

Prince Claus Chair

development and equity

Annual Report 2007





**2007**

## FOREWORD

This Annual Report of the Curatorium of the Prince Claus Chair in Development and Equity is a very special one, because in 2007 the Prince Claus Chair celebrated its fifth anniversary. As part of the celebrations, we organised a symposium attended by all five former chair holders. Professor Louise O. Fresco gave a keynote address on sustainability, which the chair holders took the opportunity to reflect on. In this report, you will find the text of the address and the chair holders' responses.

Our fifth anniversary also provided an opportunity for some introspection and external evaluation. Based on our experience and discussions, a process of deepening and widening the scope of the Chair to other areas and institutions will be started in 2008. Over the past five years, chair holders have addressed highly topical issues, such as migration, conflict and peace, and good governance. It has been inspiring to see the academic debate these brilliant young scholars have sparked in their host institutions and beyond. We hope these unique debates will now be explored in greater depth in the Dutch academic world.

In her thought-provoking inaugural address, our latest chair holder, Professor Jabeen, questioned the western concept of Good Governance. Her research is particularly valuable, as it reveals our own predisposed thinking about the characteristics of democracy, and the effect this has on the poor. It was interesting to hear her own ideas on governance and the conditions that need to be created if we are to achieve equitable development.

I am glad that Professor Alcinda Honwana from Mozambique has accepted the position of chair holder for 2007/2008. Professor Honwana is Director of the International Development Centre of the UK's Open University, and is an authority on child soldiers – one of the many problems people face in the war-torn areas of Africa.

The members of the Curatorium hope that reading this report will strengthen your commitment to development and equity issues and to the vision of Prince Claus in particular. We also hope that, like us, you will be inspired by the young academics who will be appointed as holders of the Prince Claus Chair in the years to come.

H.R.H. Princess Máxima of the Netherlands

## CHAIR

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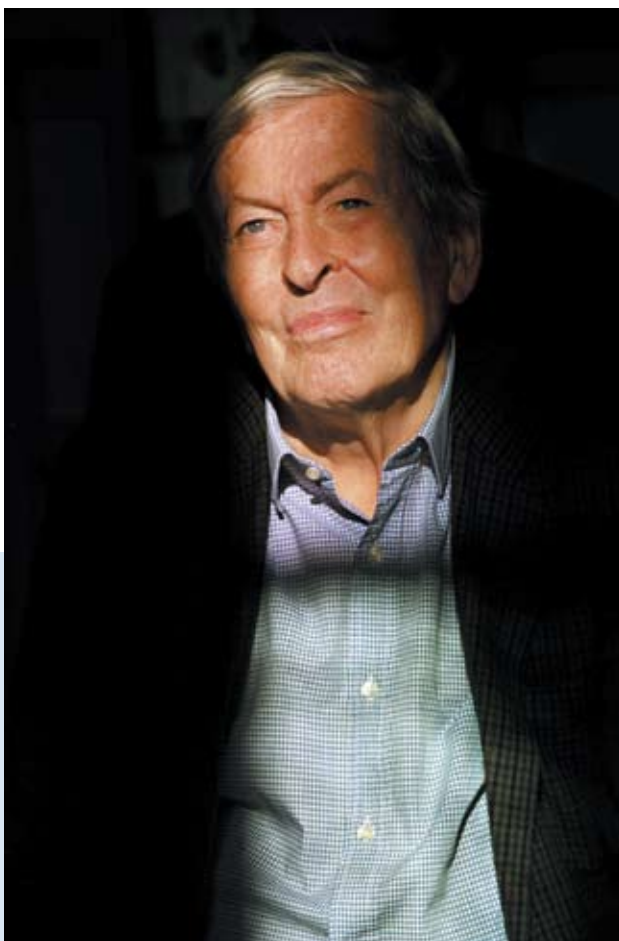
## OBJECTIVES OF THE PRINCE CLAUS CHAIR

To continue the work of Prince Claus (1926-2002) in development and equity by establishing a rotating Academic Chair.

Utrecht University and the Institute of Social Studies will alternately appoint an outstanding young academic from Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean or the Pacific to the Prince Claus Chair, for the advancement of research and teaching in the field of development and equity.

A candidate for the Chair will be nominated by a Curatorium, chaired by Princess Máxima of the Netherlands.

The Chair was established in December 2002.



## PRINCE CLAUS, THE INSPIRATION FOR THE CHAIR

Prince Claus was strongly committed to development and equity in North-South relations. Through his work, his travels and his personal contacts, he gained a deep understanding of the opportunities for and particularly the obstacles to equitable development. He was tireless in his work of development and equity throughout the world, bringing people together to solve problems and make the most of opportunities. His knowledge, his accessibility and his personality all made an important contribution to his work. As a result, he was – and remains – a source of inspiration to many.

In 1988, Prince Claus received an Honorary Fellowship from the Institute of Social Studies (ISS) ‘in recognition of his continued insistence on the importance of reducing the differences between the rich and the poor in national and international fora, while emphasising the human dimension of this process and not only that of international policy and strategy.’ At the official ceremony for the Fellowship, Prince Claus gave an acceptance speech stating his views on development and equity in the form of 23 propositions, included in full in this report.

The establishment of the Prince Claus Chair attests to the deep respect and appreciation of the academic community of Utrecht University and the ISS for Prince Claus as a person, for his work, and for his commitment to and authority in the field of development and equity throughout the world. Both Utrecht University and the ISS are honoured that Queen Beatrix has agreed to naming the Chair after the Prince.

Prince Claus was born Claus von Amsberg in 1926, in Dötzingen (Hitzacker), Niedersachsen. He studied at the University of Hamburg, in the Faculty of Law and Political Science (1948–1956), after which he worked at the German embassy to the Dominican Republic and as Chargé d’Affaires to the Republic of the Ivory Coast. From 1963 to 1965, he worked at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bonn, in the Department of African Economic Relations.

After his marriage to Princess Beatrix in 1966, Prince Claus focused his efforts on development cooperation. He was appointed member of the National Advisory Council for Development Cooperation (*Nationale Adviesraad voor Ontwikkelingssamenwerking*, NAR) and member of the Office of this Commission. In addition, he was Chair of the National Committee for Development Strategy (*Nationale Commissie voor de Ontwikkelingsstrategie*), a position he held from 1970 to 1980, and Special Advisor to the Minister of Development Cooperation. In 1984, he was appointed Inspector General of Development Cooperation. To commemorate the Prince’s seventieth birthday, the Dutch government established the Prince Claus Fund for Culture and Development (*Prins Claus Fonds voor Cultuur en Ontwikkeling*), of which Prince Claus was Honorary Chair. The objective of the Fund is to increase cultural awareness and promote development.

## PROPOSITIONS PRESENTED IN PRINCE CLAUS’S ACCEPTANCE SPEECH UPON RECEIVING AN HONORARY FELLOWSHIP, INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL STUDIES, 1988

1. The object of ‘development cooperation’ is to help the recipient countries to achieve greater independence, in particular economic independence, in the light of the realisation that the achievement of political independence alone means very little. In reality though, the result of development cooperation in most cases is merely to confirm or even reinforce a state of dependence. One might dub this as ‘neo-colonialism with the best of intentions’.

2. While money is important as a means of promoting the economic development process, development is essentially a cultural process. It is not a question of material goods but of human resources. In fact, it is impossible to ‘develop’ another person or country from outside; people develop themselves, and so do countries. All that we can do is assist that process if asked to do so and then in a particular context or socio-cultural environment.

**3.** An awareness of one's own cultural identity and past is a fundamental condition for sustainable autonomous development. Where support is sought for cultural projects, the development of visual arts, literature, music, dance, etc., donor organisations should respond whole-heartedly.

**4.** A rich country which sees itself as playing a pioneering role in development cooperation should untie its aid. This will increase both the efficiency of aid and the autonomy of decision-making in the recipient country, enabling it to purchase goods – and indeed expertise – from the supplier offering the most favourable terms.

**5.** It is not so much a question of how much money you spend on development cooperation, but how you spend it. A smaller amount may be made to count for more. I would advocate a system of evaluating aid in gross and net terms. This would mean deducting from the gross aid flow all of the failures, adverse effects (for example in the ecological sphere) and the costs of tied aid – to name just a few – to arrive at a more relevant figure for the genuinely effective, or net, flow of aid.

**6.** We talk a lot about relevance in the context of 'development cooperation', but we still all too often confuse our own interests with those of developing countries.

**7.** When we enter into cooperation, our principle must be that we do not interfere in matters where the recipient country is capable of taking action itself. So if a country possesses adequate manpower, we should draw on it and not try to appoint our own national experts. Even if we think our experts are more expert, we should still recruit and finance more local manpower and expertise. It is better to have a project that is technically only 80% successful but completely integrated in the local environment and thus sustainable than one that scores 100% in technical terms but which one knows for certain will not be sustainable once our own experts withdraw.

**8.** In development cooperation, as in many other fields, output is more important than input. We are still far too fixated on input. Sustainability in sociological, economic and ecological terms should be the paramount criterion of success.

**9.** Donor governments should leave aid projects aimed directly at specific – mostly underprivileged – target groups to non-governmental organisations (NGOs) both in developing and industrialised countries.

**10.** Developing countries should have a greater say in the way development funds are spent, including the way they are divided between project aid and balance of payments support. If a country so wishes it should be possible to transfer all of the available funds in the form of balance of payments support – untied.

**11.** Certain LLDCs are currently only able to absorb emergency aid, such as food aid and import assistance, and should not be saddled with project aid against their will.

**12.** Protectionism in the rich countries does more harm than the good which development aid even under most favourable conditions can do.

**13.** Agricultural policy in the rich countries must take account of the justified interests of the developing countries. Dumping of agricultural produce (such as grain, sugar and meat) on the world market has disastrous social and economic consequences for many countries and undermines their position in world trade. Dumping and protectionism are in fact twin evils.

