that consistently rewrites logic," maintains a man standing in a queue under the glare of a hot sun, to withdraw a pittance of his money. "We are currently witnessing a huge scam. Who just prints paper and determines its value?" argues Claude Chauke, a fruit vendor in Harare, Zimbabwe's capital city.

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ECONOMIC POLICY

Future at risk

Youth unemployment remains a key challenge in Zambia. Youth make up almost two thirds of the country's working-age population and almost one quarter of them are unemployed, according to a World Bank estimate. The persons concerned lack the kind of education, training and effective vocational guidance that would match industry needs. Unless things improve, the future looks bleak.

Young Zambians need opportunities: street view of a township in the capital Lusaka.

By Frank Masanta Jr.

Only a small share of the young generation gets public-sector jobs. Formal sector employment in general is hard to find. The private sector is struggling, not least due to electric power black outs and high energy costs. The economy has lately been slowing down. About 9,000 formal sector jobs were cut last year, and inflation is running high at about 20 %. Those youngsters who find jobs normally do informal work as waiters, taxi drivers or barbers.

Crime and drug abuse are all too common. Many young people drop out of school. Moreover, this generation is marked by early marriages, early childbearing and HIV/AIDS infections. High numbers of economically frustrated youth may cause instability moreover. Zambia's presidential election in 2016 was haunted by violence. Politicians took advantage of poor and unemployed youths who acted as partisan hooligans. This was unprecedented in independent Zambia.

Zambia's government is aware of the challenge, and it has promised to boost employment in general, and jobs for young people in particular. So far, however, its initiatives have not made the difference needed.

Zambia has signed the UN 2030 Agenda with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). It has adopted its own 2030 vision, aspiring to become a prosperous middle-income country. The key principles guiding this policy are:

- sustainable development,
- democracy,
- human rights,
- family values,
- work ethos,
- peaceful coexistence and
- upholding good traditional values.

These principles make sense, but more needs to happen. For example, population growth must be slowed down. The demographic balance is important. Fast population growth today means more problems tomorrow. Moreover, it is necessary to set in motion economic development. Essential issues are:

- Agriculture: no country that has escaped poverty has done so without substantially raising farm productivity. Food production is essential for a people to be healthy and productive. In terms of jobs and livelihoods, agriculture is more important than any other sector in Zambia. Irrigation and mechanisation would boost agricultural outputs. Better access to financial services and markets would be useful. Moreover, it would make sense to process food near the villages. Tax exemptions should support this kind of rural development. Moreover, young people should get access to land. Employment opportunities would arise. Additional, rural jobs could result from processing harvests in the region and providing supportive services, including credit, for instance, to farms.
- Information and communication technology: Zambia needs to build a telecom infrastructure and facilitate entrepreneurship.
- Science and technology: like African countries in general, Zambia must improve higher education, research and development. Otherwise, the continent cannot make the most of its abundant natural resources. It will remain a supplier of commodities instead of producing goods of high value. Improving matters in this regard will result in new and attractive opportunities for brilliant young people who so far are denied prospects.
- Entrepreneurship: The most powerful and sustainable approach to spur job creation is education geared to empower entrepreneurship. One of this terms' many definitions is "the capacity to turn dirt into gold". Entrepreneurs take advantage of problems and make profits by offering solutions.

All summed up, youth empowerment must focus on changing the young generation's mindset and culture. Education and motivation matter – and when they result in a sufficient number of people becoming successful entrepreneurs, those people can dramatically improve the employment situation for everyone. Imagination, inspiration, creativity, passion and the pursuit of happiness matter. The government must certainly do its part, but it is wrong to only wait for the government to act. People must be agents for their own wellbeing – and the young generation must be taught accordingly.

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Photo: sb

GOVERNANCE

Setting the right example

Peer pressure: in December, the elected presidents of Nigeria, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Ghana visited Gambia's President Jammeh and told him to step down after losing elections.

ECOWAS, the Economic Community of West African States, is becoming a beacon of democracy. Africa's other regional organisations should take note.

By Hans Dembowski

In recent years, peaceful transfers of power have occurred after elections in important ECOWAS member countries, including Nigeria, Ghana and Senegal. The region's leaders have developed a habit of insisting on their peers' democratic legitimacy. They also cooperated with the French military to re-establish multi-party democracy in Côte d'Ivoire and Mali after serious crises.

In the past two months, ECOWAS put considerable pressure on Yahya Jammeh, the autocratic president of Gambia, who lost elections in December, but refused to give up power. Facing an imminent military intervention, Jammeh stepped down and opted for exile in Equatorial Guinea.

The determined West African approach is more likely to lead to stability than simply condoning the strongman, as is often done elsewhere in Africa. Stabilising an autocrat's grip on his country means that discontent and frustration will keep building up since the autocrat's rule will stay repressive and foster evermore anger. Evermore people will believe that violence is an entirely legitimate means to resolve disputes, and indeed, the only one.

Three things have probably contributed to the ECOWAS stance on democratic principles:

- The civil wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone were interlinked and went on for decades, ultimately dragging in other ECOWAS countries and the UN. They proved that a crisis that traumatises one part of a world region is prone to harm the entire region. Accordingly, it makes sense to prevent – and if need be – contain crises early on. West Africa has had many serious crises, from the Biafra war in Nigeria in the 1960s to the collapse of Côte d'Ivoire early this century to Boko Haram terrorism today. The good news is that leaders now accept that West African problems require West African solutions.
- It helps that many West African countries, and especially the big ones, have been independent for at least 50 years. Two generations have grown up under African governments. The longer a country is no longer a colony, the less sense it makes to blame its problems on foreign powers.
- It probably also helps that most West African countries, and – once again – especially the big ones, became independent without armed struggle. In this world region, France and Britain gradually granted their colonies self-administration, and African leaders then pressed Paris and London into negotiating peaceful transitions to sovereignty. Sadly, this history did not prevent despotic one-party governments, military rule and civil wars. Autocratic leaders, however, could not rely on a militia mindset. In guerrilla warfare, one's life depends on personal loyalty, and dissent is seen as treason which deserves the death sentence. The longer an armed struggle drags on, the more mafia-like a militia becomes. That is necessary for prevailing in war, but it makes it very hard to move on to pluralistic democracy once the war is over. The leaders of a liberation army are used to absolute command and feel entitled to it, not least because they and their troops sacrificed so much.

West Africa has had its fair share of problems. To the extent that its leaders uphold democratic principles, future crises should prove less traumatic than past ones.

Photo: picture-alliance

UNITED NATIONS

Guterres is on fire

António Guterres, the new UN secretary-general, is pleasantly open and direct. But he must be careful not to be too brash.

By Friederike Bauer

Right at the start of his term, Guterres issued an appeal for peace to the global public. It was not a lukewarm message delivered in typical UN style, but rather a motivating call that made Guterres seem like a man of action.

The largest failing of the international community, the former Portuguese prime minister stated forcefully, is its inability to prevent conflicts and ensure global security. Accordingly, he pledged to make the issue of peace a central theme of his five-year term. Guterres went on to say that he is not naive enough to believe that 2017 will be a year of peace, but it should at least be a year for peace. His clever rhetoric ensured that his remarks were covered by news outlets around the world.

In the following few days he made his first appointments – a woman as deputy secretary-general, a woman as chef de cabinet. He held a highly regarded speech in the Security Council, announced reforms to the UN Secretariat and peacekeeping troops and attended the new round of peace talks between the leaders of divided Cyprus. Even before he assumed his post in New York, he had visited Russian President Vladimir Putin in Moscow.

Guterres is not only refreshingly outspoken, but also amazingly quick. The speed with which he hopes to re-animate the world organisation, which has become largely ineffectual, sets him fundamentally apart from his predecessor.

Ban Ki-moon, the nice but unremarkable South Korean diplomat, held the office for ten years. Insiders always considered him an intelligent, upright, friendly and hard-working UN chief. Nevertheless, he was unable to set a clear course and develop a personal profile. Yes, the Agenda 2030 with the Sustainable Development Goals were adopted under his watch, and so was the Paris Climate Agreement. But none of these things are associated with him. He was seen as the lowest common denominator among the UN powers right from the start. What was wanted at the time was not a charismatic leader, but rather a compliant administrator. And that's what they got.

In its current condition, however, the world cannot afford a lacklustre secretary-general. At a time when crisis follows crisis and conflict follows conflict, the UN is needed, and it depends on the person at its helm. This individual's credibility matters in lack of immediate power: the secretary-general controls neither land nor troops, can neither pass laws nor collect taxes. The secretary-general does not even have a vote in the Security Council or the General Assembly. The UN Charter defines the secretary's political job in a single article. It is basically one of monitoring world affairs and raising alarm if need be, so the UN chief's ability to convince others is his strongest instrument.

Guterres has the right kind of charisma for the job, as he proved in his previous job as UN High Commissioner for Refugees. Hans Schumacher, a former German UN ambassador, once said of him: "The man is simply on fire." He has energy, courage and doesn't shy away from conflict. And he brings along the experiences of a full life, which has taken him from Portuguese politics to the Socialist International to the UNHCR. Despite the fact that many UN observers wanted to see a woman finally appointed to the position, Guterres was indeed the best choice.

History tells us, however, that too much brashness can be just as ineffective as too much caution. The first secretary-general, the open-hearted Norwegian Trygve Lie, gave up in exasperation and resigned before his term was over. He is on record as calling the position "the most impossible job" in the world. The sixth UN chief, Egyptian Boutros Boutros-Ghali, was actually denied the customary second term because he was considered too outspoken. To date, the most capable UN secretary-generals are thought to be Dag Hammarskjöld of Sweden and Kofi Annan of Ghana, probably because they were most successful at walking the fine line between diplomacy and charisma. So while Guterres may be a refreshing change from his predecessor, Ban Ki-moon, he must be careful not to burn out too early.

António Guterres with the Turkish Cypriot leader, Mustafa Akinci (left), and the Greek Cypriot leader, Nicos Anastasiades (right).

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Photo: picture-alliance/abaka, Portrait: Bert Bostelmann, bildfolio

HUMAN RIGHTS

"Sliding towards genocide"

Violence in South Sudan has spread to previously peaceful regions. A political breakdown is increasingly becoming a clash of ethnic groups. Genocide seems imminent according to Reverend Peter Tibi, an experienced South Sudanese peace mediator.

Peter Tibi interviewed by Sheila Mysorekar

What is the current situation in South Sudan?
Ethnic tensions are dividing South Sudan's 64 tribes, and the country is awash with weapons and armed groups. The violence against women is staggering; rape has reached truly epidemic proportions. Politicians, police and military are acting as aggressors toward innocent citizens. When political leaders and law enforcement personnel as well as rebel soldiers are traumatised themselves, they revert to self-preservation through tribal vengeance and political assassinations. This is all happening in the context of a civil war that began in December 2013, with a steady descent into a tribal conflict between Dinka, Nuer and other ethnic groups. There have been ethnic-based killings on all sides and growing demands for vengeance. Inter-tribal violence, authoritarian rule, a failing economy and an overfunded military make an explosive mix.

International observers – like UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon – have said that a genocide in South Sudan is imminent. Which early warning signs do you see?
Inter-tribal dehumanisation and incitement is taking place – hate speech at all levels, including social media. Militias are mobilising along ethnic lines, and perhaps most ominous of all, the South Sudan government's actions are already levelling villages, resulting in many dead in Central Equatoria state. We observe atrocities and gross violations of human rights and international humanitarian law. Ethnic cleansing is underway through starvation, gang rape and arson. Major signs are targeted killings of civilians and the forcing of certain ethnic groups to flee. Across the country, moreover, the government and the rebels are forcibly recruiting very young gunmen ahead of the dry season, when fighting typically intensifies. The government has boosted its weapons procurement. Both sides are gearing up for this offensive.