**14.** The provision of development funds is no more than a minor attempt to offset the losses which many commodity-exporting developing countries are suffering as a result of the continuing fall of commodity prices. Their terms of trade are still deteriorating. Their loss is our gain. I therefore regard development aid not as a favour but as a universal social duty.

**15.** An international macroeconomic policy aimed at improving the terms of trade of developing countries would be more valuable than any amount of development aid.

**16.** The processing of commodities – for example coffee and cocoa – must not be penalised by protectionist measures which hit imports. The anti-processing clauses must be replaced by a policy encouraging processing of raw materials or commodities in the countries of origin.

**17.** The Multi-Fibre Agreement should be abolished and replaced by complete freedom of imports. At the same time we should differentiate more between the various types of developing countries: NICs should be treated differently from LDCs. NICs should be brought under the GATT regulations.

**18.** The debt problem is complex. Far too many people who know nothing or too little about the subject are voicing opinions. I shall not therefore venture any comment other than this: I do believe that the LLDCs at least should have their official debts cancelled. This is purely a matter of common sense. We should never have burdened them with loans to pay back in the first place.

**19.** The suggestion of a Marshall Plan for the Third World is unrealistic and misleading. The situation in which Europe found itself at the end of the last World War cannot be compared with the very diverse circumstances of the developing countries today. A suggestion of this sort serves to raise expectations which can only lead to disappointment, frustration and disruption.

20. We must be prepared to lend vigorous support to regional South/South cooperation which would include generating trade flows (for example regional food supplies) and technical cooperation, with a view to untying all development aid from the North.

21. Much of the human suffering in developing countries cannot be attributed to global power structures, natural disasters, multinational companies, the World Bank, the IMF or other exogenous evil doers and easy scapegoats.

22. Development in the true sense of the word is impossible without some form of democracy which gives the people some say in the process. It is a question of enabling people to direct their energies within their own cultural context to bring about change, in the belief that this is in their own interests. I am not using democracy here in the formal western sense but in its more basic meaning of 'by the people for the people'.

23. Freedom of speech is an essential element in any form of democracy and therefore a prerequisite for true development. The power elite, wherever they may be in the world, cannot be trusted if their country knows no freedom of speech. It is a fact of human life and also essential for the protection of those in power who are worthy of trust.



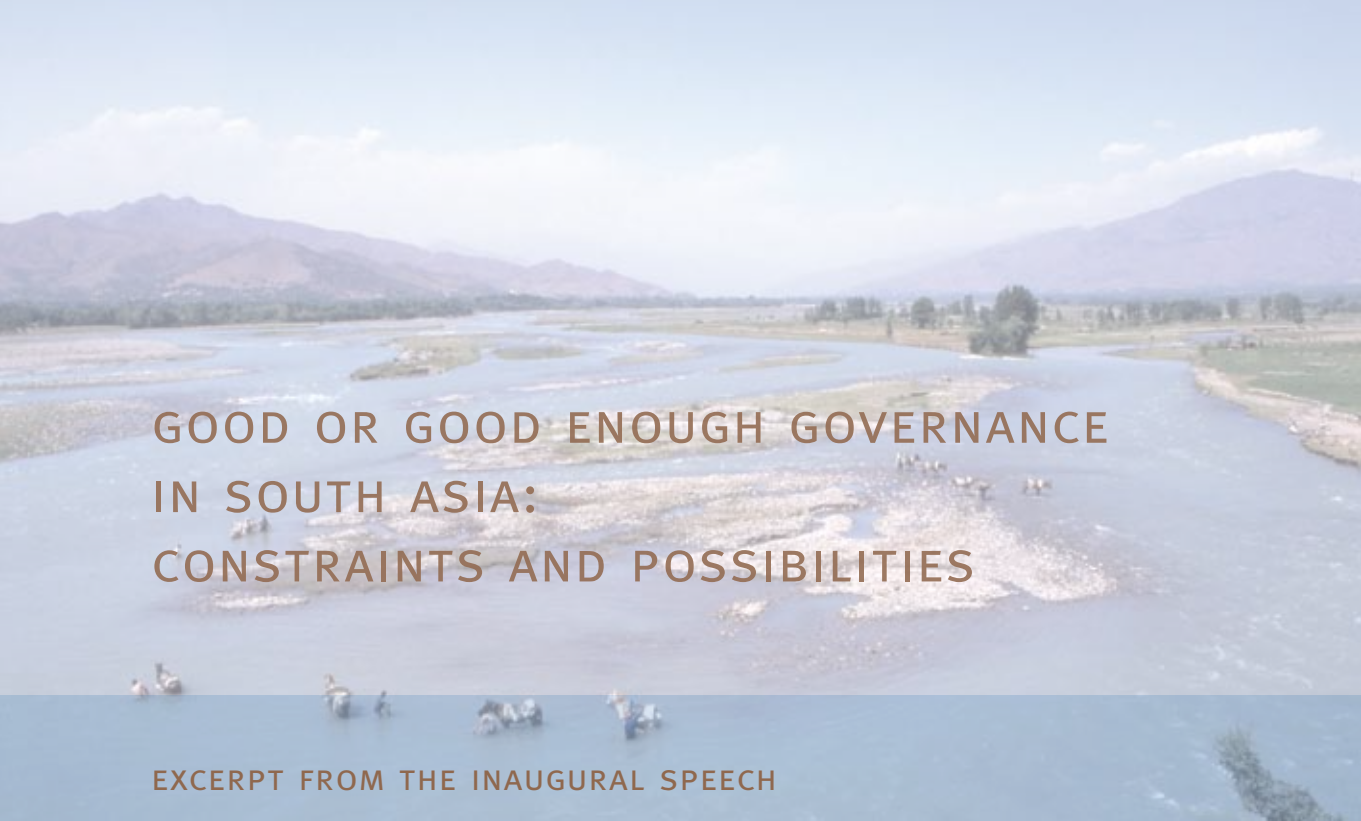
Professor Nasira Jabeen holding her inaugural address

PROFESSOR NASIRA JABEEN

2006-2007

Nominated by the Curatorium, Professor Nasira Jabeen was appointed by the University Board of Utrecht University to the Prince Claus Chair in September 2006. Coming from a Pakistani background, Professor Jabeen focuses her teaching and research on the possibilities and constraints of good governance as a concept in the developing world.





## GOOD OR GOOD ENOUGH GOVERNANCE IN SOUTH ASIA: CONSTRAINTS AND POSSIBILITIES

### EXCERPT FROM THE INAUGURAL SPEECH

Swat Valley

At the core of governance and administrative reforms being undertaken in developed as well as developing countries is the notion of good governance. Accountability, transparency and participation are the central themes of good governance despite divergent views on its ideological orientation, theoretical basis and practical manifestations. The world leaders agreed at the 2005 UN World Summit on the vitality of good governance for sustained development and eradication of poverty and hunger. However, the constraints and possibilities of good governance are likely to be different across countries. Therefore, it is important that the concept of good governance is understood in the context of each country and region to find pragmatic solutions to the problems of governance within a framework of universally accepted values embedded in the concept. The concept of good governance can hardly be contested on the basis of its underlying values of accountability and transparency, but it can mean different things to different countries and can have different implications due to different contexts in which it is to be used as a policy framework.

Notably, the institutional context of developed countries, where the notion of good governance has evolved, is drastically different than that of developing countries in terms of basic norms of bureaucratic behaviour, generally regarded as a precondition for good governance. While norms of formalisation, rule of law and merit are well entrenched in capitalist and western countries, the developing and Third World countries have weak traditions of practising these norms. Thus, the context of developing countries poses different challenges and offers unique possibilities for good governance. The unquestioned and unexamined transferability of the concept of good governance across developing countries with diverse institutional and cultural contexts may have serious consequences. Similarly, a generic

and ambitious good governance agenda drawn from the experiences of developed countries may have serious implications for the poor in developing countries. The concept of good enough governance (Merilee Grindle, 2004) may likely to be more relevant to developing countries that are struggling hard to break the vicious cycle of poor governance.

Rejection of the rule of law, poverty, corruption and nepotism, militarism and capacity of state and non-state institutions are major constraints to governance in South Asia. Administrative reform initiatives, the role of civil society organisations and access to information through media may be seen as possibilities for good enough governance in South Asian countries. Finally, the complex issue of governance in a region which is rich in culture and tradition but poorest in governance and human development provides a road map for developing an indigenous model of good enough governance in the cultural specific context of south Asia.

The full text of the inaugural speech can be downloaded on [www.princeclauschair.nl](http://www.princeclauschair.nl)

Open-air school class Gilgit



## QUALIFICATIONS

Professor Jabeen was appointed on the grounds of her inspiring analyses, which provide a convincing synthesis showing the influence of government on national culture. She has authored publications in various fields, including administrative science and human resources, as well as on the position of women in Pakistan.

## SUMMARY CV

- Professor Jabeen works as Professor of Public Administration at the Institute of Administrative Sciences, University of the Punjab. She held the Prince Claus Chair in Development and Equity (2006-2007) at Utrecht University and the Institute of Social Studies in the Netherlands.



Professor Nasira Jabeen with members of the Curatorium.  
From left to right: Professor Louk de la Rive Box, Professor Bas de Gaay Fortman, Professor Nasira Jabeen, Professor Willem Hendrik Gispen and Dr Joop Kessels.

- She has received her PhD in Management from the University of Stirling, UK. She completed an MA in Public Administration at the University of the Punjab, Lahore, as well as at University of Southern California, Los Angeles, USA. Her research interest is in the areas of Governance, Management, Human Resource Management, Gender and Social Sector Development. She has published papers in international and national journals of international repute.
- She has an extensive international profile. She has worked as a consultant of Human Resource Management for the World Bank, the British Council and Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). She has contributed as guest speaker to prestigious institutions, including LUMS, NIPA and Civil Services Academy of Pakistan. She also completed the one-year TOT (Training of Trainers) programme jointly organised by McGill University of Canada and LUMS, Pakistan.
- She has attended several international and national conferences and workshops. She has organised various Faculty Development Programmes for university teachers, staff and PhD scholars as a programme director of the Human Resources Development Centre

of the Institute of Administrative Sciences, University of the Punjab. She is on the advisory board of AWAZ Citizen Development Centre, a civil society organisation actively pursuing community interests in Pakistan.