The UN special advisor on genocide, Adama Dieng, has pointed out that genocide is a process, referring to South Sudan. How would you describe this process, for instance in the state of Central Equatoria, where you live?
We witness ethnically targeted killing along the borders with Uganda and the DR Congo as well as within Yei town by both the government military and the armed groups. Young boys are being arrested by the military; most of them are killed and dumped in the river. Soldiers burn villages and execute residents because of their ethnicity. A clash between the army and armed groups is in preparation.

Is there any way to stop this?
Time is running out. All sides are actively recruiting new soldiers – including children – and stockpiling weapons. But the worst can be prevented. The limitations on international peacekeepers have to be lifted to allow them more aggressive responses to violence. Targeted sanctions against South Sudanese leaders on both sides are necessary. International media organisations need to highlight what is going on in South Sudan. And last but not least: a peaceful dialogue process can diminish the scale of violence.

Are any international interests fanning the conflict?

Government soldiers in South Sudan in October 2016.

Photo: Julius/picture alliance/Sipa USA

No, there are no big power contests being played out in South Sudan. The neighbouring states have been promoting peace through their regional organisation, the Intergovernmental Association for Development (IGAD). IGAD must also empower the African Union's Special Envoy for South Sudan, former Malian President Alpha Konaré, to pursue an urgent process of mediation and negotiation to lower tensions and assure all sides of an inclusive peace process. This task can no longer be entrusted to the government of South Sudan as proposed in the current peace plan, because the government is complicit in much of the current violence and threats of ethnic killing. Once these measures have been taken, the 4,000 additional UN peacekeeping troops approved by the UN Security Council can be deployed with the goal of defusing ongoing tensions and providing protection for citizens. The world has spent several decades rehashing the failures that led to the Rwandan genocide. In South Sudan there are ample warning signs now, but the action necessary to forestall another tragedy in the region must be led by African leaders, with muscular diplomacy and clear international commitment.

As a mediator, how do you approach a tense situation?

By not taking sides, but engaging all actors at all levels. The road we are taking is quiet diplomacy, advocacy for an inclusive peace process and humanitarian support.

How do you deal with armed actors?

Our main tool is contact – dialogue based on confidence. This approach necessarily raises important questions. Will allowing an armed group the opportunity to engage in talks legitimise that group's use of violence to push for its demands? Will the parties simply take advantage of the dialogue to buy time? While these are valid questions, my organisation RECONCILE has chosen to help facilitate dialogue in order to achieve a political solution. Engaging actors in compliance with international norms has to be done step by step, depending on the dynamics and stage of the conflict. Where the parties are in dialogue with each other – often facilitated by a third party –, partial agreements, sometimes linked to ceasefires, can serve as important confidence-building measures, in addition to easing the suffering of the civilian population.

What must happen so people lay down their weapons?

Trust building and open dialogue is to be encouraged between armed actors. Such dialogue needs to be facilitated by a neutral group that does not take sides. Sometimes a neutral place for negotiation is also required.

You have been working for decades as a mediator in many armed conflicts. Do you fear for your life?

Those who do not want peace sometimes threaten me. For instance, I get text messages telling me that they want me dead. As a human being, that is traumatising, but I know how to deal with the effects of trauma. Also, it is always encouraging to work with others in the process. I have seen the fruits and impact of my past work; many armed actors later appreciated the process. This gives me determination to push on.

What do you consider the main tools for peacebuilding?

As I said, dialogue is crucial. We also need continued context analysis and recognise the varied nature of the armed groups and their relation to the ongoing conflict and peace dynamics. We make informed decisions based on this analysis and use a variety of methods to engage. It is important to approach justice issues in relation to mediation and dialogue with armed groups in a comprehensive way, avoiding possible solutions which favour exclusively one or the other. And we need to follow up on implementation of the agreement reached.

What are the basics for peacebuilding efforts to prove effective?

The key to effective peacebuilding lies in an agreed common strategy, nationally owned, with clear priorities towards which the UN, the international community and national partners can allocate resources. A common strategy should be:

- nationally owned, derived from an inclusive planning process, with many and diverse stakeholders consulted as the strategy is developed; and
- based on an assessment of the country's situation (for example through a post-conflict needs assessment or a strategic assessment) including an analysis of conflict drivers and risks.

Map: TUBS/wikipedia

You are part of the commission that wrote and supervises the peace agreement in South Sudan. Do you think this peace agreement is still valid?

The current peace agreement is not valid, though the international community and government of South Sudan are trying to avoid the shame of its collapse. There is a need for an inclusive revisiting of the agreement.

In your opinion, what needs to be done now to de-escalate the situation in South Sudan?

We must give life to the dead peace agreement by using an all-inclusive process, a dialogue facilitated by a neutral body that is transparent. For this, we need the support of the international community. Top priority is to stop the ongoing violence before South Sudan slides further towards genocide.

What went wrong after the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and the decades-long civil war so violence re-erupted in 2013?

Security arrangements were not put in place before the formation of a transitional government. The level of anger and mistrust was ignored.

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AID EFFECTIVENESS

Rekindling interest in effectiveness

Efforts have been made for many years to improve development policy by making cooperation more effective. A multilateral forum – the Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation (GPEDC) – was established specifically for this purpose in 2012. However, it lacks resonance in the UN. Civil-society agencies, however, have successfully demanded more say within the GPEDC.

By Peter Lanzet

Effective aid is delivered where it is really needed: a school in Cameroon.

The aid effectiveness project was initiated by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) to support the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). But from the very beginning it suffered from a congenital defect: it lacked the support of major emerging economies like China and India, which felt it did not take proper account of their views. Accordingly, a special cooperation framework was defined for south-south cooperation and, in its context, the general principles of aid effectiveness do not apply in the same way as they do for OECD donors.

As G77 nations and China continued to express their scepticism, the UN was reluctant to assign the GPEDC a clear and specific role in managing the implementation of its 2030 Agenda with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). This lack of recognition weakens the GPEDC, even though its design strengthens the position of developing countries.

At the end of November 2016, representatives of around 130 national governments and a large number of development actors assembled in Nairobi for the GPEDC's second High-Level Meeting. The conference endorsed the Nairobi Outcome Document which defines greater roles for the private sector, south-south cooperation and civil society. It also extends the scope for its main instrument, its biannual global monitoring process. Thomas Silberhorn, a parliamentary state secretary at Germany's Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), was made one of three co-chairs who head the GPEDC. The role of civil society was explicitly appreciated, which matters in view of a long running international trend to limit the scope for independent activism.

SEARCH FOR NEW RELEVANCE

A key challenge, in Silberhorn's eyes, is that the relevance of the GPEDC is accepted but not generally supported. Even before the UN snubbed it, member states and actors did little to implement the GPEDC four central principles which were agreed in Busan in 2011 (see box, p. 18). Such neglect negatively affects credibility.

The Nairobi Outcome Document praises the results of the second Global Monitoring Report for the progress made in terms of boosting developing country ownership of policymaking and more donor funding flowing through recipient countries' national budgets.

Civil-society organisations find the report far too diplomatic and optimistic, however. If it is to serve its purpose, it must publish its facts and figures more matter-of-factly and with less positive spin. The truth is that little or no progress has been made, for instance, on pledges concerning national procurement, on untying aid, on transparency of conditionality or on making the policy priorities of developing countries prevail over those of donors. Private sector companies remain hesitant, waiting to see what effectiveness principles will mean for investments. The report's comments on more civil-society involvement in multi-stakeholder platforms, moreover, does not conceal that the space civil-society activism needs has been shrinking in many countries for years.

STRATEGIES FOR STRENGTHENING EFFECTIVENESS

The High-Level Meeting in Nairobi focused particularly on strategies to give the GPEDC new momentum. Options include:

Photo: Graben/Lineair

- fully aligning GPEDC action to SDG achievement, by directly subordinating it to the UN High-Level Political Forum, which monitors and promotes progress in regard to the SDGs,
- emphasising potential improvements in effectiveness and reducing risks for private-sector investment by applying aid effectiveness principles, and
- making the Global Monitoring Framework more relevant by using more indicators.

In Nairobi, some forces wanted to water down core principles of effectiveness, hoping to boost the reach of the GPEDC by accommodating certain countries and the private sector. They wanted to roll back the focus on human rights, relax requirements of inclusiveness for private sector investments and reduce the role of civil society. On a number of fronts – such as democracy, human rights and use of official development assistance for hedging private investment risks – they have left their mark on the Outcome Document.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF CIVIL SOCIETY

In the last 11 years, civil-society organisations have steadily strengthened and augmented their role in the effectiveness debate. When the Paris Declaration was adopted in 2005, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) took part as mere observers. In 2008, at the High-Level Meeting on Aid Effectiveness in Accra, they were recognised as development actors in their own right. In 2011, the Busan Outcome Document demanded that a legally and politically enabling environment must be created for civil-society initiatives.

In 2012, diverse civil-society groups joined forces in the global umbrella organisation CSO Partnership for Development Effectiveness (CPDE). The aim was to assume duty in the GPEDC steering committee. CPDE members took part in all preparatory steps before the High Level Meeting in Nairobi and hosted a number of events during the conference.

In the past five years, civil society's scope of action has been significantly reduced in 109 countries. The CPDE therefore demanded a commitment from the Nairobi conference to reverse this trend. And it received that commitment. Paragraph 18 of the Outcome Document contains the pledge: "We are determined to reverse the trend of shrinking of civic space." In the preamble, shrinking civic space is mentioned on a par with climate change risks and global economic shocks. The Nairobi Outcome Document calls upon donors and developing country governments alike to ensure that NGOs are involved in policymaking, strategising and monitoring of development progress.

Kenya's government had planned to roll out the red carpet for the private sector and south-south cooperation. Civil society took the opportunity to walk on it. State Secretary Silberhorn, however, warned that more civil-society influence would mean less interest of governments and the private sector. He hopes that tangible initiatives will help to get China and India more actively involved in the GPEDC, even if they are unlikely to become members.

LINK

2. Global Monitoring Report 2016 of the GPEDC: ***http://effectivecooperation.org/2016/11/2016-monitoring-report-released/***

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Managing and monitoring effectiveness

Attempts to increase development effectiveness by improving cooperation go back to 1999 and have passed many milestones since then. The most important ones were the Paris Declaration (2005) and the Busan Outcome Document (2011). These documents spell out the core aims and principles of cooperation. Several global conferences have endorsed the need to focus on four key principles for effective development cooperation:

- country ownership,
- focus on results,
- transparency and mutual accountability and
- inclusive partnerships.

In 2012, the Global Partnership on Effective Development Cooperation (GPEDC) was created as a multilateral forum. Secretariat services are provided by a joint OECD and UNDP bureau, based in Paris. The GPEDC has three co-chairs and is coordinated by a 22 member steering committee. New appointments to the co-chairs were made at the High-Level Meeting in Nairobi on expiry of the rotating two-year period of office.

Every two years the GPEDC presents a Global Monitoring Report compiled by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). It is the Global Partnership's most important tool for tracking members' progress in implementing the agreed principles. Ten indicators are monitored. They include indicators for focus on results, effective institutions, joint evaluation, gender equality and predictability of development cooperation funding.

LINK

Monitoring Framework of the GPEDC: ***http://effectivecooperation.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/GPEDC-Monitoring-Framework-10-Indicators.pdf***

Egypt's President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi attending a military parade in Cairo last summer.

Populist politics

Populist leaders claim to speak for "the" people, but they define who exactly belongs to the people, excluding minorities, various scapegoats and anyone who opposes them. Their grand promises are unrealistic, but their threats to hound the "enemies of the people" must be taken seriously. When in opposition, they see corruption everywhere, but once they hold office, they want to do away with any checks and balances that might constrain their power. They have no respect for the human rights of others, and their rule tends to prove abusive.

Photo: picture-alliance/Zumapress

The fence is already up

Donald Trump's campaign was a textbook example of populism. The US presidential candidate played on people's fear of immigrants, for instance, and promised to build a wall on the border with Mexico. Even before he assumed office, it was already clear that populist rule in one country can have huge impacts on its partners.

By Virginia Mercado

There are different definitions of the term "populism". It is used in conjunction with far-right politicians who contest the legitimacy of all other parties, but it also refers to politicians who see themselves as representatives of people at the bottom of the ladder, like workers and farmers. "Populism" has positive associations when seen from that standpoint, which is widespread in America.

The difference between the two understandings of the term became evident at the summit of North American leaders that was held in Canada in June 2016. Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto condemned all governance by demagogues and populists – whereas US President Barack Obama characterised himself as a populist. Obama meant that he wants to see his social policies realised, while Peña Nieto was referring to the way authoritarian politicians gain popularity and seize power by exploiting popular fears and making impossible promises. In contrast, serious leaders spell out precisely how they intend to reach their goals.

The Mexican president made his own impossible promises during his campaign, however. In addition to a profuse promotion of his image in the media, he capitalised on the growing insecurity and violence that have been caused by the drug war and promised to deliver stability, which he has not yet been able to do (see box, p. 21).

In any case, the rise of Donald Trump in the US is also a textbook example of manipulative, right-wing populism. The candidate seized on people's fears and used slogans to stoke xenophobia and hatred of minorities. He did not support his grandiose promise to "make America great again" with specific plans that could be directly implemented. He flatly asserted that the US takes precedence over all other countries and should take care of its own interests first of all. The media did not hesitate to use the populist label for Trump, who was repeatedly caught lying.

The Spanish-language CNN even spoke of the "Latin Americanisation of the United States". The news outlet was suggesting that only people with little knowledge of politics could fall for the rhetoric of a strongman who pretends to be the voice of the people but clearly represents the interests of the rich.

Donald Trump visiting Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto.

Photo: picture alliance / AP Photo

Paul Krugman was thinking along the same lines when he wrote in The New York Times that Trump would turn America into a "stan". Krugman argues that just like in Tajikistan, Kyrgystan or Turkmenistan, Trump mixes public office and private business. According to the columnist, nepotism, clientelism and corruption are about to experience a renaissance in the USA.

Such criticism is not baseless. Contrary to democratic convention in the US, Trump never released his tax returns. As a result, little is known about his international business interests. He initially promised to release the returns during the campaign, but never did. Later he announced that he would explain at a press conference in December his plans to turn his business dealings over to his sons in a way that would avoid potential conflicts of interest, but the event was cancelled. When he finally did discuss the matter in public in January, many important issues were not resolved. He wants people to trust his word that he has no business ties with Russia.

In the meantime, it has emerged that the construction permit for a new Trump Tower in Buenos Aires was issued shortly after the election winner had a telephone conversation with Mauricio Macri, Argentina's president. Such information raises questions – and not only in Latin America. Maybe Macri did not exert any influence, maybe he simply wanted to be on good terms with Washington – or maybe there was even a bribe.

Some Mexicans find US election law undemocratic, given that it allowed Trump to win the election with 46% of the votes, whereas his opponent Hillary Clinton received 48%. Analysts have explained to the people how the US elections work, pointing out that the system is different, but not

undemocratic. The general feeling is that the USA is a better organised society, so its citizens can trust government institutions. Mexicans distrust theirs, but the gap between the two countries may become smaller under President Trump.

The list of people that Trump wants to bear responsibility in his cabinet shows that he clearly represents the interests of the wealthy elite. Many voters are now realising with disappointment that the candidate simply used them to get elected. Many of them are likely to lose their health insurance. Trump's party wants to repeal Obamacare, and Trump's promise to replace his predecessor's health-care reforms with something better will certainly prove empty. Trump has presented himself as a strong man who can improve the economic and security situation of his country. But his proposed actions will not benefit the people who are most in need of support and solidarity. On the contrary, Trump has unleashed a wave of hostility and open aggression towards them.

During the campaign, Trump promised lower taxes – particularly for the super-rich – and tax relief for corporations, which would go along with weaker environmental law. According to his logic, all of society will benefit if the private sector can operate and make profits with as few limitations as possible. He wants people to believe that everything will be better if he can govern the country like the CEO of a corporation without having to listen to any dissenting opinions.

WALLING OUT MIGRANTS

An important part of Trump's campaign was his promise to build a wall along the border with Mexico. Its design changed several times. The "huge wall" became a fence, and later "a huge wall with a big beautiful door". But there is no doubt that he meant these threats seriously. The question now is whether his plan can be realised and how he wants to fulfil his promise to make Mexico pay for it. His ideas range from exerting economic pressure on the neighbouring country to confiscating remittances migrant workers send home to all-out war.

He does not take into account that not only Mexicans cross the border into the US. Migrants from all over Central and South America do. Last year, for instance, thousands of Haitians arrived in border cities like Tijuana. A wall in the southern USA would only push the problem to the other side of the border.

President Peña Nieto invited Trump to Mexico in the summer. He embarrassed himself in the process. Peña Nieto said that he wanted to build trust in case Trump was elected. However, the visit further damaged the already tarnished image of his administration, since Trump, as soon as he was back in USA, continued to talk about the wall and call international trade agreements into question.

Trump's rise has fuelled outrage in Mexico. Jokes and caricatures of the candidate circulated on the web. Trump-shaped piñatas were sold at markets (piñatas are papier mâché figures filled with candy that children break open at parties). The fun ended when President Peña Nieto appointed Luis Videgaray as foreign minister. Videgaray organised Trump's visit, and most analysts regard him as a pawn in Trump's game.

From the Mexican standpoint, much is at stake: jobs, investments, migrants' remittances and perhaps even mass deportation from the neighbouring country. Mexico's economy is geared to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which the US and Canada have signed to. Trump criticised NAFTA many times in the campaign. He wants to renegotiate it and has made it perfectly clear that he is only interested in advancing US interests, but not in interacting as equals.

Charisma is not enough

For decades, Mexico was ruled by a one-party government that was characterised by corruption and inefficiency. The left was incapable of convincing a majority of voters. In 2000, the candidate of the right-wing PAN (Partido Acción Nacional) won. He presented himself as a man of the people, never a politician. Moreover, Vincente Fox clearly expressed many Mexicans' fervent wish: Sacar al PRI de Los Pinos! Throw the PRI (the Partido Revolucionario Institucional, which had ruled for over 70 years) out of the presidential palace!

Fox was a businessman without any experience in politics. He repeated his slogan like a mantra and ultimately overdelivered on his main campaign promise. Due to the "Fox effect", the previously governing party lost not only the presidency, but also multiple governor and mayor positions. The event sent a shockwave through the established political powers.

It wasn't long, however, before people began to realise that Fox' passionate speeches and charismatic personality were not enough to change structures that had grown up over many decades. Fox was not able to eliminate corruption. He did not keep many other campaign promises either. However, the private sector did flourish during his time in office. The inflation of the peso was lower than since the 1970s or after his rule.

In Mexico, presidents cannot be re-elected after serving a six-year term. Fox's successor was Felipe Calderón, also a member of the PAN, which orchestrated a smear campaign against his leftist opponent.

Calderón didn't have Fox's charisma, and it became even clearer than it had been under Fox that he was unable to change underlying problems like corruption and excessive inequality. But it was his war on drugs, which he justified with his simplistic understanding of law and order that proved to be catastrophic. To date, the drug war has claimed tens of thousands of lives. That is one reason why voters became disenchanted with the PAN and allowed the PRI to retake power.

During the campaign, Trump supporters at Washington State University built this wall to symbolise the one being called for along the border with Mexico. A Trump opponent shows that it can be scaled.

On the one hand, Trump says he loves Mexico and its people, but on the other he says that Mexico has taken unfair advantage of NAFTA. He has started bullying multinational corporations to keep them from investing in Mexico. Ford caved in and announced it was cancelling Mexican projects in view of possibly rising taxes. In response, some Mexican institutions have stopped their commercial relationship with Ford. Trump has been putting pressure on other corporations as well, including Toyota and BMW. US-Mexican trade amounts to about $ 500 billion per year. Companies and employment depend on it on both sides of the border. What Trump has said on the campaign trail and during the transition shows that he intends to be disruptive and insist on getting his way. Mexican authorities, however, still talk about building bridges, as if diplomacy as usual was still possible.

NAFTA has critics in Mexico too. In the maquiladoras, the industrial areas that sprang up along the border following the conclusion of the agreement, the working conditions are tough. Nonetheless, many people find employment and income here. Mexicans believe that better jobs are needed in the maquiladoras – but not fewer employment opportunities.

Since the election, various political parties in Mexico have championed solidarity with Mexicans in the United States. But these are just empty slogans. Mexicans know very well that their politicians cannot protect them even in their own country. They also know that there were numerous deportations under President Barack Obama, which however were very rarely discussed.

Peña Nieto insists that Mexico will not pay for the wall. He has said he wants the flow of illegal weapons to stop from north of the border. He has also indicated interest in a trade agreement with the EU, so Mexico would not depend on its North American neighbours so much anymore. His position is weak, however. When this essay was finalised before Trump's inauguration, the peso had depreciated and inflation was rising accordingly. The worse things get, the more people will want to move to the USA. Trump's grandstanding may thus well have unintended effects.

In all the excitement, it is often forgotten that there is a physical fence along the border already. It was built when Bill Clinton was president, and it spans those parts of the border where the inhospital desert doesn't serve as a natural wall anyway. The fence is patrolled not only by official border agents, but also by right-wing militia groups. Perhaps even worse is the ideological and cultural fence that has stood between the two countries at least since the results of the US election were counted. The choruses of "build that wall" have seriously damaged the Mexican notion of an American "friend".

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Photo: Crimmins/picture-alliance/AP Images

Populists threaten human rights

Human Rights Watch (HRW), the international non-governmental organisation, has recently launched its World Report 2017. It gives a comprehensive overview of more than 90 countries. In his introductory essay, Kenneth Roth, the executive director of HRW, warns of a new generation of authoritarian populists around the world.

By Sabine Balk

Human rights are designed to protect people from government abuse and neglect, Roth reminds his readers. In his eyes, numerous populist leaders and movements all over the world do not care about these values. Claiming to speak for "the people", they regard human rights as an obstacle to defending the nation from perceived threats and evils. The populists do not accept that everyone is entitled to rights, and encourage their supporters to believe that they need no protection from a populist government themselves.

Reasons Roth lists for the rise of populism in the west include people's feelings of being left behind by technological change, the global economy and growing inequality. Terrorism increases the sense of fear. Some people are uneasy about society becoming more ethnically and religiously diverse. According to Roth, certain politicians abuse a climate of discontent to discredit human rights, arguing that these rights only serve terror suspects, asylum seekers and various minorities. They tend to scapegoat minorities moreover.