- Professor Jabeen has been involved in Philanthropy in Pakistan, a research project completed in collaboration with the University of Technology, Sydney, Australia.

## ACTIVITIES AS HOLDER OF THE CHAIR

- Professor Jabeen resided at the Utrecht School of Governance from April to July 2007.
- On 2 April 2007, she gave her inaugural address at the Academy Building, Utrecht University, entitled 'Good or Good Enough Governance in South Asia: Constraints and Possibilities' (see p. 12).

Professor Nasira Jabeen at CERES



- Professor Jabeen participated in the CERES Summer School organised at Utrecht University from 25 to 27 June. She held a presentation entitled 'Good Governance: A South Asia Perspective' and debated with students.
- She held meetings, attended lectures and discussion forums organised by Pakistani and Muslim societies/organisations in the Netherlands, i.e. Justice and Peace Netherlands, Minorities in Pakistan and The International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World (ISIM).
- During her term of office as holder of the chair, Professor Jabeen took part in several academic discussions. She gave a public lecture followed by a debate at the Institute of Social Studies entitled 'Governance and Administrative Reform in Pakistan: Action, Rhetoric and Paradoxes'. At the Graduate Research Seminar, School of Governance of Utrecht University, she gave a lecture entitled 'Good Governance: A Developing Countries Perspective' and subsequently led a discussion on that theme. She also gave the keynote address entitled 'Violence in Large Cities of Pakistan: A Governance Perspective' and acted as discussant at the CERES Summer School, Utrecht University.

- Thanks to her mediation, a PhD programme collaboration agreement was signed between the Utrecht School of Governance and the Department of Public Administration at the Institute of Administrative Sciences. Professor I. Zafar signed the agreement as head of the Department of Public Administration. Professor P. Verweel will supervise a number of PhD students, and there will be an annual intake of students jointly selected for the Utrecht School of Governance's PhD programme.
- During her time as chair holder, Professor Jabeen completed two papers and a research proposal.



Professor Nasira Jabeen at ISS

## INTERVIEWS

Professor Jabeen participated in several media interviews, such as in *Onze Wereld*, July/August 2007, *Goed genoeg bestuur is ook goed bestuur*, page 17, Den Haag.

## PROFESSOR ALCINDA HONWANA

For 2007, the Curatorium focused on the theme of 'Conflict and Conflict Resolution' with a regional focus on Africa.

On the recommendation of the Curatorium of the Prince Claus Chair in Development and Equity, the Institute of Social Studies appointed Professor Alcinda Honwana to the Prince Claus Chair in Development and Equity for the period 2007-2008. Professor Honwana will deliver her inaugural lecture in April 2008 at the Institute of Social Studies.

Born in Mozambique, Professor Honwana is an authority on child soldiers in Africa and on the predicament of young Africans in the context of ongoing globalisation processes in post-colonial Africa.



# 2007-2008

She has been appointed to the Prince Claus Chair because she combines an excellent academic profile with a powerful and meaningful policy engagement in the field of conflict and conflict resolution in Africa. In addition, she has held positions of high responsibility in international organisations with specialist mandates in the relevant substantive field. The Curatorium also believes there will be extensive synergies between her own work and research interests and those of ISS staff, both as expressed in ongoing teaching and research programmes, but also significantly in terms of potentially rewarding fresh ventures in the future.

Professor Honwana has been Director of the International Development Centre of the Open University in England since December 2005. Before joining the Open University, she worked for the Social Science Research Council in New York, where she directed the Children and Armed Conflict Program and the Africa Program. She also worked as a United Nations Programme Officer in the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict in New York. From 2001 to 2005, Professor Honwana has been Coordinator of the International Research Network on Children and Armed Conflict.

## PREVIOUS HOLDERS OF THE CHAIR

### PROFESSOR REMA HAMMAMI

Professor Rema Hammami was appointed to the Prince Claus Chair by the Institute of Social Studies in September 2005 because of her impressive academic contribution, as an intellectual champion, to peace and co-existence in the Palestinian Territories. Her gendered approach provides a valuable point of entry into issues of governance, civil society, citizenship, rights and peace.

Professor Rema Hammami resided at the Institute of Social Studies from April to the end of July 2006. Her activities included the following:



2005-2006

- On 20 April 2006, she gave her inaugural address entitled 'Human Agency at the Frontiers of Inequality: An Ethnography of Hope in Extreme Places'.
- She held a master class on the Politics of Writing, focusing on methodological, ethical and political issues in engaged research, for ISS students dealing with gender and human rights issues.
- She gave two talks at Universiteit van Amsterdam, one in the Department of Anthropology and one to PhD students working on the Middle East. In addition, Professor Hammami gave a public lecture to the Dutch Social Forum, attended a roundtable conference on the current situation in the occupied territories at the United Civilian for Peace (UCP), and took part at a debate on democratisation organised by the Dutch Labour Party.
- Professor Hammami took part in the cultural debate organised by the Winternachten Literature Festival, where art and science meet, and the Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in The Hague.

### PROFESSOR GASPAR RIVERA-SALGADO

Professor Gaspar Rivera-Salgado was appointed to the Prince Claus Chair by Utrecht University in September 2004. Born in 1965, he is a sociologist from Mexico. Professor Rivera-Salgado was appointed on the basis of his academic work in the field of indigenous rights, particularly in Latin America and the United States. He is now Program Director of the Center for Labor Research and Education at the University of California in Los Angeles.

Professor Rivera-Salgado resided at Utrecht University's Netherlands Institute of Human Rights and School of Human Rights Research from April to June 2005. His activities as holder of the Chair included the following:



2004-2005

- On 12 April 2005, he gave his inaugural address entitled 'Equal in Dignity and Rights: the Struggle of Indigenous Peoples of the Americas in an Age of Migration'.
- Professor Rivera-Salgado gave numerous lectures, including the CERES keynote speech at the Institute of Social Studies, entitled 'Indigenous peoples, Migration and Governance'.
- During his term of office, Professor Rivera-Salgado gave seminars for students at the Netherlands Institute of Human Rights.
- In Amman, Jordan, he took part in the conference 'Advancing the Refugee and Migration Agenda in the Middle East', organised by the Foundation 'The Hague Process' and the Arab Thought Forum.

## PROFESSOR AMINA MAMA

Professor Amina Mama was appointed to the Prince Claus Chair by the Institute of Social Studies. Born in 1958, Professor Mama was appointed for her contribution to the academic field of African culture and its relationship to development. She holds the Chair in Gender Studies at the University of Cape Town and leads a research programme that aims to contribute to transformation and development across the African continent through an increased focus on gender studies.

Professor Mama resided at the Institute of Social Studies from mid-April to the end of July 2004. Her activities included the following:



# 2003-2004

- On 28 April 2004, she gave her inaugural speech in The Hague, entitled 'Critical Capacities: Facing the Challenges of Intellectual Development in Africa'.
- Professor Mama gave the keynote speech at the conference of the Wiardi Beckman Academy and the HIVOS conference 'Humanism in an Age of Inhumanity'.
- In the field of education, Professor Mama gave courses and seminars at the CERES Summer School in Nijmegen, within the Women's Studies Department at Utrecht University, and at the ISS. She was also appointed to the CERES Board.

## PROFESSOR S. MANSOOB MURSHED

Professor S. Mansoob Murshed was appointed as the first holder of the Prince Claus Chair by Utrecht University. Born in 1958, Professor Murshed is an economist from Bangladesh. Reasons for appointing Professor Murshed included his academic work in the fields of trade and freedom of trade and in the field of peace and conflict management in relation to economic development. Professor Murshed's most recent field of research concerns the economics of conflict.

Professor Murshed resided at Utrecht University's Utrecht School of Economics in April, May and June 2003. His activities as holder of the Chair included the following:



# 2002-2003

- On 12 May 2003, Professor Murshed gave his inaugural lecture entitled 'The Decline of the Development Contract and the Development of Violent Internal Conflict'.
- He was a member of the Steering Committee of PREM (Poverty Reduction and Environmental Management) at the Free University of Amsterdam (VU).

For more information about Professor Rema Hammami, Professor Gaspar Rivera-Salgado, Professor Mama and Professor Murshed, please visit [www.princeclauschair.nl](http://www.princeclauschair.nl).

## Fifth anniversary of the Prince Claus Chair

*Symposium to celebrate the Fifth Anniversary  
of the Prince Claus Chair at Paleis Noordeinde,  
The Hague, 22 June 2007*

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During the symposium, from left to right: Dr Joop Kessels, Professor Bas de Gaay Fortman, H.R.H. Prince Jaime, H.R.H. Prince Johan-Friso, Professor Louise O. Fresco, Professor Amina Mama, Professor Mansoob Murshed, Professor Nasira Jabeen, H.R.H. Princess Máxima of the Netherlands, H.M. Queen Beatrix, Professor Gaspar Rivera-Salgado, H.R.H. Crown Prince Willem-Alexander, Professor Rema Hamammi, Professor Louk de la Rive Box, Professor Alcinda Honwana, Professor Willem Hendrik Gispén.



Panel discussion. From left to right: Professor Louise O. Fresco, Professor Gaspar Rivera-Salgado, Professor Nasira Jabeen, Professor Amina Mama, Professor Mansoob Murshed, Professor Rema Hamammi, Professor Bas de Gaay Fortman.

### Introduction by Princess Maxima

*Your Majesty, Professor Fresco, dear chair holders, ladies and gentlemen. It is with great pleasure that I now open this symposium to celebrate the 5th anniversary of the Prince Claus Chair on development and equity. A very special welcome to Professor Louise Fresco, who will deliver the keynote address, and to our five chair holders: Professor Mansoob Murshed, Professor Amina Mama, Gaspar Rivera-Salgado, Professor Rema Hammami and Professor Nasira Jabeen.*

*A very special word of thanks to Her Majesty for her incredible hospitality. It is amazing to be able to celebrate this in your palace and in your presence. Thank you very much.*

*Five years already. Time flies. After the passing away of my father-in-law, Prince Claus, the idea of this Chair arose. Prince Claus was strongly committed to development and equity in north-south relations. Through his work, his travel and his contacts, he gained a deep understanding of the opportunities for equitable development. But he also gained a deep understanding of the obstacles to it. His views and, above all, his attitude towards people in the developing world became a source of inspiration to many – and still is. In commemoration and respect for his work, the Utrecht University and the Institute of Social Studies together shape this Chair.*

*The Chair aims to stimulate research and teaching in development and equity by establishing a rotating professorship. The two participating institutions will alternately appoint an outstanding young academic from Asia, Africa, Latin-America, the Caribbean or the Pacific to the Chair. The Prince Claus Chair was launched in a special academic*

*ceremony in the Dom Church in Utrecht in March 2003. In the same ceremony and in view of the 50th anniversary of the ISS, Utrecht University awarded an honorary doctorate to the then president of the Inter-American Development Bank, Dr Enrique Iglesias. His work has always focused on the relation between economy and administration on the one hand, and civil society on the other. He was a person Prince Claus was very fond of.*

*From the very beginning, we have been very fortunate with excellent candidates. We started off with Professor Mansoob Murshed, an economist from Bangladesh who works in the field of trade and freedom, as well as that of peace and conflict management. We then had the honour of having Professor Amina Mama, with a Nigerian-South African background, who was appointed for her contribution to the academic field of African culture and its relationship to development. In 2004-2005, we had Professor Gaspar Rivera-Salgado with us, a sociologist from Mexico, who had contributed significantly to academic research on indigenous rights and migration, particularly in Latin America and the United States. Last year, Professor Rema Hammami, with a Palestinian background, was our chair holder. She was appointed for her contribution to peace and co-existence in the Palestinian territories. And this year, we have the pleasure to have in our midst Professor Nasira Jabeen, from Pakistan, who is an expert on the possibilities and constraints of good governance as a concept in the developing world. To all we say: thank you. Thank you for being such excellent representatives of the Prince Claus Chair. You have been willing to leave your own country, your university, your family and friends to come to the Netherlands. You have engaged in educational research and you have participated in publications, lectures, seminars, and more. And you have also contributed to*

outreach activities. To take one example: Professor Rivera-Salgado was involved in a project on human rights and migration in which pupils from secondary schools started the theme from different angles and presented the results at a concluding seminar in Utrecht.

Ladies and gentlemen, the variety in backgrounds and academic expertise reflects the complexity of development and equity. It also reflects the necessity of contribution from different disciplines to gain a more profound insight into ways and means through which development and equity can be encouraged. The Curatorium hopes that the activities of the Prince Claus Chair contribute to this goal. Personally, I am delighted to be part of this process. To be able to give a platform to these talented people in Europe means more opportunities for us to learn from them and their ideas. I hope, in consequence, that our chair holders will therefore become stronger voices in their regions of origin.

As Prince Claus said in one of his 23 statements at the ISS, 'Freedom of speech is an essential element in any form of democracy and therefore a prerequisite for true development'. With all my heart, I wish that we continue to support these academics as just one way for us to contribute to development, in the strong belief that people develop themselves within their own cultural environment.

## Professor Bas de Gaay Fortman, Vice Chair, introducing Professor Louise Fresco

Many thanks, Princess Maxima, our Chair of the Prince Claus Curatorium. Your Majesty, dear chair holders, honourable guests. It is a great pleasure to introduce to you Professor Louise Fresco. She has been Chair in botanical production systems for many years, and wrote her doctoral dissertation on cassava in Africa. As you know, the commercialisation of agriculture has effects that can touch people in their immediate food security. Professor Fresco's dissertation revealed the social, legal, political and environmental contexts in which we live, make our decisions and get affected by the decisions taken by others. For many, sustaining daily life is a struggle. It is clear that we could not have a better keynote presenter than Professor Louise Fresco in terms of knowledge, expertise, conviction and commitment.

## Sustainable development as a multilateral and cultural issue

### Professor Louise O. Fresco Universiteit van Amsterdam

Your Majesty,  
Your Royal Highnesses,  
Ladies and gentlemen

Few authors have written more beautifully about humanity and the universe than the Argentinean poet and novelist Jorge Luis Borges. Borges portrays human existence as man dwelling in a library, a garden, or a palace – all of them of undefined and perhaps of infinite dimensions. Everything man would like to know is contained within these spaces. In *La Biblioteca de Babel*<sup>1</sup>, for example, a labyrinth of magical geometry, the hero is searching for a book, in the catalogue of catalogues of all books already written and all those that will be written, in languages still unknown. Human beings, in other words, oscillate between multitude and emptiness, hope and despair, between knowing and not knowing. And the human experience itself is limited. As Borges says in *The Book of Sand*, 'a nadie le esta dado de recorrer mas que una parte infinitesimal ...', it is granted to no one to traverse more than an infinitesimal part'<sup>2</sup> of this universe. No one has the total overview. These are eloquent metaphors for the search we are undertaking towards a more sustainable world. This has to be a collective endeavour, because none of us – no individual, and no single country – has a solution for what is the greatest challenge confronting mankind: how to live on this planet without destroying the chances of the next generations to satisfy their needs and live peacefully<sup>3</sup>. And this has indeed to be a search based on knowledge: on cultural traditions, the knowledge of what already exists, as well as on science, the openness towards new ideas, or knowledge of what will exist. I believe Prince Claus has formulated comparable thoughts on what we should aim for, when he wrote: 'awareness of one's own cultural identity and past is a fundamental condition for sustainable development'<sup>4</sup>.

The many publications written about sustainability would fill numerous, perhaps innumerable galleries in the labyrinth of Borges's library. Sustainability, with its closely linked challenges of security, economic growth and poverty eradication, has not been absent from the political agenda after the publication of the Brundtland report in 1987. It was the centre piece of many major political gatherings from the Earth Summit in 1992 to today. This has resulted in broad agreement on overall principles, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) up to the recent G8 agreements on climate and energy. As a world we are now committed to cut green house gas emissions, to save water and biodiversity, to reduce poverty and to increase education. Nevertheless, what sustainability really is remains elusive. There seems to be no one who has the final answer as to how to deal with it: it is as if we are still searching for the one mysterious book with all the solutions, to use Borges's image again.

### Can we reach sustainability?

The simple view is that sustainability starts at home, in the developed countries at least, with personal decisions to use public transport rather than cars, to acquire fewer and more energy-saving appliances or to buy locally produced food. We see some signs of increasing awareness and a modest willingness to change, but this is true for only a fraction of the one billion people living in the OECD countries, who are the greatest polluters. In any case, such modest changes in consumer behaviour are far from sufficient. What matters in assessing sustainability is the consumption pattern as a whole rather than the product. The temptations for individuals **not** to act in an environmentally friendly way are great, and many people remain confused. Why change behaviour if I do not see an immediate benefit, for example in my own energy bill? Often, there is no immediate benefit or only an additional burden: more taxes in order to protect nature, more regulations for appliances. And then there is the real problem of solidarity: why would I try to save water if my neighbour does not? Governments, through regulation and taxation and their own purchase behaviour, can facilitate this transition but not substitute for the individual consumer. On the other hand, the private sector has massively embraced the concept of sustainability, and technological solutions, especially in the field



of energy and material recycling, advance rapidly. But certification for what can be considered sustainable technology is still in its infancy. While we may be mildly optimistic about the OECD, the situation is difficult in the rapidly modernising economies where consumer aspirations trigger an enormous growth in production, with major environmental effects. With overall demand for energy rising by 60% by 2030, these industrialising countries will be responsible for three quarters of the increase. The enormous and needed growth to overcome poverty is not accompanied by adequate legal and technological measures to protect the environment. There is little moral ground for the West to counter the valid aspirations of newly industrialised countries. On the contrary, development assistance ought to focus on the transition towards a more sustainable economy. The problem is that by dealing with sustainable development in a sectoral and piecemeal fashion – adjusting consumer behaviour, putting caps on emissions, increasing energy and resource use efficiency – we are defeated by our own successes. For example, we are able to reduce petrol use per kilometre travelled, but we produce heavier cars, buy more of them and travel further. The net result is that our emissions do not decrease, not here in the western world, nor in the emerging economies. Our collective aspirations are becoming a threat to sustainability. It seems that we lack the correct social and mental attitudes to **save** resources rather than waste them. So can we do more to tackle the problem of sustainability?

### A collective cultural shift

Today's situation is unique. Never before has mankind as a whole been as wealthy as today. Areas of poverty and hunger still exist, but more people are lifted out of poverty every year through economic growth. Pockets of permanent hunger are mainly a function of civil unrest and ecologically adverse conditions. Unless a disaster occurs, the world will continue to become richer and consume more.

Sustainability requires a cultural shift, a shift in values and norms that puts to the fore again the common good, the benefit of all, rather than the profit of the individual. This is far from easy. Throughout 150,000 years of human history, our

basic reactions have been determined by the need to cope with scarcity. If an opportunity to acquire food or goods presents itself, we will accumulate wealth, because our visceral reaction is to survive by trying to control more resources. Desiring affluence is logical in the context of a life conditioned by natural disasters, physical suffering and premature death. Only the last few generations of human beings are getting used to a life where poverty is **not** common to all. Our present surplus of goods is so very recent, that we have not learnt to cope with it. We are collectively unable to say no – to food, to a car, to travel. It explains why, even in countries where the average level of income is still low, the emerging middle classes display consumption patterns that even surpass those of some of the rich countries. Obesity in Chinese children is growing by 8% a year. We need to face up to the fact that our values are not equipped to deal with affluence. Indeed, sustainability is a matter of culture, but not in the simple sense that traditional values do necessarily guarantee environmentally sound behaviour. There is a tendency to idealise groups living close to nature in the tropical forest or the desert, as being somehow more in harmony with their environments. Unfortunately, there is little indication that this is truly the case, and there are several examples to the contrary. But even where traditional cultures contain elements of respect for nature and the past, we cannot turn back to a situation of low population densities and primitive technology. With secularisation, the social controls that limited the greed of the individual have not been replaced by a new moral authority. We must therefore learn how to adapt to an unprecedented situation of plenty and choice, of technological options and widespread mobility, even if scarcity still exists in some parts of the world. We must invent a new culture, a new morality that reflects our interconnectedness and our joint responsibility for our common future. Some degree of frugality and modesty must replace conspicuous consumption, the desire for affluence and personal greed.