What populists and their followers neglect, in the eyes of Roth, is that rights by their nature do not admit an as-you-please-approach. Forsaking the rights of others means to jeopardise one's own rights. He sees many western leaders losing confidence in human rights instead of taking action against the populist threat. He warns that the crisis will not simply blow over if democratic leaders bury their heads in the sand. Moreover, he criticises democratic leaders who echo populists phrases. Too many European leaders, he states, supported the call of Viktor Orbán, Hungary's populist prime minister, to close Europe´s borders to refugees. The HRW leader similarly considers Donald Trump an example of vivid intolerance because of his track record of breaching basic principles of dignity, insulting woman, slandering minorities, attacking free media and stereotyping migrants and Muslims.

Roth sees similar populist trends in many non-western countries, including Russia, China, India, Turkey, Egypt and the Philippines. There is an international trend of "strongmen" cracking down on opposition voices, harassing civil-society groups and silencing media outlets. The author also mentions the devastating war crimes Syrian President Bashir al-Assad has committed by ruthlessly attacking civilians in opposition-held parts of the country, including Aleppo. He exposes the resentment several African leaders express for the International Criminal Court (ICC) as self-serving (see Darleen Seda in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2016/12, p. 23).

Roth demands a "vigorous reaffirmation and defence of the basic values". In his eyes human rights organisations have to build alliances across communities and countries, bridging north-south divides and joining forces against autocrats. Media outlets should reveal the dangerous trends and assess the long-term impacts. They also should try to expose propaganda and manipulative "fake news". Moreover, the HRW leader sees a responsibility of democratic governments to defend human rights, while the general public should insist on truth-based politics based on democratic values. Facts are powerful, according to him, which is why autocrats make such an effort to suppress inconvenient truths.

In another essay in the HRW document, Akshaya Kumar who is the organisation's deputy UN director, proposes "naming and shaming" those who abuse human rights as an important tool for activists. She notes, however, that this strategy is useless when authoritarian leaders boast of their atrocities, as President Rodrigo Duterte of the Philippines does for example (see Alan Robles, p. 31). Kumar wants human-rights activists to adapt new tactics, exposing those who enable abusers by providing funds, arms and other resources. Financiers and other enablers may depend more on appreciation by the international public than their clients, she argues.

An Indian right-wing Hindu group celebrates the inauguration of US President Donald Trump.

Photo: picture alliance/AP Photo

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LINK
HRW: World report 2017.
https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/world_report_download/wr2017-web.pdf

Civil society's shrinking space

Egyptian media workers demonstrate in Cairo after members of their trade union were arrested in November 2016.

Diverging interests and world-views mark every society. In democracies, civil-society organisations give them voices. They initiate debates and thus lay a basis for compromise and consensus. The Konrad Adenauer Foundation, which is close to Germany's Christian Democrats, supports civil-society organisations abroad. It has noticed that its partners are being increasingly constrained in many countries. The reason is that ever more governments believe that they alone know what their respective countries need and want.

By Frank Priess

The space for civil-society activism is shrinking in many countries. International cooperation partners, including Germany's political foundations, feel that pressure too. After the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989, they could engage freely in many countries across the world. With few exceptions, the victory march of liberal democracy reached every world region.

Today, the picture is mixed. There have been setbacks, showing us how fast a democratic honeymoon can wane. A linear progression towards ever more democracy is apparently not the natural course of history.

Setbacks have various reasons. The most important is that authoritarian governments want to stifle even the smallest signs of democratic engagement. Countries like North Korea have never been accessible to German foundations. Modest economic reforms in Cuba go hand in hand with more political repression. In the past, one-party systems used to regulate international cooperation so tightly and limited it to such narrow fields of activity, that the foundations could not cooperate freely with local people, and that is still the case in the Gulf States today. Based on flimsy evidence, Egypt once imposed jail sentences on two Konrad Adenauer Foundation employees.

Many countries are passing and enforcing laws against NGOs. Russia is a pioneer. Those who get international support must endure being branded as "foreign agents". Evermore countries are adopting such practices. Elsewhere – including in some supposedly democratic countries – the rules and guidelines governing foreign NGOs are applied in ways that ensure they cannot work. New examples of successful liberalisation are few and far between. Today, the consolidation of positive trends – not least in several African countries – must be read as success.

Space for civil society is evidently shrinking where independent action is impossible for security reasons, moreover, or where the permission to act is limited to the capital city and a handful of other chosen places. Meaningful civil-society activism needs to be visible, involve people and be felt in public life. In many places today, all this amounts to a special kind of security risk, with the local partners normally running greater risks than their foreign supporters. All too often, citizens of the countries concerned experience arrest, violence, life-ruining legal action, persecution and all kinds of abuses.

Some governments are cultivating a distorted narrative. Especially those that see the "The West" as competition are doing so. In regard to Syria, Libya and other countries, they say: "Look what you achieved with your attempts at regime change and your Arab spring. You would have done better to mind your own business and leave those regimes in peace." This kind of propaganda is being spread at national and international levels, but its reasoning misses an important point: the civil uprisings originated in the countries concerned because people were fed up with oppression, corruption and nepotism, longing for freedom, dignity and self-determination. Indeed, such aspirations deserve solidarity and support from anyone who can lend a hand.

Germany and Europe should thus act in a confident and robust manner, condemning abuses and insisting on reciprocity. Governments that expect their citizens, organisations and media to enjoy all freedoms and advantages in western societies must grant those very rights to foreigners in their own countries in return. All too often, they do not do so.

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Photo: picture-alliance/AA

Nostalgia and empty promises

Mutually supportive: the presidents of South Africa and Zimbabwe, Jacob Zuma (left) and Robert Mugabe.

Photo: picture-alliance/AP Photo

Political populism is common in Southern Africa, where former liberation movements have become dominant political parties. The leaders are fond of reminding people of their struggle with imperialist oppressors. But they show little awareness of their nations still struggling with the hardships of unequal societies.

By Henning Melber

The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU-PF) has been in power since 1980, the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) has been running Namibia since 1990 and the African National Congress (ANC) has formed all South African governments since 1994. These parties still use anti-imperialist rhetoric, but it now serves to distract from policy failures. Their nations' hopes for socio-economic change have hardly been fulfilled.

Under white minority rule, the heroic liberation narrative was appealing. The idea was that, once in government, the anti-colonial movements would use political power to improve people's lives. They were meant to bring about prosperity and social equity.

After independence, most former liberation movements considered their parties' hold on government offices not only legitimate, but endless. Sam Nujoma, who led SWAPO from 1960 to 2007 and served as Namibia's head of state from 1990 to 2005, was given the official title of "Founding Father" when his presidency ended. In 2010, he told the SWAPO Youth League congress to "be on the full alert and remain vigilant against deceptive attempts by opportunists and unpatriotic elements". This attitude, he asserted, would allow SWAPO to "rule Namibia for the next ONE THOUSAND YEARS" (his emphasis).

TRAUMATISED ZIMBABWE

Even more than Nujoma, Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe personifies the autocratic ruler, whose authority is anchored in the historic struggle. He declares anyone who dares to criticize him a traitor. He actually survived several murderous power struggles within the liberation movement. When he fell out with Joshua Nkomo, a former freedom fighter who served as Zimbabwe's first vice president, up to 20,000 people were killed in an operation called Gukurahundi. Mugabe has always claimed the authority to define who belongs to the people and who is the people's enemy.

Allegations of treason where deadly during the liberation struggle. The military commanders demanded unquestioning loyalty, which helped to keep the movements united and viable. Diverging opinions could not be tolerated. The Indian scholar Ashis Nandy (1983) assessed such matters in his book "The intimate enemy" (1983). Today, party leaders in Southern Africa still demand unquestioning loyalty, but their stance no longer serves the uprising. It serves their regimes.

Traumatised by ZANU-PF terror, many Zimbabweans resent Mugabe today. Among the continent's top-leaders, however, he has the reputation of being an "anti-imperialist Pan-Africanist". In their midst, he is one of the most admired persons. It does not matter that Zimbabwe has suffered hyperinflation, cholera outbreaks and other massive problems under his rule.

Whenever criticism of Mugabe was made at top-level meetings of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the regional organisation, one prominent participant was known to start singing songs from the freedom struggle. It was

Michael Sata, the late Zambian president (dubbed "King Cobra") who died in 2014.

Indeed, SADC helped Mugabe to stay in power in 2008. When ZANU-PF was losing in several rounds of parliamentary and presidential elections, Mugabe once again resorted to violence. In the end, Morgan Tsvangirai, whose chances of becoming president looked good, dropped out of the race in order to stop the bloodshed. SADC condoned Mugabe's behaviour and brokered an alliance, in which Tsvangirai became Mugabe's prime minister. This odd arrangement did not last. Tsvangirai looked weak and his party lost the next round of elections five years later.

In spite of his depressing track record, Mugabe was made president of the African Union in 2015. At the time, it was well understood that he was relying on violent oppression and even murder. Nonetheless, Hage Geingob, Namibia's third president who had only recently taken office, praised him as a role model.

It is not a new insight that the liberation-struggle narrative serves to distract people from current injustices and inequalities. In his pioneering manifesto "The wretched of the earth", Frantz Fanon assessed the "pitfalls of national consciousness" as early as the early 1960s. He warned that post-independence regimes were prone to mistreating, harassing and intimidating people. The party in power, he wrote, "controls the masses … to remind them constantly that the government expects obedience and discipline".

National sovereignty went hand in hand with the promise of a better future. However, social transformation was often limited to the transfer of political power to a new elite. Huge gaps persist between the vast majority of Southern African people and the privileged few. The new propaganda, however, is that any injustice only results from the colonial past, with the new regime doing everything to promote people's welfare.

Some say that the Mozambican slogan "a luta continua" ("the struggle continues" in Portuguese) has degenerated into "the looting continues". Mphutlane wa Bovelo, a South African activist, accuses the new political and economic elite of "kleptomania proclivities" and "massive acts of depoliticisation". He argues: "They want us to believe that the struggle is over, that all we have is remnants of the old order against whom our anger should be vented." Attacks on the freedom of the press obviously fit the picture.

In South Africa, Jacob Zuma successfully played the populist card against his intellectually aloof rival and predecessor Thabo Mbeki. He pretended to be an anti-establishment rebel who would fulfil the promises of the liberation movement. Zuma emphasised "Zulu warrior culture" and often intonated the song "Bring me my machine gun" at political rallies.

It is increasingly becoming clear, however, that the populist trick will not work for him forever. After seven years in office, his meagre achievements speak louder than his rhetoric. South Africans are becoming impatient with what is dubbed "state capture" and refers to shady business deals involving Zuma, his inner circle and the Gupta brothers from India. It will not help Zuma that he has started to liken ANC rule to the return of the Son of God, likening himself to Jesus.

In elections, the Democratic Alliance, the main opposition party, has slowly been gaining ground. It still looks unlikely to win national elections anytime soon, but the ANC's once unassailable majorities are dwindling. The pressure on Zuma to step down is growing – slowly, but constantly.

It is worrying, however, that someone else is now claiming his old insurgent role. Julius Malema is a former Zuma ally who

"Brothers from another mother"

In mid-November 2016, Trevor Noah called Donald Trump and Jacob Zuma "brothers from another mother". He hinted at the decline of South Africa after falling for a leader ANC followers mistook for a charismatic, anti-establishment rebel. Noah is the South African comedian who hosts the "The Daily Show", a satirical TV programme in the USA.

There are indeed several similarities. The journalist Ranjeni Munusamy points out that both politicians use their children as "business fronts, in a prime position to gain financially from government and their fathers' political connections." Americans like to call this kind of arrangement "crony capitalism" when it occurs in developing countries.

It is striking, moreover, that both Zuma and Trump are known for misogynist tendencies. Zuma was accused of rape, and Trump's bragging about grabbing women by the genitals was documented on tape. Another similarity is that both politicians are prone to denying opponents any legitimacy, but they do not worry much about breaching even basic norms of conduct themselves. Neither of them likes to discuss conflicts of interest or provide the transparency needed to assess such matters thoroughly. In spite of obviously being privileged, both managed to make voters see them as anti-establishment insurgents, fighting for the masses.

Another South African to notice the similarities is Tinyiko Maluleke, a professor at the University of Pretoria: "If I were Trump," he says, "I would seek to learn as much as possible from the rise and especially the imminent fall of Zuma." The big difference between the two is that Zuma has been in office for seven years. People's disappointment is palpable.

LINK

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used to lead the ANC Youth League. He fell out with the head of state, however, and launched the "Economic Freedom Fighters". Like populists in general, Malema is good at exploiting real grievances for political purposes but does not offer any tangible policies to tackle those grievances. Observers warn that he may yet prove even more destructive than Zuma.

ROTTEN SYSTEM

In Namibia and Zimbabwe, no demagogues of such calibre who might one day replace the top leaders are in sight so far. SWAPO and ZANU-PF are still firmly in control. They are the system – and the system is increasingly considered to be rotten. People know that the leaders who love to speak of the independence struggle use luxury cars as well as presidential jets and enjoy to wine and dine with other heads of state.

Attending the funeral of Fidel Castro in Cuba, Namibia's President Geingob praised the comandante's stance that "liberation of the oppressed should never be for economic gain, but only to gain in conscience." Namibians reacted with sarcasm. An editorial in The Namibian, a daily newspaper, blamed him for "talking left, walking right".

Today, the dominant political parties in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania and Zimbabwe are former liberation movements. Their legitimacy and credibility is being eroded by bad governance, predatory networks and empty promises.

Part of their strength, however, is their mutual agreement to rescue one another if need be. Their network can be quite effective, as Zimbabwe's opposition leader Tsvangirai learned, for example. The big men like conspiracy theories and are happy to label anyone who dares to criticise them as agents of western imperialism.

They do not want to be held accountable – whether by voters or courts. In recent years, the SADC Tribunal was shelved because its judges were courageous enough to speak truth to power. It is a good sign, however, that South Africa's public hardly applauded Zuma's recent decision to terminate the country's membership of the International Criminal Court.

The "big man" network is an integral part of Southern African populism. By paying tribute to their peers, top leaders applaud themselves. By the way, the likes of Mugabe and Nujoma think that Nelson Mandela, South Africa's first black president, did not deserve the same respect that they do. The reason is that he spent decades detained on Robben Island while they led the armed struggle.

This attitude is common among the leaders, but not the people in general. Most Africans admired Mandela. He was more popular in his own country than Nujoma or Mugabe are in theirs, and he was keen on reconciliation and nation building.

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Old and new elite: Elizabeth II welcomes Namibian President Hage Geingob and his wife in Buckingham Palace.

Photo: Stillwell/picture-alliance/empics

Dangerous friend-or-foe thinking

Recep Tayyip Erdogan sees no variations of grey, but only black or white, good or bad, with me or against me. Turkey's president cleverly cultivates his public image. Speaking of national unity, he mobilises supporters and denounces opponents. National unity, however, has vanished long ago. Erdogan's divisiveness is making problems escalate.

By Timur Tinç

President Erdogan is splitting his country with a dangerous friend-or-foe approach.

After their landslide election victory in 2002, the goal of Erdogan and his conservative Islamist party AKP was to get the country out of its deep economic crisis. At the same time, Erdogan began to transform Turkey step by step, rolling back the secularism of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish republic, and endorsing religiously conservative world views.

Trade unionists, left-wingers, Alevis or homosexuals all are a thorn in the side of the 62-year-old leader. When people protested against him in Gezi Park in the summer of 2013, he ordered a police crackdown.

Even Erdogan's friends may soon become his enemies. The supporters of Fethullah Gülen, a Muslim leader, were long considered the AKP's welcome helpers. In 1999, Gülen had gone into exile in the USA after a video emerged that instructed his followers to infiltrate the state apparatus. Unlike the AKP, the Gülen movement had competent supporters in government agencies. When the AKP rose to power, it therefore forged an alliance with these Islamist brethren.

Erdogan managed to rid himself of difficult opponents, including alleged conspirators, during his first years in office, and Gülenist state prosecutors helped him do so. When, however, disputes broke out between Gülen supporters and the AKP over power and positions, the president declared war on their "parallel structure". Erdogan has since ordered the transfer or dismissal of thousands of state prosecutors and police officers who are blamed of being Gülenists.

In 15 July 2016, a failed coup attempt claimed the lives of over 200 people. The event played into Erdogan's hands. He held the Gülen movement responsible. Erdogan declared a state of emergency and has ruled by decree ever since. Tens of thousands of people were arrested, accused of adhering to the Gülen movement. More than 120,000 people lost their jobs, regardless of whether the accusations were true or not.

Erdogan similarly changes his attitude towards the Kurdish minority as it suits him. In the course of a peace process with the Kurdish terrorist organisation PKK, the president relied on politicians from the pro-Kurdish HDP party as intermediaries, but he was really only interested in Kurdish votes. He abruptly stopped the peace process in July 2015 after the HDP won seats in parliament in an election. Their presence in parliament thwarted Erdogan's plans to install a presidential system because the AKP lacked the necessary two-thirds majority. HDP legislators were detained in November 2016, charged with having spread terrorist PKK propaganda. More recently, Turkish prosecutors have demanded extremely long prison sentences for the HDP's two top leaders: 142 years for Selahhatin Demirtas and 83 years for Figen Yüksekdag.

The consequences were – and are – fatal. The Turkish Army is once again waging war against the PKK in eastern Turkey. Lots of civilian lives have already been lost. Many young Kurds, who had seen the HDP as a ray of hope, have now joined the pied pipers of the PKK and the TAK, its urban youth organisation. Since December 2015 alone, the TAK has claimed responsibility for 11 terrorist attacks that have claimed the lives of over 100 people. An end to the terror is not in sight.

Erdogan boasts: "We will eliminate all terrorists." In his rhetoric, the term includes the Gülenists. The Turkish lira is in free-fall, however, and the president now even considers terrorists people who have dollar bills in their wallets. According to him, dark forces, foreign intelligence services and the "interest-rate lobby" are behind every problem. Erdogan will not consider for one moment that he himself might be to blame, at least in part, for some of the problems. The demagogue sees anyone who thinks or says so an enemy – and is happy to hound those persons.

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Photo: picture-alliance/abaca

Defining the nation

Egypt is in crisis. To tighten his grip on power, President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi claims to be its saviour. He tries to discredit any dissent as anti-national. His idea of the nation, however, does not include every Egyptian.

By Ingy Salama

El-Sisi likes to make grand nationalist statements. "Egypt is the mother of the world and will be as great as the world," he said in 2013, after the military had toppled President Mohamed Morsi. At the time, el-Sisi was a high ranking general, member of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) and defence minister. He later won presidential elections in May 2014, but those elections were not free because candidates of the main opposition forces were not allowed to run.

Egypt is a nation in crisis. In 2011, the Arab Spring uprising set an end to the military dictatorship of Hosni Mubarak. In the event, the armed forces turned against their leader. Free presidential elections were held in 2012. The winner was Mohamed Morsi of the Muslim Brothers. He only got a little more than a quarter of the votes in the first round, but the other candidates fared worse. Morsi won 51.7 % in the second round.

Morsi became the head of state, but he was soon very unpopular, because he tried to entrench the power of his party without doing much to tackle the country's serious economic and social problems. Many Egyptians appreciated the coup in which el-Sisi ended his presidency. The sad truth, however, is that the economic situation remains desperate today. Inflation is high, jobs are scarce and many people cannot find a decent livelihood.

In this complex political scenario, it is interesting to consider how different players use the term "nation". A revolutionary slogan in early 2011 was "bread, freedom and social justice". It united the people, whether they were Sunni, Shia or Christian. The sense of unity reminded people of anti-colonial solidarity under British rule. The meaning of "the nation" was plainly "all Egyptians".

The military leadership adapted to the new situation fast. The SCAF backed off from Mubarak, took power and cast itself as "the guardian of the revolution". It heavily relied on terms like "fortress of security" and "safety shields". A poster showing a soldier carrying a baby became very popular, with the baby symbolising the need for national solidarity.

By taking sides with the uprising, the SCAF prevented mass violence, but it also managed to safeguard the militaries considerable privileges. Unsurprisingly, its stance was always a bit ambiguous. Generals were soon calling those who supported them "honourable citizens", while tarnishing the youth activists that propelled the uprising as "thugs". In SCAF eyes, not every Egyptian is a worthy member of the nation.

Elections had to be held; SCAF rule could not last forever. To the military's horror, the Muslim Brotherhood won in 2012. What followed was an odd 12 months with the SCAF controlling the armed forces and Morsi trying to monopolise his party's grip on state agencies.

The Muslim Brotherhood is based on the Sunni faith, and Morsi's attitude proved divisive. There was a growing sense of "us" versus "them" in media discourse. "Us" was the Muslim Brotherhood and their supporters, while "them" were the supporters of the old regime, secular revolutionaries, the Christians, who make up about 10 % of the people, and the small Shia minority.

Morsi did his best to project the image of a "beloved faithful ruler" who goes to dawn prayers unaccompanied by bodyguards. He surrounded himself with clerics who told the media stories about "dreams" and "visions" that involved Morsi and the Prophet Mohammed. The topic of the last major public event he attended before being overthrown in June 2013 was solidarity with Sunni insurgents in Syria. A hardline Sunni cleric said Shias were "filthy" and called for "jihad" (holy war). Syria's dictator Bashar al-Assad, belongs to a small Shia sect.

Personality cult: the president's face on a sweet.

Instead of tackling Egypt's problems of poverty and inequality, the Muslim Brothers relied on identity politics. They hoped the fervour of their supporters would keep them in power in the long run. In free elections, about one quarter of Egyptians reliably voted for the Brotherhood, which showed that the idea that Egypt should be a nation for Sunni Muslims resonated with a substantial share of the people. The majority was never convinced, however.

By the end of June 2013, Morsi opponents had collected 20 million signatures

Photo: Tödt/picture-alliance/ZB

of citizens who demanded the president's resignation. At that point, the SCAF toppled him, arguing it was fulfilling "the people's request".

HERO WORSHIP

Today, el-Sisi wants to be seen as the "hero" who saved the country from the kind of civil war that rocks Syria and Iraq. A strong personality cult has emerged. The president's face is not only displayed on street banners, but also on T-shirts, necklaces and even cakes. He equates whatever the military does with the common good. Observers feel reminded of Gamal Abdel Nasser, the military leader who ran Egypt from 1952 to 1970 (see box below).

At the same time, the regime systematically distinguishes "the nation" from anyone who opposes it. El-Sisi is governing Egypt in an even more despotic and repressive manner than Mubarak did, hounding the Muslim Brothers and their supporters as "terrorists". To judge by government propaganda, they do not differ from ISIS or Al Qaida.

Repression is harsh. According to Human Rights Watch, security forces killed at least 817 people when they raided the Muslim Brothers' non-violent protest camps in Cairo on 14 August 2013. There have been other killings. Many have been sentenced to death, and masses are behind bars. Such state repression is driving some previously moderate Islamists into the arms of terror organisations. Moreover, it is depriving pro-democracy groups and civil-society organisations of the space they need.

While el-Sisi constantly speaks of Islamist threats, he is careful not to alienate Sunnis in general. "We are God-fearing people," he said on TV after removing Morsi. "If anyone thinks they can defeat those who fear God, they are delusional." Once more, dreams matter. El-Sisi has said that former President Anwar El-Sadat, who was prominently religious, told him in a dream he would be president.