### The UN, transboundary problems and equity

After years of euphoria about the idea of sustainability, some disillusion now seems to set in. Cultural change is exceedingly difficult, and

may take too long, technological solutions may become available, but are they affordable? Above all, sustainable development deals with equity – between countries, between individuals and between generations.

What makes sustainability so difficult is the concept itself. Sustainable development is more than the sum of individual consumer decisions and also more than the sum of actions by single governments. It cuts across boundaries, across sectors and across all levels. Sustainability is not an absolute, let alone a fixed condition, but a goal based on complex criteria that evolve over time. Sustainable development is therefore subject to negotiations and trade-offs between divergent objectives such as individual mobility and CO<sub>2</sub> emissions, between preserving landscapes and urban and agricultural development, or between job creation, cheap manufactured products and air pollution, or ultimately between the weak and the strong segments of humanity, between current and future generations. These trade-offs mean substituting one choice for another, hopefully less damaging option. Notwithstanding much wishful thinking, there are rarely perfect win-win situations. They are always complex, because they weigh unequal values often in the realm of equity: for example, my choice to buy locally produced tomatoes may imply a set back in income for farmers in the Maghreb. There are also no easy options: reducing CO<sub>2</sub> emissions through limiting fossil fuels may have other negative side effects, whether in terms of security (in the case of nuclear), or ecological (in the case of bio-diesel). One country's gain can mean another country's loss. And the choices of one country may have an impact on other countries and vice versa. There is little point in trying to cut Dutch CO<sub>2</sub> emissions if this is not part of an international effort, while the decision to build nuclear plants in Europe would potentially affect all its citizens. Sustainability is therefore a transboundary and multilateral issue, even if not all environmental problems are global in nature (water, for example, is basically a regional or local problem). Many human actions at local level have global effects (in particular CO<sub>2</sub> emissions) and require global and coordinated solutions. Setting standards and defining policies require negotiations between states. This also avoids the serious risk of 'free riders', of countries who want to benefit from the sacrifices or trade-offs of others without doing

the same.

As a result of these complexities, the inclusion of sustainability has dramatically enlarged the international diplomatic agenda. But success has been painful and slow. We lack the adequate multilateral instruments and mechanisms to deal with sustainable development. To put it simply: we have a worldwide problem but no world-level decision-making body. Borges would say that we lack the central librarian and have only been reading separate volumes from the lower shelves of the library.

There is, of course, one worldwide multilateral body that could carry forward the challenge of sustainability: the United Nations. We now have a window of opportunities because two developments coincide. Firstly, there is the widespread, even if sometimes vague, consensus on sustainable development, and secondly there is overall agreement among member countries that the complexities of new tasks in a post-cold-war world require a massive reform of the UN. Reform efforts are fraught with difficulties and have focused on changes in New York: the membership of the Security Council and the streamlining of the Secretariat. This approach is far too narrow. Most people ignore that the UN also consists of numerous specialised agencies and programmes that are as much in need of reform as the Secretariat.

They must change for many reasons, because their bureaucracies have become top heavy, but especially because the standard response to the expansion of tasks in the UN has been to establish new entities, rather than adjusting existing mandates, such as the special programmes for HIV/AIDS, population, environment, habitat. The results have been overlapping mandates, expanding transaction costs and competition for scarce funds. But more importantly, the new tasks ensuing from the Millennium Development Goals cannot be dealt with adequately without a much closer synergy between the technical agencies – for which they are not equipped and which they even resist. The existing cross-cutting programmes between agencies are often unmanageable. UN Water is a case in point, in which well over twenty UN agencies are supposed to collaborate. Not much has changed since the creation of the specialised agencies sixty years ago, when the need for a sectoral approach to agriculture, health and education was the standard.

This fragmentation in response to the MDGs has been possible because the UN agencies and programmes are de facto autonomous bodies with their own constitution, constituencies and budget. Given the lack of national coordination, member country delegations are often totally unaware of what their colleagues are voting for in various agencies.

No wonder that the enlargement of the diplomatic agenda to include sustainability has not led to a consolidation in the technical part of the UN. So could we redesign a United Nations system that can tackle the Millennium Development Goals and Sustainability? And if so, how do we go about it? Nobody seems to give much thought to this, yet I believe it to be the great institutional challenge for the future. It requires a profound rethinking of the UN agencies as well as the Bretton Woods (IMF, WB) institutions. As a minimum, we need to review and integrate governance structures and mandates to overcome the current fragmentation and competition; to rethink economic growth to incorporate sustainability dimensions that are difficult to translate in market terms; to attribute a greater role to science in preparing and monitoring policies, and, last but not least, to integrate systematically the voices of civil society. The UN is the only guarantee that sustainability will not come at the expense of equity.

I have argued that sustainability demands that we learn how to deal with affluence. This requires new cultural values shared across boundaries of countries, class and religion to take collective responsibility for others, elsewhere and in the future. Every child should learn how to weigh his or her individual decisions in the light of the burden we put on the earth and its future generations. I have also demonstrated that sustainable development truly is a multilateral issue concerning all countries in the world. We need a renewed United Nations to cope with the new challenges ahead of us.

We are groping indeed to find our way in a world of undefined and perhaps of infinite dimensions. In the view of Jorge Luis Borges, everything man would need to know is contained within this world. I believe we can take great courage from this: our unlimited capacity to innovate and invent will prepare us to face the future if we are willing to think of the common good. The books in the library of Babel – our collective knowledge – belong to us

all and will be written by us all. They are our only sustainable resource.

True to the statement by Prince Claus about culture and sustainability and in the words of Jorge Luis Borges: *Ya somos el pasado que seremos, we are the past that we will be.*<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ficciones, Emecé editores/Alianza, Buenos Aires, pp 89

<sup>2</sup> El Palacio, in El Oro de los Tigres; In El libral arena/The Book of Sand, Penguin/Emecé bilingual Edition, 1957, pp 128.

<sup>3</sup> The definition of sustainability used here roughly follows the Brundtland Report, Our common future, Cambridge University Press, 1987

<sup>4</sup> Excerpt of the Prince's acceptance speech upon receiving an honorary fellowship, proposition 3, Institute of Social Studies 1988.

<sup>5</sup> Elogia de un parque, Obra poetica. Emecé editores, Buenos Aires, pp 662

Rema Hammami, Prince Claus chair holder 2005–2006 year, was born in the United States of America, and from the United States she moved back to her home country, Palestine, where she teaches at Birzeit University. Rema Hammami is bilingual and, together with John Berger, she translated – partly during her stay in the Netherlands – a poem from Mahmoud Darwish. Mahmoud Darwish is a Prince Claus Fund laureate 2004. Mahmoud Darwish wrote the poem after a near-death experience, a highly emotional moment. And from that dose of emotions, he started his poetry.

## Poem read by Professor Rema Hammami

Mahmoud Darwish would like to thank you for the privilege of having his poem read to you this afternoon.

### Excerpts from Mahmud Darwish's Murale

Who am I?  
The Song of Songs?  
or the wisdom of Ecclesiastics?  
You and I are me  
I'm poet  
and king  
and a wise man at the edge of the well  
No cloud in my open hand  
in my temple no eleven planets  
my body narrow  
my eternity narrow  
and my tomorrow sits on my throne as a crown of dust

Vain vanity of vanities... vain  
Everything on earth is ephemeral  
The winds are north  
the winds are south  
The sun rises by itself and sets by itself  
nothing is new  
The past was yesterday  
futile in futility  
The temple is high  
and the wheat is high  
If the sky comes down it rains  
and if the land rises up it's destroyed  
Anything that goes beyond its limits will become its opposite one day  
And life on earth is a shadow of something we can't see

Vain vanity of vanities... vain  
Everything on earth is ephemeral  
1,400 chariots  
12,000 horses  
Carry my gilded name from one age to another  
I lived as no other poet  
a king and sage  
I grew old and bored with glory  
I didn't lack for anything  
Is this why the more my star rose the more my anxiety grew?  
So what's Jerusalem and what's a throne  
if nothing remains forever

There's a time for birth  
and a time for death  
A time for silence  
and a time for speech

A time for war  
and a time for peace  
and a time for time  
nothing remains forever  
Each river will be drunk by the sea  
and the sea still is not full  
Nothing remains forever  
everything living will die  
and death is still not full  
Nothing will remain after me except a gilded name:  
"Solomon was..."  
So what do the dead do with their names?  
Is it the gold  
or the song of songs  
or the Ecclesiastes  
who will illuminate the vastness of my gloom?

Vain vanity of vanities... vain  
everything on earth is ephemeral  
I saw myself walking like Christ on the lake  
but I came down from the cross because of my fear of heights  
and I don't preach the resurrection  
All that I changed was my pace the better to hear the voice of my heart

Eagles are for bards  
for me the dove's collar  
a star abandoned above the roof  
and a winding alley in Akka leading to the port  
nothing more or less  
I want to say good morning there to the happy boy I was  
(happy child I was not)  
but distance is a brilliant blacksmith who can forge a moon from worthless scrap

.....

I will walk in my footsteps down the old path through the sea air  
no woman will see me passing under her balcony  
I have of memories only those necessary for the long journey  
Days contain all they need of tomorrows  
I was smaller than my eyelashes and my two dimples  
So take my sleepiness  
and hide me in the story of the tender evening  
Hide me under one of the two date palms  
and teach me poetry  
So I can learn how to walk beside Homer  
So I can add to the story a description of Akka  
the oldest of the beautiful cities  
the most beautiful of the old cities  
A box of stone  
where the living and dead move in the dry clay  
like bees captive in a honeycomb in a hive  
and each time the siege tightens  
they go on a flower hunger strike  
and ask the sea to indicate the emergency exit

.....

I saw myself like Christ on the lake...  
But I came down from the cross because of my fear of heights  
and I don't preach the apocalypse  
all that I changed was my pace the better to hear the voice of my heart...  
Eagles are for bards  
for me  
the dove's collar  
a star abandoned on the roof  
and a winding alley leading to the port  
This sea is mine  
This sea air is mine  
This quayside with my footsteps and sperm upon it... is mine  
And the old bus station is mine  
And my ghost and its master are mine  
And the copper utensils and the verse of the throne  
and the key are mine  
And the door and the guards and bells are mine  
The horseshoe flung over the ramparts is mine  
All that was mine is mine  
Paper scraps torn from the gospels are mine  
Salt from the tears on the wall of the house are mine...  
And my name mispronounced with its five horizontal letters  
my name... is mine:

mim/ of lovesickness, of the orphan, of those who complete the past  
ha/ of the garden and love, of two muddles and two losses  
mim/ of the rake, of the lovesick, of the exile prepared for a death foretold  
waw/ of farewells, of the central flower, of fidelity to birth wherever it may be and of a parent's promise  
dal/ of the guide, of the path of tears, of a studied galaxy and a sparrow who cajoles me and makes me bleed

This name is mine...  
and also my friends' wherever they may be  
And my temporary body is mine  
present or absent...  
Two metres of this earth will be enough for now  
a meter and 75 centimetres for me  
and the rest for flowers in a riot of colour  
who will slowly drink me  
And what was mine is mine: my yesterday  
and what will be in the distant tomorrow in the return of the fugitive soul  
as if nothing has been  
and as if nothing has been  
A light wound on the arm of the absurd present  
History taunting its victims  
and its heroes...  
throwing them a glance and passing on  
This sea is mine  
This sea air is mine  
And my name -- if I mispronounce it on my coffin -- is mine  
And as for me -- full of all reasons for leaving --  
I am not mine  
I am not mine  
I am not mine

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## Reflections of Professor Amina Mama

*It is a great honour and joy to be back in the Netherlands after several years, and I look forward to this session – this celebration as a route to continuing the work of the Prince Claus Chair in the coming years. I think the world as it is today means we still have a great deal to do, and, with all the continents represented here, this kind of international conversation is a very good way to start what I hope will be a vigorous, decorous exchange of ideas from across the world..*

*It is my pleasure to kick off the discussion by firstly warmly thanking Professor Fresco for her wide-ranging and thought-provoking address. I shall begin with the key words in your title: sustainable development. Why do we need to be concerned about sustainability? You asked the question of what do we mean by sustainable? What is it we wish to sustain? The remarks I will make will reflect the deeply contested nature of the meaning of development and indeed the meaning that our own disparate lived realities add to global terminology, which appear imbued with good values, but when you begin to look at how they manifest themselves in different locations – you referred yourself to different classes, different situations – their contradictory and extremely loaded, politically loaded, power as discourses come to the fore. And then we begin to peel back the layers and see the work, and indeed the challenge, of having truly transnational, transdisciplinary sectoral conversations of the kind that your lecture has initiated and prepared us for today. Thank you for that.*

*First of all, let me ask a rather mischievous question: Why is it that we need to be so concerned about sustainability? There are many threats: threats to the possibilities of future generations; threats to the earth. But I would like to suggest that the reason that we have to be so concerned about sustainability and sustainable development is rather a contradiction. The fact is that it is development – over half a century of development – that has created the perils and many of the challenges that now face us. It is modernisation, industrial development, which has been largely responsible for the damage to the fabric of the ecosystem. It is development that has caused the problem that we now seek to address through*

*the concept of sustainability. So you spoke of it becoming a panacea. It is a necessary corrective to the damage that the kinds of development that have prevailed and been pursued since the industrial revolution, if not earlier, the modes of development have taken a direction that has led them to pose a direct threat to people's livelihoods, particularly in some parts of the world.*

*I would take issue with the idea that development, or economic growth, has translated into less poverty and more wealth, because of the unevenness. Speaking from an African point of view, you cannot but notice that the absolute numbers of people in extreme poverty are larger than ever. Life expectancies have fallen dramatically in some countries, down to thirties or early forties. So the disparate nature of the picture raises the question: What is it we wish to sustain? For me, the term 'sustain' means to make it last, to keep it going. It could mean to conserve. What are the aspects of our contemporary reality that we would like to conserve, to sustain, to see survive into the future – and indeed to make a future possible? We think a lot about ecology, the earth, geo-material realities. We think about the sustainability of peoples in an epoch where whole cultures and some peoples are really threatened and still dying of poverty, conflicts and the evils of underdevelopment. We can talk about the sustainability of livelihoods, languages, cultures, social relations. Do we wish to sustain certain types of political systems? Do we wish to sustain social relationships of inequality and injustice? We do not.*

*So we are very selective in terms of how we think about sustainability and what it will take to bring about a mode of development that does less damage and indeed offers a different kind of future. This means that the term is a visionary term. It is a philosophical term. It is a principle that has both scientific and methodological implications. It has many implications for our institutions, whether we are talking of the UN system or our institutions of government. The focus for many of these has been on outcomes and results. If we are talking about long-lasting modes of development, we might want to focus not just on the results, as in gross national product and growth indicators, but we might want to focus more on the processes and the lived realities that have produced these*

*outcomes, whether these are good or bad, and on the cost to others of becoming so affluent. Coming from Nigeria, I cannot but think of the affluence of oil. If you come from Sierra Leone, you would think of the wealth from diamonds. If you come from South Africa, you would think of the wealth from diamonds. But where is the wealth and what has it cost those communities in which these sources of wealth were found? This is in fact an elaboration of the point you made about social and material contradictions. I liked very much the way you posed how eating home-grown tomatoes here would impoverish people elsewhere. But that germ is actually the centre of the thesis I would like us to develop. It is the central contradiction of the world: the fact that the affluence and the consumer choices that are available in one place, the fact that you have a choice, got there at the cost of other communities. The challenge before us is indeed to trace the connections and to join the dots between those contradictory dynamics, because it is not something we can tackle at an individual level. We need to tackle it at the level of systems and institutions, the level of economies and policies. These are the tools through which we intervene and try and pursue our visions, challenge the contradictions, and overcome them in some way.*

*So the thinking that we need to develop does indeed need to be transdisciplinary and cross-sectoral, lest we give with one hand and take away with the other. Create affluence for some, poverty for others. Create heat for some, but then destroy... All those contradictions are indeed a matter of scientific research and analysis. The major point I would like to make is that whether you are talking about gender equality or justice or sustainability, these are principles that need to be vision-led. And we very seldom have contestations around the kind of world we are imagining and the big visions of the future that need to inform the way our institutions work. Because the very institutions and policies that are being pursued are often antithetical with the idea of participation, with the idea of power-sharing and democratisation. And if the institutions that are responsible for development are themselves not the epitome of the values they espouse, then the values are just rhetorical. And you see this in some of the best moments of positive change in our own histories, in the gap that opens up between legal and*

*policy commitments and actual practice.*

*Let me end by saying that within the disparate communities around the world, we have many opportunities to learn and to inspire these alternative visions, and these are often articulated most clearly in some of the most marginalised communities. And if you look to the examples of many of the southern women's movements who have been involved in peace-building in West Africa, the Manu River women's initiative, the green belt movement in Kenya, the eco-feminism that is developed in India, you find actions and a vision combined. From this, we can learn a great deal about the meaning of sustainability in different contexts. Bringing them together and learning what development has meant there, just as much as what it means here, will be the challenge that lies before us.*

## Reflections of Professor Mansoob Murshed

*I thoroughly enjoyed the Professor Fresco's address this afternoon, and I learned a lot. I also enjoyed the translation by Rema Hammami of Mahmoud Darwish's poem. I would like to try something similar: a poem by Omar Khayyam. Khayyam means tent-maker; he lived in the 13th century. He was a serious mathematician, but in his spare time he wrote poems. In the 19th century, Edward Fitzgerald translated some of his poems. But they are not really translations. They are actually new poems based on original poems. One of them relevancies relevant for development and equity, I believe, and if I remember correctly, it goes something like this:*

*Oh love, if thou and I could with faith conspire  
To grasp this sorry state of things entire  
Would not we shatter it to bits and build it closer to  
the heart's desire?*

*A lot of our conversation today is a wish-list, but not everything is a wish-list, is it? It is a wish to change things. I will be making five quick points.*

*The first point is a reaction to Professor Fresco's statements about sustainability. I am not in disagreement with her, but being an economist, I would just like to point out some trade-offs: you have a little more of this, and you have a bit less of that. And we are attuned to notions of our*

wealth, which is composed of three things: one is human wealth, which has to do with our skills and education, then there are the machines and buildings we have, and thirdly, we have natural wealth, which includes the environment, forests and various other natural and mineral resources. We have to be careful about adding to one kind of wealth without destroying another. Another point related to that is the fact that the industrial world probably owes a great deal of natural debt to the developing, non-industrial world, in the sense that the industrial world polluted the environment in their industrial revolution. Now they are asking the developing world not to do that anymore. When during the Latin-American debt crisis in the 1980s people claimed that these countries owed money to western banks, the west in fact owed money to nature. So here we have natural debt versus financial debt.