El-Sisi has asked Muslim clerics to support the anti-Islamist campaign. He wants mosques to standardise their prayer summons, using language proposed by the Ministry of Religious Endowment's website. As in Nasser's time, the state is supposed to control the faith.

Since summer 2013, Egypt has witnessed severe human-rights abuses, including killings, forced disappearances, detention and torture. There is no freedom of expression, and many of the young revolutionaries of 2011 have withdrawn into private life (see Basma El-Mahdy in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2017/01, p. 17). The economic crisis has gotten worse. The demand for "bread, freedom and social justice" is as relevant as ever. Grand nationalist promises do not improve matters, especially if "the nation" does not include every Egyptian.

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An ancient land

Ancient Egypt was ruled by Pharaoes. The country has a long history of organised civilisation. The use of Nile waters was systematically managed millennia ago. The river's shores have always been densely populated, but there is no history of civil strife. Egypt's peaceful culture is marked by farming communities rather than the nomadic tribes typical of most Arab countries.

One might think that nationhood is something natural in Egypt. Nonetheless, different ideas of the nation have served different political purposes. A turning point in Egypt's modern history was the anti-colonial Free Officers' Movement of 1952. It overthrew the monarchy, which had been allied to Britain, in a military coup. Its informal leader was Gamal Abdel Nasser, who became president in 1956.

His proclaimed goal was to build a strong, socialist nation. He celebrated the armed forces as the drivers of modernisation. Dissent was dismissed as serving imperialist powers, and that applied to the Muslim Brothers too. Nasser clamped down on them after one of their members tried to kill him. The irony was that the Muslim Brothers themselves were a result of anti-colonial sentiment. Angry about foreign rule, its founders had turned to the faith. The Brotherhood's ideology could not be reconciled with Nasser's.

The regime implemented some redistributive policies such as land reforms. Its idea of nationhood was pan-Arabian however, as Nasser aspired to lead the entire world region. His stance towards Israel was belligerent.

When Nasser died in 1970, Vice President Anwar el-Sadat succeeded him. Sadat, too, relied on the military, but soon purged his government of Nasserists. Some political prisoners, including Islamists, were set free. Sadat's approach to nationhood was different. His catchphrase was "Egypt comes first". He cultivated an image of being a devout Muslim, made peace with Israel and made Egypt an ally of the USA.

Islamist groups were upset about the peace agreement with Israel, and Sadat was killed by a Muslim radical in October 1980. Sadat's successor was Hosni Mubarak, whose rule ended in the Arab Spring of 2011. Mubarak basically carried on Sadat's policies, but did not emphasise his faith in the same way.

National suicide

From May to December 2016, an average of 30 Filipinos were brutally murdered every day. The dead included toddlers, teenagers and mothers. Some were shot by the police, others by masked assassins. Populist President Rodrigo Duterte has encouraged the bloodshed.

By Alan C. Robles

The death count was at 6,000 in January and still growing. Not one murderer has been brought to justice. Meanwhile, Congress is working on restoring the death penalty and lowering the age of criminal responsibility to nine years. There is talk of allowing security forces to detain people without judicial mandate, changing the constitution and giving the president emergency powers.

In May, Duterte won the presidential elections. Of 41 million voters, almost 17 million opted for him. Mar Roxas, who came in second, got 10 million votes.

During the campaign, Duterte warned that the country was being engulfed by crime and illegal drugs, so drastic measures were needed. He showed contempt for human rights. "God will weep if I become president," he said, promising to fill Manila bay with the corpses of tens of thousands of criminals and drug addicts. The former mayor of Davao City had a reputation of ties to death squads.

Far from being appalled, millions of Filipinos lapped up his murderous diatribes. He apparently appealed to a latent sense of anger, which is probably linked to poverty, inequality, corruption and policy failures. The Philippines is nominally a democracy, but "trapos", the members of oligarchic families, dominate political life. Duterte is not one of them, railed against them, but, once in office, aligned himself with them.

Duterte's campaign used Facebook aggressively. His followers spread his messages and fake news, belittling other candidates and intimidating critics.

Duterte promised to end crime, erase government corruption and smash rice smuggling within six months. Of course he did not do so. His achievements so far are involving the Communists in his government, pivoting away from the west towards China and Russia and burying the remains of former dictator Ferdinand Marcos at the National Heroes Cemetery. Masses of protesters were appalled that the autocrat who exploited the country in the 1960s, 70s and 80s was honoured this way.

Duterte's war on drugs seems to consist of a single policy: eliminating suspects and anyone who gets in the way. The Philippines has a history of extrajudicial killings, but the current, almost industrial scale is unprecedented. Reporters are now staying at Manila police stations overnight waiting for reports of corpses. In the daytime, people gather to look at bullet-ridden corpses on the streets.

When Duterte took office in late June, the police urged drug addicts to turn themselves in. Hundreds of thousands did, but they were sent away after their names and addresses were noted. Soon, many people on those lists were dead, killed by "tandems" consisting of two assassins on a motorcycle (see box, p. 32). The president has said he does not like spending money on drug treatment, indicating that his goal was always extermination, not rehabilitation.

The list of atrocities is long. A mother of two was called out of her house and gunned down in the street. A teenager died in a hail of bullets only because she was sitting in the same public vehicle as a suspect. Most victims are poor people, some are reformed addicts who kicked the habit, and some are mere bystanders. Even children have died. Duterte shrugs them all off as "collateral damage".

NAZI-LIKE LANGUAGE

The president seems to distinguish Filipinos from drug addicts, a lower life form. "I'd like to be frank with you, are they hu-

Rally opposing re-burial of Ferdinand Marcos, the former dictator, on Manila's National Heroes Cemetery in November.

Photo: Mendoza/picture-alliance/NurPhoto

mans?" he has asked. He expressed the wish to kill 3 million of them. His talk is Nazi-like, and Duterte has indeed spoken favourably of Hitler. His trademark salute – a clenched fist at the end of a horizontally extended right arm – is just a few degrees shy of a "Heil Hitler".

About a third of the deaths so far are officially ascribed to the police, who routinely report shooting "resisting" suspects. The rest of the carnage is officially blamed on "drug syndicates", but it is quite obvious that the death squads are cooperating with the security forces. The killing began after Duterte's election, after all.

When an anti-crime activist was murdered in Mindoro last year, two masked assassins were caught. They turned out to be senior police officers, one was wearing a wig, the other a ski mask. Another blatant case involved a mayor whom Duterte called a drug dealer. The mayor was jailed and shot dead in a cell by a team of 20 police officers who burst in, forced the guards to stand aside and then started shooting. The police shooters said the mayor was "resisting". Duterte says he'll stand by the killers.

According to news reports, death squads have long lists of "suspects". Apparently, police chiefs have been given quotas of killings, and they are putting pressure on local governments to provide them with names. There are accounts of innocent people ending up on such lists.

This war on drugs is marked by inequality. The poor die, while the rich and connected get away or aren't touched at all. The grandson of Duterte's political ally, Gloria Arroyo, was immediately released after being arrested for possession of illegal drugs. Had he been poor and unconnected, his body would most likely have been found on the street.

The war on drugs is based on flimsy premises moreover. There is not much evidence for Duterte's claim of the country becoming a "narco-state", Amnesty International has argued: "The Philippines has a low prevalence rate of drug users, compared to the global average, according to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime."

At any rate, the president has turned his strongman image into political capital. The legislative branch of government is all too eager to please him. After thousands of murders, Congress still will not acknowledge there is such a thing as extrajudicial killing. When a whistleblower admitted he was an assassin working for Duterte during a hearing, senators belittled him. Members of Congress, moreover, harass legislators that dare to oppose the president.

On the campaign trail, Duterte vowed to sweep away the oligarchy and only pick the "best and brightest" to serve in his administration. Yet once elected, he appointed cronies, supporters and sycophants. He is now allied with the elite and has revealed close ties to the Marcos and Arroyo families. Ferdinand Marcos jr. should succeed him, Duterte has suggested, though of course the former dictator's scion has not won an election. Duterte's rule is more murderous, but otherwise not much different from previous administrations.

STRIVING FOR UNLIMITED POWER

One difference matters however. Duterte made peace with the Communists. It suits his intention to change the constitution and establish a government that gives him unlimited power. He is already undermining the constitution by using executive orders. Ominously, he wants to revive the Philippine Constabulary (PC), a militarised police force that was set up by the USA in 1901 to enforce colonial hegemony. Under Marcos, the graft-ridden, incompetent PC was feared because of murder and torture. It was disbanded in 1991, five years after the people's power movement toppled the dictator.

Shabbily dressed when meeting world leaders, Duterte is happy to curse them (unless they are Chinese or Russian) and chew gum (allegedly to deal with pain which he is taking medication for). He taught the world curse words in Tagalog, devaluing protocol and etiquette.

Duterte's words put him beyond satire. He has said he'd gladly eat terrorists "with a little salt and vinegar". The president boasts of having murdered at least three people and admits planting evidence on suspects when he was a prosecutor.

Depressingly, masses of Duterte supporters are still enthusiastic. To judge by their social media accounts, they tend to be members of the struggling middle class or overseas workers. For an illusive sense of security, many Filipinos now look set to welcome an even more murderous version of Marcos, the autocrat, who was chased out in 1986. With doubt cast on the country's foreign policy, constitution and political future, the Philippines will not become a model of stability any time soon. It is, however, an example of atrocious, state-sponsored violence.

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Lexicon of state brutality

Under President Rodrigo Duterte, dreadful words and acronyms are becoming common in the Philippines. Here are the most important ones:

ADIK – drug addict
DDS – synonymous with murder, originally short for Davao Death Squad, a murderous group linked to Duterte when he was mayor of Davao
DILAW – yellow, the signature colour of the previous administration and the movement that overthrew Ferdinand Marcos in 1986. Duterte followers call anybody who criticises their idol "dilaw"
NANLABAN – fought back, resisted arrest. This is how the police tend to explain why they killed a suspect
OBOSEN – wipe out, exterminate. A frequent threat of Duterte
TANDEM – two masked assassins on a motorcycle: one drives, the other shoots
TOKHANG – a police search of a household made upon the "invitation" of the homeowner. The police pressure the occupants to agree – those who refuse are put on a list. Tokhang is unconstitutional

Populism in the Middle Kingdom

The Communist Party of China has run the People's Republic in an authoritarian manner since the end of 1949. Since he rose to the top of party and state in late 2012, Xi Jinping has been reversing timid steps towards the rule of law and re-centralising power. He is promoting aggressive nationalism, but does not appreciate citizens' rights.

By Nora Sausmikat

Xi will not tolerate any centre of power, unless he is part of it. He heads all the new leadership commissions that were set up in recent years. For many years, personality cult was not encouraged, but Xi likes to be celebrated as a great leader, the core of the party.

Xi's predecessor Hu Jintao was in office for a decade. In his time, civic movements emerged, demanding more rule of/by law. Today, the true meaning of "rule by law" becomes reality. Led by Xi, the regime has passed more laws than ever before (concerning cyber and national security). Under Hu, the judiciary occasionally spoke out against government interference in court cases. Independent lawyers, civil-society organisations and bloggers had some, though very limited influence. The rule of law was certainly not guaranteed, but citizens' advocates were striving to restrict arbitrary rule.

Since July 2015, however, 319 lawyers and civil-rights activists have been interrogated, detained or sentenced to prison terms, as the media have reported. In January 2017, Zhou Qiang, the president of the Supreme People's Court, told other judges: "Bare your swords towards false western ideals like judicial independence." The party, after all, is above the constitution.

An understanding of citizenship had begun to grow, but that trend is now being reversed. "Citizens" had started to organise, get involved in public affairs and make a difference in public life, for instance, in regard to town planning. Now the "people's will" prevails, and it is once more exclusively defined by the party. Civic activism is only welcome to the extent that it supports the party in establishing a kind of welfare state, but non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are not supposed to act independently. Social protection systems are only emerging in China – and so is social work. NGOs that promote civil rights are struggling in China. The regime only sees a role for NGOs in supporting its attempts to establish social protection and, perhaps, punish environmental offenders.

Since Xi took power, populist grandstanding has become common again. The "Chinese Dream" of reclaiming former global relevance is being emphasised. Xi promises to achieve "great renewal of the Chinese nation" and wants his expansive foreign policy strategies to be praised. Massive military expenditure and ambitious infrastructure projects abroad (see Afshan Subohi on Pakistan in D+C/E+Z e-Paper, 2016/11, p. 45) serve the purpose.

It is true that the "China goes global" initiative was launched 16 years ago, but with much softer rhetoric. The stress was on "China's peaceful rise". In the 1980s and 1990s, however, the party had focused on economic modernisation with tremendous success. Market-oriented reforms were started under Deng Xiaoping, ushering an unprecedented economic boom that set an end to the poverty of hundreds of millions of people. In the eyes of many, the regime's legitimacy rests on this upswing.

The boom is obviously coming to an end. Economic growth is slowing, and the signs of speculative bubbles are multiplying on the stock and real estate markets. People suffer because of massive environmental pollution. Protests are recurring. China Labour Bulletin reported 2700 labor disputes for 2015.

China's new populism relies on nationalism and personality cult. Relevant buzzwords include the expanding middle classes, green growth, and free-trade agreements. Anything that looks like "western democracy" is being suppressed more vehemently than before, while market forces are being promoted, as Xi's presence at the Global Economic Forum in Davos showed.

China is already member of the international community of nations, and is now claiming the role of being its leading proponent of trade, globalisation and climate protection. We must pay close attention to what is going on at the grassroots level. We do business with China, so we must not neglect its people.

Xi's personality cult is reminiscent of Mao.

Photo: picture-alliance/AP Photo

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Growing inequality and environmental dangers

The globalisation hype of the early 1990s ended with the financial crisis of 2008. Today, many people around the world fear the negative impacts of globalisation, and populist movements are stoking that fear. Huge challenges include growing inequality and environmental dangers.

By Jürgen Wiemann

After World War I had ended the first wave of economic globalisation, a second one was launched in reaction to World War II, which had been a consequence of the Great Depression of the 1930s. The pillars of the new global order were the UN, the Bretton Woods System of monetary management, the rule-based multilateral trading system of the GATT which later became the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the economic integration of western Europe. The Soviet Union only joined the UN and soon raised an "iron curtain" against the West. Its most visible expression was the Berlin Wall.

The Berlin Wall fell in 1989, and the ensuing dissolution of the Soviet Union opened the floodgates to the latest wave of globalisation. It engulfed not only the former Warsaw Pact, but also China and India, two giants that were eager to regain the status they had had in the world economy before European colonialism and imperialism. Economic reforms were bungled in Russia, but China, India and several other emerging markets did better and benefited from integrating into the world market.

Over the decades, capitalism changed fundamentally however. The Bretton Woods system of fixed exchange rates was abandoned in the 1970s, and the financial sector was deregulated step by step, allowing for progressive "financialisation". This term stands for an increasing share of financial services in GDP, growing public and private debts and short-term speculation prevailing over long-term strategies.

Many businesses gain from globalisation: frozen pizza of the German Dr. Oetker brand for sale in a supermarket in Shanghai.

Moreover, financial markets became increasingly integrated across borders. There were two consequences:

- Banks made excessive profits and their managers were paid excessive salaries. This trend led to more inequality of income and wealth in most countries that were exposed to global market forces.
- The volatility of financial markets and speculators' herd behaviour increased the risk of contagious financial crises and ensuing depressions.

In 1997, the Asian crisis was a first reminder of global capitalism's inherent instability even in the new age of full-fledged globalisation. The stock market slump after the terror attacks on New York and Washington on 11 September 2001 were another one, and the financial crisis of 2008 dealt the final blow at the globalisation hype of the early 1990s.

In order to prevent a second Great Depression, governments and central banks quickly returned to active fiscal and mon-

Photo: Kalker/picture-alliance

etary stimulus policies. They applied the very Keynesian strategies that had proved useful in the 1930s, but were rejected in the 1980s and 1990s.

EUROPE IN CRISIS

The global financial crisis of 2008 started in the USA. Nonetheless, the USA recovered faster than the EU. Its economic stimulus programmes were more audacious and effective. The EU struggled with problems in the Euro zone. Its members no longer have a currency of their own, so they cannot adopt monetary policies to escape the downturn. Eurozone members cannot opt for devaluation to boost exports and limit imports, and their room for fiscal stimulus was constrained by the austerity demands of the Troika (European Commission, European Central Bank and IMF).

To some extent, the European Central Bank (ECB) alleviated the plight of deficit countries by bringing down the interest rate close to zero and buying government bonds. It indicated – to no avail – that fiscal stimulus in Germany and other northern EU members was necessary too, since monetary policy alone could not solve the problems. Loose monetary policy is risky, moreover, as it may lead to new speculation bubbles and thus trigger another crisis.

When the Euro was introduced, policymakers expected monetary union to lead to economic convergence. In reality, however, divergence has grown. There is wide consensus that the Euro zone lacks some important mechanisms, such as joint depositors' insurance, a joint system of unemployment benefits and other transfer mechanisms to channel funds from surplus to deficit countries.

In the past, the EU was known to establish new mechanisms on course to further integration whenever it was hit by crisis. Today, the rise of nationalist and populist parties make bold steps toward deeper integration look ever more unlikely. Immigration from the world's conflict areas is worsening this vicious circle of European disintegration.

SLOWING ENGINES OF GROWTH

The big emerging markets, however, weathered the global financial crisis surprisingly well. For some years, they became the engines of global growth. Thanks to their demand for commodities, resource exporting countries, including many sub-Saharan ones, prospered too. These positive trends, however, went along with growing inequality in all major world regions. It is worrying, moreover, that the momentum of the emerging markets has slowed dramatically.

Around the world, rising inequality of income and wealth has become one of the major challenges. The appeal of nationalism has grown. In Europe and the USA, populist politicians are stoking xenophobia and complaining about globalisation. In the developing world, anti-colonial and anti-imperialist rhetoric is becoming more prevalent again.

Brexit and Donald Trump's agenda as US president mean that the global order that has facilitated trade liberalisation is being put in question. Weaker international institutions, however, also mean that it is becoming more difficult to tackle global problems, including maintaining peace and dealing with environmental challenges.

Environmental activists have a history of opposing economic globalisation and demanding stricter ecological regulations. The populist backlash that is building up now, however, cannot please them. After all, leaders like Trump have a history of denying the need to mitigate climate change and show little interest in multilateral cooperation.

Better global governance is certainly needed however. That has been understood for at least a quarter century. In 1992, the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro set the goal of sustainable development and spelt out action plans for governments, business, academia and civil society – the Agenda 21. In view of the financial crisis of 2008, UNEP and other UN agencies propagated a "Global Green New Deal" for climate, energy and economic and social development. The idea was to link employment generation to the prevention of global warming. Internationally coordinated public investment programmes for renewable energies and related infrastructure would have served the purpose.

So far, however, governments have mostly paid only lip service to green-economy goals rather than taking action for a fundamental transition towards sustainability. Oil prices are currently low, and that is not helpful. Higher prices would be an incentive to invest in alternative energy options.

There were some signs of hope in the past two years, however. The UN adopted the Sustainable Development Goals and the Paris Agreement, a major step towards effective and globally coordinated action concerning global warming. It was ratified in record speed. In contrast to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), moreover, the SDGs are a universal agenda for action that applies to every country and concerns all relevant actors, including governments, the private sector, civil society, the media, universities and faith-based institutions. No doubt, the advanced economies are now expected to assume a leading role, but emerging markets must play their part as well. They are becoming ever more important. Their populations are growing, their market clout is increasing, and their middle classes are expanding.

New technologies matter too. Robots, artificial intelligence and three-dimensional printers are becoming ever more sophisticated. The digitalisation of office work is progressing fast. These trends are undermining the comparative advantage of developing countries in labour-intensive manufacturing and back-office services.

Multinational corporations have begun to reverse offshoring, bringing production back to their home countries in North America, Europa and Japan. Compounding social divergences in the advanced economies, however, this trend is not creating many jobs, and the employment that is generated is mostly for high-skilled and professional staff.

Humankind is obviously facing huge challenges. They need to be assessed thoroughly. Scholars must provide policymakers with relevant and tangible advice.

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Divided continent

The rise of right-wing populism is throwing Europe off-balance. The impacts on policies concerning migration, inclusion and asylum are already evident. In many European countries, right-wing propaganda is calling into question achievements like the freedom of religion, free movement for EU citizens and the right of asylum.

By Daniel Bax

The election of Donald Trump in the US has emboldened right-wing populists in Europe. Marine Le Pen, head of France's Front National, congratulated Trump after his surprise victory. The Dutch right-wing populist Geert Wilders tweeted: "The Americans are taking their country back." And Nigel Farage was the first European politician to pay a personal visit to the American billionaire in the Trump Tower in New York following Trump's victory. Farage is prominent for leading the populist United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP).

Farage supported Trump's campaign, and Trump reciprocated by celebrating Farage as "the man behind the Brexit". UKIP was one of the driving forces of Euroscepticism in Britain, and Trump saw the vote to leave the EU as support for his own course of action. The truth, however, is that the referendum threw the EU and the UK into an existential crisis. No one knows how the split will be carried off after five decades of shared policy, and UKIP bears no responsibility.

Right-wing parties are currently experiencing a resurgence in Europe, the likes of which have not been seen since the Second World War. Their rise is a consequence of the uncertainty felt by broad sections of European society, particularly by older people, who feel threatened by globalisation, migration, European integration and the trend towards increasingly diverse, individualised lifestyles. They feel like pawns in a great international game. Even though they live in economically strong democracies, they have the impression that they have lost all control of their lives and their countries' politics (see box, p. 38).

The response of right-wing nationalists to these fears is simple. They strike a neo-nationalist tone. They criticise not only multilateral agreements but also the EU and its attempts to arrive at a humanitarian refugee policy. They are unified, moreover, in championing more traditional families and believe in a dominant national culture, often marked by Christian values. They call for a tough stance against immigrants, refugees and Muslims or, in eastern Europe, against the Roma. They demand strict asylum and immigration laws as well as decisive action against the threat of terrorism. They believe the mere presence of Muslims is increasing the risk of attacks. One of their favourite ways to stir up resentment is to point to the supposed "abuse" of social-protection services by immigrants.

Almost all of Europe's right-wing populist parties share two goals:

- They want to reduce – or even reverse – all immigration, but especially that of Muslims.
- They want minorities to become as invisible as possible, for instance, by making headscarves, mosques and anything all too "foreign" disappear from public life.

Both goals stem from the desire to keep things as simple and culturally homogeneous as they supposedly were in a nostalgically imagined past. This illusion is presented as the answer to current challenges.