The second point I want to make is that I believe there's excessive concern with 'good institutions' in promoting development. Particularly in Pennsylvania Avenue, which is where the World Bank, the IMF, the US Department of Treasury and the White House are, this idea of 'good institutions' is almost a kind of institutional fundamentalism, which has replaced the old monetarist dialogue which says 'if you control inflation, everything will be fine'. Now we say, 'No, no, no! Controlling inflation is not enough. You must have good institutions.' This means that liberalised countries in East Asia, for example, had problems, because they had bad institutions. So there is a kind of institutional fundamentalism. But we have seen that develop in a very peculiar way. There are many lawyers in this room. There is no concern with human rights anymore. Democratization is out. Dictatorships, benevolent dictatorships that promote property rights, are in. They are meant to be good for growth, and they are good for development, it is alleged.

Third, we have the big push fundamentalists. I wonder if any of you saw the BBC programme 'The Girl in the Cafe', which preceded the Gleneagle's G8 summit. This girl managed to sneak in through a boyfriend who was a treasury official. You saw lectures, hectoring, and the G8 prime ministers going on about children dying in Africa. Well, that is the big push fundamentalism,

led by Professor Sachs, and the former Secretary-General of the UN. We need more money. We need to double or triple aid. But aid is not about altruism, there is a different agenda. In the first proposition Prince Claus made when he accepted the fellowship for the ISS in 1988, we find that development cooperation could lead to dependency. So aid is not all about altruism, even though doubling aid would undoubtedly be very good for that purpose.

The fourth point I want to make is about civil war, conflict, and related issues. They are actually on their way down. They are not as bad as they were ten years ago. There are fewer civil wars. But there is this tendency to blame the South: there are these greedy individuals there. And there's another tendency in political science to go for a kind of primordialist conflict, because there are these primordialist cultural wars between, say, Islam and the west, and so on. I just do not believe that. And I think there are palpable material reasons based on historical and present-day injustices why all of these conflicts take place.

The fifth and final point I would like to make is about growth, poverty and inequality. What are these things all about? Growth, briefly, is the cake getting bigger. Inequality is about how we slice the cake. And poverty is about people not getting even a morsel, or getting only crumbs. When we look at Africa's growth tragedy, the good sign is that it is over. The countries are beginning to grow at reasonable rates. Asia has got the highest growth. The Middle East is a region which is very peculiar. It has low growth with low poverty and low inequality. Sometimes it manages to reduce poverty without growing. And it has similar levels of income to Latin-American countries, with much less poverty than in Latin-American countries. But the world is becoming very unequal. Professor Fresco said we have unbelievable standards. The day before yesterday I was watching the BBC news on television, and they said that the amount made by the top ten fund managers is equal to the GDP of Jordan, the national wealth of Jordan. It is not so much about the middle. People in the middle are doing fine, and people in the top are doing extremely well, and people at the bottom are not doing so well. What is definitely happening is, as far as countries are concerned, that they are becoming more and more unequal. The gap between

the richest and poorest countries is increasing. And that is related to what Amina Mama said about cultures disappearing if this gap continues to expand.

Finally, I would like to say something about poverty. Different people have different ways of defining poverty. What does it mean? As a (bad-guy!) economist, I measure it as one dollar a day in purchasing power parity, which is adjusted for the cost of living across countries. It is going down. But it is becoming an urban phenomenon, from being a rural phenomenon. In vastly populated countries like China and India, urban poverty is growing faster than rural poverty, partially because people are moving to the city.

Let me end by quoting roughly something which the Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping said when he was moving his country away from the communist system to the liberal market system which produced such good results, give or take bad or good institutions. So what if there was a bit of corruption? Countries have done well when they were very corrupt, so all this talk about corruption and governance is a bit inflated in my view. As he was liberalising the agricultural sector, he said, 'To get rich is glorious. Do it.'

### Reflections of Professor Nasira Jabeen

Professor Fresco has very candidly highlighted the need for approaching sustainable development as a multilateral issue, both globally and nationally, at institutional and individual levels. She has rightly said that sustainability requires new cultural values that transcend countries, class and religion, and allow us to view the complexities of our individual decisions as well as to take collective responsibilities for others, elsewhere and in the future. What are those values? And what are the challenges of adopting those values? What are the questions that need to be addressed by development scholars? However, I would emphasise equity as the basic value of sustainability, which needs to be understood multilaterally and practised at all levels beyond rhetoric. This will require a fundamental change in the way individuals, groups, societies, organisations and governments view each other. Equity and fairness require that we act and function in these arenas at human level,

considering human bonds as the most important ones.

Taking humanity at the centre stage requires us to move away from self-centred designs to collective interest in the world, which is divided and being further divided globally and nationally on the basis of religion, class, region and gender. Thus, sustainability requires pursuit of development and equity with fundamental concern for human rights, human security, human dignity and wealth for all. This is a precept which is universally accepted, but very difficult to implement. One of the major challenges in the application of the concept is ethnocentrism in development thinking. Theories, concepts and models such as governance, which were formulated in the developed world, are transplanted in developing countries with little or no effort towards contextualising them. In the absence of enough capacity of social research in developing countries, these models are unquestioned and undebated. With aid-driven development interventions without a long-term indigenous vision for development, many countries fail to produce sustainable development with equity.

Prince Claus expressed his heartfelt concern for development with equity and human dignity. He envisioned a world free from injustice and inequity and devoted his whole life to pursue this mission. He was a strong advocate of using indigenous models and approaches, which he thought was not possible without inclusion and participation of people to direct their energies from within their own cultural context. Prince Claus's vision of equity and development, and indeed sustainable development, will only be carried through in the developing world if local universities are capable of conducting research while contextualising and indigenising the development thinking and while acting as critical observers of the development process in their own countries. It will not be possible without long-term cooperation between research institutions in the developed and the developing world, so that knowledge can be shared. Sustainable development calls for dialogue, interaction, sharing between countries and regions as the basis for institutionalised, transboundary and multilateral connections. Internalising the spirit of the Prince Claus Chair in terms of advancement

of research and teaching in this field, I have used my time during my stay here to create a bridge between the institutions of higher learning in the Netherlands and in Pakistan. I gave my inaugural lecture on the same theme, and building on that, I have outlined a research programme to be carried out in Pakistan with the help of higher institutions of learning at Utrecht School of Governance, the Institute of Social Studies and research schools such as CERES. I shared my initial thoughts with colleagues at all these institutions and received tremendous support, in addition to their personal warmth and hospitality. So I believe that in the days to come, we plan to institutionalise the whole effort to contribute more meaningfully to the global discourse on development and equity. On behalf of my university and millions of poor people in my country, I thank the Curatorium of the Prince Claus Chair for providing me the opportunity to advance the cause of development and equity in my part of the world.

### Reflections of Professor Gaspar Rivera-Salgado

I would like to focus on three areas that I think are important in this debate on development and equity, and especially in light of the remarks of Professor Fresco. First, we need to consider our position as to how we see and how we understand development – as a live experience, not as an abstract concept. How do people experience development? Coming from Latin America, I think we have a lot to share. Latin America has been a test ground for experimentation, for any new thoughts on development. In the 1950s, we experimented with the Green Revolution, and the promise was that this was going to cure all the ills and poverty in countries. However, it led to disastrous consequences. Vast tracks of land were burnt due to the many chemicals that were applied to those cultivation fields. This meant they were useless after only ten years of being used. The Green Revolution in the technological innovation, especially in agriculture, had a short-lived experience. Then, Latin America was prescribed another way out of poverty. The idea was to build protected economies. The idea was that if you build protected economies and protect your industries from the cheap imports from outside, you will be successful. Well, this led to another tremendously disastrous experience, especially in Mexico, where

whole industries were dependent on a protected market. They never innovated, and they never developed the capacity to be competitive at a global level. So that also came to an end. And then there was another recipe that came to be applied in Latin America, which was: ‘Open up your economies, the world is globalising, now is the time to participate in this new era’. So countries in Latin America, and especially Mexico again, opened up their protected economies and entered into an export-led experiment. The highest point of this achievement was under the Salinos administration in 1990, when Mexico signed the NAFTA agreement and opened up its economy, and its borders, to the influx of capital from the international world. Well, guess what? Twenty years later, that experiment is coming to an end, too – with yet more disastrous consequences for Mexico. The point of this is that we should reflect on how people experience development. Sometimes, global institutions make decisions and prescribe cures for the ills, without really looking at the live experiences of the subjects of these development ideas.

Second, in talking about development and equality, we also have to touch upon the issue of power and politics. Our countries and our people sometimes have to live their lives and make decisions under circumstances not of their own choosing. And that is, I think, the uneven power in relationship between poor people and powerful people. That is what lies at the centre. And that is why, in Latin America, a lot of people do not believe in the great recipes coming from global corporations. But they do believe in the empowerment movement. And now we have a new wave in Latin America – a wave of gratuitous mobilisations, of people taking over the governments in trying their own experiments. For example, two very interesting countries, Venezuela and Bolivia, are now trying out new recipes to develop their own country. In the case of Venezuela, we have Mr Hugo Chavez, leading a populist regime. After all the disastrous experiences of the last fifty years, it seems he is trying to say ‘here we have a different kind of path, follow me’, starting a new Bolivarian revolution in Venezuela. Who knows what’s going to happen as a result of that experiment? A very similar experiment is happening in Bolivia, with Evo Morales recently elected president – an indigenous person, finally, leading the country. And that is

all promising new heights and new recipes for solving solve the problem. However, we should understand that these countries, and especially these politicians, sometimes had to make decisions under circumstances not of their own choosing. Let me remind you of a famous remark made by a fellow academic who went into politics and led Brazil, Mr Cardoso, a famous economist. He actually developed a theory that was very popular in Latin America: the dependency theory. And, like many other academics who think they have the answer to everything, he said, ‘Choose me, I am an economist, and if you want to get out of poverty, you’d better choose an economist for president’. Well, his experiment lasted six years and Brazil was in very bad shape afterwards. So it is not just about a rational approach to the economy. We have to understand that economic pulses take place in a context where there are uneven power relationships – there are people who **have** power and people who do **not have** power. We must address that.