There are, of course, differences between countries. Whereas right-wing parties in western Europe are comparatively moderate and speak in general terms about "unbridgeable cultural divides", right-wing populists in eastern Europe are often unabashedly nationalist and racist. Dutch populists argue that women and homosexuals have to be protected from Muslims' conservative and patriarchal attitudes, and Wilders even voted for same-sex marriage in parliament. However, most European right-wing parties oppose equal rights for homosexuals.

Whereas Le Pen insists that she is defending France's laicism, or separation between church and state, from the supposed threat of "Islamisation", the populist governments of Hungary and Poland claim to be protecting from Islam a western culture that is somehow based on Christianity. The right-wing, clerically-oriented Polish government sees what it calls a "gender conspiracy" at work. It tried to further restrict the country's already extremely conservative abortion law, but had to withdraw that initiative after vehement protests by Polish women.

Opinions are split on economic matters as well. France's Front National is in favour of economic protectionism and a strong welfare state. Scandinavia's populists similarly promise to protect the traditional welfare state – in particular from immigrants, whom they accuse of taking advantage of social-protection services. In contrast, the Swiss People's Party and Germany's AfD tend to take a more market-radical approach.

Many parties would like to re-establish border controls or even their own national currencies, but others do not go that far. In any event, Wilders and Le Pen have both raised the prospect of holding referendums on the EU membership of their respective countries.

Such differences do not stop right-wing populists from cooperating, however. In the European Parliament, Wilders' Party for Freedom, Austria's FPÖ, Italy's Lega Nord and the Front National form a joint faction. And when Le Pen was officially nominated as a candidate for president, Wilders and Austria's FPÖ leader Heinz-Christian Strache travelled to Lyon to attend the FN convention. Strache took a spin on the dance floor with the woman he called "the future president" of France.

In Italy, the established parties are hemmed in on two sides: on one side by the right-wing populist party Lega Nord led by Matteo Salvini, which has its strongholds in wealthy northern Italy, and on the other by the Five Star Movement of Beppe Grillo, a comedian by profession. The Movement has won the mayorships of Rome and Turin. Together with Forza Italia, the party of Silvio Berlusconi, who was long considered the prototype of a European populist, they ensured that the constitutional reform pro-

moted by Matteo Renzi failed in the referendum of December 2016.

In other southern European EU crisis countries, the difficult economic situation has contributed to the recent success of new left-wing parties. Greece is ruled by the left-wing party Syriza, which however is now forced to implement the strict austerity demanded by the EU. In Spain, the left-wing party Podemos is making life difficult for the established parties. These new organisations are sometimes called left-wing populist parties. However, their political programmes are pragmatic and feasible compared to those of the right-wing populists. They essentially want to enact Keynesian economic and redistribution policies, which were considered normal across all of western Europe in the 1960s and 70s.

UNCERTAIN FUTURE

The rise of right-wing populists has dire consequences for the traditional balance of power in the post-war era. The politics of most western European countries have been shaped by an interplay between centre-left and centre-right parties and their coalitions. The emergence of a third strong power threatens to upset this balance. It is shifting the entire political spectrum and may yet tear apart the EU.

In many countries, right-wing populists have long stood on equal footing with, or have even surpassed, the big parties that traditionally have driven policy-making. Many political scientists therefore consider them a third kind of major

Right-wing populists in the EU

The Dutch parliamentary elections will be held in March, and right-wing populist Geert Wilders is so far ahead in the polls that he has a good chance of taking part in the new government. In France, it is possible that Marine Le Pen from the Front National will make it into the run-off presidential election on 7 May – and she might even win. And in Germany, the right-wing populist party Alternative for Germany (AfD) will likely enter the Bundestag with double-digit election results in the fall of 2017. Four years ago, it narrowly missed the five-percent threshold.

In Austria, the Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ) hoped to benefit from the "Trump effect" in the final round of presidential elections held in December 2016. However, FPÖ candidate Norbert Hofer was defeated by Alexander Van der Bellen, the former head of the Greens. Nevertheless, polls show that the FPÖ maintains a steady hold on a good third of the votes, meaning that it could emerge as the strongest party in the next parliamentary elections.

The "Swiss People's Party" of millionaire Christoph Blocher has been the strongest party in Switzerland for some time. It has had a significant impact on policy through its use of referendums. In recent years, for instance, popular initiatives have prevented less-demanding naturalisation procedures for the children of immigrants, made it easier to expel foreigners who have committed crimes and enacted a ban on building minarets.

The party's 2014 campaign against what it termed "mass immigration" went so far as to challenge free movement within the EU. The corresponding referendum was accepted by a majority of voters. This result puts the Swiss government in an impossible position. It wants to keep the country in the European Single Market, but the free movement of persons is a condition of access.

The "Danish People's Party" has a similarly enormous influence on its country's politics. Since June 2015, it has been propping up a conservative-liberal minority government, playing the same role it did in the ten-year period from 2001 to 2011. It exerts maximum pressure on issues like migration and refugee policy, but it bears no direct responsibility.

In Finland, the "True Finns" have governed together with the conservative Centre Party since 2015. In Norway, the right-wing populist "Progress Party" first became part of a conservative coalition in 2013.

The influence of right-wing populists is even stronger in Eastern Europe. In Poland, the national-conservative "Law and Justice" party began to claim control over the judicial system and the media immediately after its landslide victory in the fall of 2015. It is following the example of Hungary's autocratic Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, who has worked for years to restrict democratic culture in his country. When it comes to refugee policy, Poland and Hungary have led a group of eastern European countries that rejected a joint European humanitarian solution and has been lobbying for national isolationism since 2015.

Protestors demand press freedom in Warsaw in December.

Photo: picture-alliance/Marcin Obara/PAP/dpa

party, not least because the populists get support from all sections of the electorate. While a large share of their voters are men with low education levels, many of their supporters are entrepreneurs or "high achievers".

In Sweden, the established parties are still managing to keep the populists at bay; a coalition of Social Democrats and Greens is in power. In Belgium recently, a "cordon sanitaire" of civil-society forces made the "Vlaams Belang", a regional populist party, lose popularity. In the European context, Germany, with its still young and marginal populist movement, seems like an island of stability and liberal principles.

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Self-obsessed: Geert Wilders, Marine Le Pen and Frauke Petry in Koblenz in January.

Damaged democracy

Scholars assess what "populism" means and how it relates to technocratic governance. No doubt, western democracy must rise to huge challenges.

By Hans Dembowski

It bothers Jan-Werner Müller, a German professor who teaches at Princeton University, that the term "populism" is normally used without a precise definition. He offers one in his book "What is populism?" (2016). To him, the decisive issue is that populists claim to be the only legitimate representatives of "the people". Müller considers this notion as inherently undemocratic since no nation is a homogenous entity. Indeed, every nation is marked by diverging and competing interests.

In a democracy, different interests are expressed by different parties, and government policies result from controversial debate, relying on majorities that are based on coalitions of various interests. Accordingly, different views matter, broad-based discourse is welcome, and opposition to the government is legitimate. Populists, however, deny that there are diverging interests and pretend that they are the true representatives of a homogenous nation which is being abused by an exploitative coalition of elitist leaders and parasitic minorities, who are pampered by the state. They do not engage in nuanced discussions of policy details, since that would not fit the grand scheme of "us versus them".

As Müller elaborates, the populists themselves decide who exactly they consider to belong to the nation. That definition may vary as political circumstances change. In any case, populists claim to know what the people want. They are not interested in nuanced debate, whether within their own organisations or society in general. They demand appreciation and read any criticism of themselves as an attack on "the people".

Müller admits that his definition does not fit the one historically used in North America, where "populists" used to represent farmers' interests in rural areas as opposed to those of city-based banks and railroad companies. While they criticised big corporations, they did not deny that private-sector forces had a role to play.

The contemporary populists Müller has in mind, in contrast, insist that only they know what the nation wants and that,

Photo: picture-alliance/AP Photo

Unfulfilled promise: immediately after winning the referendum on EU membership, leaders of the Vote Leave campaign backed away from their promise of more funding for Britain's National Health Service.

accordingly, only they can govern it properly. Their promise of homogenous harmony, however, cannot be fulfilled since every nation is marked by conflicting interests. Unable to make their vision come true, populists stay angry and aggressive even after winning elections. Claiming that anyone who opposes them is thwarting their wonderful intentions, populists in power keep hounding opponents. As the Princeton scholar explains, they need scapegoats.

Müller shows why the implication of populists coming to power is always a constitutional crisis. As long as they are opposition forces, populists see and bemoan corruption and cronyism everywhere. But as soon as they are in office, they resort to those means themselves and pretend they are acting in self-defence. Moreover, they are prone to changing laws, regulations and constitutional clauses to perpetuate their power. They will strive to limit media freedom, suppress civil-society activism and monopolise their grip on state institutions. According to Müller, they cannot but keep casting themselves as the representatives of the "silent majority" fighting on behalf of the ever threatened "real people".

According to Müller, democracy is certainly damaged, but does not necessarily end once populists take office. The big issue is whether civil society, the media and a host of institutions prove resilient enough to keep a check on the government, stemming the centralisation of powers.

It is often argued that populists basically attract people who have lost out in the processes of modernisation and globalisation. Müller warns that this notion is misleading, as populists actually find support among a variety of social groups. In particular, they attract people with social-Darwinist leanings.

The way to resist populism is to insist on pluralism, diversity and broad-based controversial debate. As Müller argues, however, the governments of many western countries – especially, but not only in the EU – have been promoting technocratic ideas according to which there are no alternatives to their market-driven policies. This attitude is undemocratic too, according to Müller, and it serves the populists, who claim to offer an alternative to the status quo.

POST-PEAK DEMOCRACY

Colin Crouch is a British sociologist who similarly argues that technocracy has been undermining democracy. He made his case in the book "Post-democracy" (2004), reasoning that western nations have been becoming less democratic since the 1970s. The book's title is a bit misleading, however, since Crouch does not argue that democracy has ended, but only that it has historically peaked.

Crouch does not suggest that elections were rigged or that democratic principles were violated in other ways. His point is that people's active participation in public life has been declining, as is evident in voter turnout, for example. Moreover, trade unions, churches and other big organisations have been losing members as well as influence. While Crouch appreciates the diversified activism of many small civil-society organisations, he insists that they are not substitute for mass organisations. He stresses that the interests of society's lower strata are increasingly neglected in public discourse, no matter which major political party is in power.

In a recent book (2016), the Frankfurt-based sociologist Oliver Nachtwey takes a close look at German society. His assessment is even gloomier than the one made by Crouch. According to Nachtwey, contemporary German society as a whole is marked by downward mobility. He argues that life has become ever more precarious not only for sections of German society, but for the vast majority.

Nachtwey elaborates that, unlike in the past, Germany's welfare state is no longer designed to safeguard every person's standard of life. Evermore people are working without the social protection that is linked to standard employment because they are self-employed or have temporary jobs, for example. In the past, moreover, employment was normally life-long. Today, it is common knowledge that jobs will be cut in the next economic downturn. In this context, reduced unemployment benefits increase worries.

Pensions have been cut too, and the subsidised private saving schemes that were supposed to supplement them are not proving as lucrative as promised. Accordingly, people are concerned about living in poverty after retirement. Compounding problems, the young generation has fewer opportunities for upward mobility.

Nachtwey's publication shows why many Germans feel nostalgic for a more secure past. The author leaves no doubt that populists can benefit from such feelings – and they can do so among almost all strata of society. Trends have been similar – and mostly worse – in other European countries. How social-protection is organised is specific to every nation state, but the general sense of erosion is felt everywhere. The big question, in Nachtwey's eyes, is whether European governments can rise to the populist challenge by adopting policies that restore people's confidence. Grand visions won't do; policy detail matters very much. Failure is likely to reduce popular support for international development programmes.

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