My third point concerns the cultural dimension of development. Here, I think, Prince Claus was very committed to bringing a human dimension to development. In all of his propositions he mentions that culture is very important. And he also said that ‘people cannot be developed from the outside. They need to develop from the inside.’ An inspiration for me in my inaugural address was that he said: ‘an awareness of one’s own cultural identity in the past is a fundamental condition for sustainable autonomous development’. I think that poor people do not want to see just economic growth. They do not only want to see affluence, but they also aspire to be free. They aspire to have an economic and governmental system that responds to their human needs – one that is not just driven by formulaic recipes that only apply to the larger economy. The fundamental lesson Prince Claus has taught us is that we need to humanise our discourse on development. We have to remember that we are talking about people: people’s dreams and people’s aspirations. So I would like to emphasise that the cultural and human dimension of economic development is a very important area of focus for the debate.

Finally, I would like to close by building on Professor Fresco’s presentation, using Borges as a metaphor for the search for knowledge; the search

for a very specific volume that will contain the answers to everything. Of course, the search takes place in this infinite library, and there are many paths that we can follow that will lead nowhere. And there is also a tragedy in Borges’ short story, which is that many people who are in search of the real truth die, because they take false leads, and I think that is another caution that emerges from that short story of Borges.

### Reflections of Professor Rema Hammami

For me, too, one of the most important insights of Prince Claus was his insistence on the importance of culture to development: ‘an awareness of one’s own cultural identity and past is a fundamental prerequisite for autonomous development’. My emphasis on part of that statement is different from Gaspar Rivera-Salgado’s. What I find so resonant in that statement made by Prince Claus for our current situation in the Middle East is how he saw the crucial connection between culture, identity and most of all history. What he was saying was the culture necessary for sustainable development is one that is rooted in people’s sense of their own past, while positively connecting them to who they are in the present.

Today, in the Middle East, we are witnessing a crisis of unprecedented proportions, a crisis whose obvious contours you see in the media, a series of ongoing violent conflicts that seem to be emanating from this recent series of devastating wars. Now, sadly, the region has known war all too well over the last three quarters of a century. But in the past, our societies have always found the capacity to survive, rebuild and ultimately transcend the destructive impacts of war. Not just once, but over and over and over again. So what is different now? There’s a feeling that there’s something unprecedented going on in our region in this new epoch of war. I think what it implies is that we are witnessing the loss of our ability throughout the region to sustain the relationship between our past understandings of ourselves and our present circumstances and ways of being. Identity, culture and history are becoming radically de-linked from each other in the region. By history here I mean ‘how do we make rational sense of our circumstances, including the causes and the consequences, and how can we think about future

possibilities?'. On the one hand, our sense of our history in that sense has been erased, and on the other hand it has been taken hostage between two contending and very powerful and destructive forces determining the lives of people in the region. On the one hand, there are the doctrines of the neo-liberal and neo-conservative think tanks with their smart bums and good-governance packages, who decided to come and liberate, democratise or reform us. What should all be very good words has become part of an arsenal of weapons that, among other things, fundamentally erases our own projects of liberation and struggles for democratisation that have been central to our understanding of ourselves, to our historical experience and our understanding of ourselves over the past half century. On the other hand, we face what we could call the 'new doctrinaires' – those in our region whose notion of our history is simply a long list of grievances and nostalgia for some lost golden age; whose notion of our present is that the enemy is within and without, and therefore the enemy is whoever does not adhere to their fatal project for our future.

In this overwhelming lack of space between these two forces, sustainable development has come to reside for many of us in a sort of far-off world of past imaginaries. And in the present it has been reduced to basic hope of some form of sustainable survival, of sustainable human survival, as human beings. Equity, justice, sustainable development and even sustainable sharing of the world's limited resources cannot be achieved without emplacing each and any one of these projects in people's real histories. By this I mean linking them to the ways that people make sense of their present and possible futures from critical and rational readings of their past struggles, failures and achievements.

After these reflections, discussions were held among the panel and the audience on several themes related to development and equity: the women's movement; the need to promote human dignity as being prior to equity; the role of migrants to bring about new forms of sustainability, and finally the idea that reduction of poverty can be reached only by equitable economic growth in the low-income countries.

### Professor Bas de Gaay Fortman

We can look back on a very rich panel discussion reflecting upon development and equity. Professor Fresco put the notion of sustainable development at the centre, and it is clear to all of us that we live in a serious predicament – one that is hidden from the lives of most of us. It does not have any immediate personal effect on us, and we do not notice it. Many of us will remember a Christmas speech by Queen Beatrix in which she said 'slowly the earth will fade away'. Prince Claus responded by saying 'I think humankind will die slowly'. That is the predicament that forms the whole context of our search for sustainable development – development that can sustain the earth as well as human beings.

A condition with which we were strongly confronted this afternoon is equity. We need new visions, we need new structures. Just formulating goals will not be enough. As Professor Fresco outlined, goals need structures – and this applies to the United Nations system, the regional and national systems of government and to the way we organise our international economy. In this, the way in which we understand our history and our cultural identity is very important. It was a real pleasure to see how the Prince Claus chair holders have been able to connect these two normative settings of culture and development that were so important in the life of Prince Claus.

### Princess Máxima

Thank you all for being here, thank you for listening, thank you for your questions, thank you for giving such good responses to our keynote speaker and to our chair holders. Thank you, Professor Fresco, for your excellent keynote address on sustainability, the chair holders for all their contributions.



H.R.H. Crown Prince Willem-Alexander in discussion with Professor Louise O. Fresco.





## THE CURATORIAM OF THE PRINCE CLAUS CHAIR

The procedure for the appointment of a candidate to the Prince Claus Chair is carried out by the Curatorium of the Chair. In 2007, the composition of the Curatorium was as follows:

- Princess Máxima of the Netherlands (Chair);
- Professor Bas de Gaay Fortman (Vice Chair), Professor of Political Economy of Human Rights, Utrecht University;
- Professor Willem Hendrik Gispen, Rector Magnificus of Utrecht University (until October 2007);
- Professor Hans Stoof, Rector Magnificus of Utrecht University (as of October 2007);
- Professor Louk de la Rive Box, Rector of the Institute of Social Studies.

Dr Joop Kessels is Secretary of the Curatorium.

## SELECTION, NOMINATION AND APPOINTMENT PROCEDURES

### GENERAL

The Prince Claus Chair alternates annually between Utrecht University and the ISS. Holders are appointed for one academic year and reside at the institute in question for three months, normally from April to June. Prior to the selection and appointment of the candidate, the Curatorium identifies the main themes or topics for the period in question. The Curatorium then suggests potential candidates to the appropriate institute, and the rector appoints a selection committee. This committee confidentially proposes two or more candidates to the Curatorium, which then nominates one candidate to be appointed to the Chair by the institute.

### CRITERIA

The Curatorium has decided to apply the following criteria in the search for and the nomination of the candidates:

#### 1. REINFORCING THE OBJECTIVE OF THE PRINCE CLAUS CHAIR

The Curatorium must:

- Keep alive the thoughts of Prince Claus on culture and development by selecting themes and/or issues which are relevant to research and teaching at Utrecht University and/or the ISS;
- Select themes/issues that are up to date (e.g., international relations, sociology, economics, human rights, conflict and peace, governance, culture and religion, sustainable development, health care);
- Ensure sufficient variation in themes/issues in subsequent years;
- Nominate candidates from different regions (Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean or the Pacific) and ensure sufficient variation in the gender and regional background of the candidates in subsequent years.

#### 2. OUTREACH PROGRAMME

The nomination must take into account:

- The candidate's possibilities to attract students and to facilitate academic cooperation.
- The possibilities of an outreach programme within the academic community of Utrecht University, the ISS and the Netherlands.

### 3. THE CANDIDATE

Candidates for nomination must:

- Have expertise in one or more aspects of development, have affinity with the subject of culture and development, and be inspiring for colleagues, students and the general public;
- Have a strong academic profile and play an active role in civil life;
- As a rule, be younger than 45 years of age;
- Take a multidisciplinary approach;
- Be willing and able to contribute to an outreach programme;
- Work in or originate from Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean or the Pacific;
- Be fluent in the English language;
- Add new contacts to the existing networks of Utrecht University and the ISS.

### PARTICIPATING INSTITUTES

The Prince Claus Chair in Development and Equity was established by Utrecht University and the Institute of Social Studies (ISS).



Universiteit Utrecht



#### UTRECHT UNIVERSITY

Founded in 1636, Utrecht University is a large and multi-faceted knowledge centre that provides teaching and research of a high international standard. With over 26,000 students and 8,600 staff (including Medicine), Utrecht University is the largest university in the Netherlands, with expertise in almost every academic field. The University coordinates 26 research schools, including CERES (part of the Interuniversity Research School for Resource Studies for Development) and the School of Human Rights Research.

Utrecht University is involved in a wide variety of academic fields in both teaching and research, and is particularly active in joint research with other universities and research organisations and institutes both inside and outside the Netherlands.

For more information, please visit [www.uu.nl](http://www.uu.nl).

#### INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL STUDIES (ISS)

The ISS is an international institute of higher education in social and economic change, with a focus on development processes. It was founded in 1952 by the universities of the Netherlands to assist in the training and further education of professionals, especially those from developing countries. Over 10,000 students from more than 160 countries have studied at the Institute. On average, nearly 400 students attend the ISS every year to follow an MA or PhD programme or a shorter course. The ISS has some 150 employees.

The ISS is one of the five main international educational institutes in the Netherlands (along with the IHE, the IHS, the ITC and the MSM), each of which focuses on a different academic field. The ISS focuses on the Social Sciences and is one of the leading centres for Development Studies in Europe. The Institute is deeply rooted in the academic community in the Netherlands through participation in the CERES research school and through joint teaching programmes.

For more information, please visit [www.iss.nl](http://www.iss.nl).

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