INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT POLICIES AND GLOBAL SECURITY

Vanessa Pupavac
School of Politics and International Relations,University of Nottingham, UK

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This entry presents a historical account of international development approaches and their relation to global security concerns during the Cold War and post-Cold War eras. First the entry discusses the rise of international development and Cold War modernisation models after the Second World War. Second it lays out Western reservations towards industrialising developing countries and how modernisation policies were conditioned by the Cold War context. Third the entry explores the shift from modernisation theories to sustainable development theories and efforts to ameliorate the impact of structural adjustment programmes. Fourth the entry outlines the state's revival and the emerging forms of global governance in the shift from structural adjustment programmes to poverty reduction strategy papers. Fifthly, the entry considers the concept of human security, which directly links development and global security policies, and discusses its implications for international relations between industrialised and developing countries. Finally the entry highlights the potential implications of the economic rise of China, India and the other emerging economies for international development strategies.

1. Introduction

US President Truman's 1949 Inaugural Speech famously outlined his Four Point

Programme for humanity, which stated support for the United Nations and creation of international development strategies: we must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas.

Truman's speech concerned the postwar world order and directly linked international development and security concerns. Humanity had a moral duty to address poverty, but poverty was also 'a threat to both' poorer nations and 'to more prosperous areas'. Truman's Four Point Program reiterated US President Roosevelt's 1941 Four Freedoms speech, which endorsed US involvement in the Second World War and the United Nations wartime alliance. Roosevelt's third freedom from want linked 'economic understandings' and securing 'to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants'.

The presidential programs are commonly cited in introductions to the subject of international development. They demonstrate how international development policies from their inauguration have been linked to global security concerns. This entry presents a historical account of international development approaches and their relationship to global security issues during the Cold War and post-Cold War eras.

First the entry discusses the rise of international development and Cold War modernisation models after the Second World War. Second it lays out Western reservations towards industrialising developing countries and how modernisation policies were conditioned by the Cold War context. The entry highlights Western cultural ambivalence towards modernity and its influences on international development thinking. Third the entry explores the shift from modernisation theories to sustainable development theories and efforts to ameliorate the impact of structural adjustment programmes. Fourth the entry outlines the state's revival and the emerging forms of global governance in the shift from structural adjustment programmes to poverty reduction strategy papers. Fifthly, the entry considers the concept of human security, which directly links development and global security policies, and discusses its implications for international relations between industrialised and developing countries. Finally the entry highlights the potential implications of the economic rise of China, India and the other emerging economies for international development strategies.

2. Rise of Modernisation Theories

International development policy emerged in the context of national independence struggles and Cold War competition between the Western and Soviet blocs for influence in the newly independent states. The post-1945 international order was based on national sovereignty and state capacity to guarantee their own security. Western policy-makers were concerned firstly with the destabilising impact of weak pre-industrial states on this international order, and secondly securing the new states to the Western bloc. The question was: How could the newly independent states be developed to become stable and self-sustaining without constituting new security threats to the West, whether in their own right or as loyal members of the Soviet bloc?

Western thinking was torn between Cold War fears and unspoken racial anxieties.

Western policy-makers were fearful that the international balance of power was slipping away from them with the ascendancy of formerly subject peoples in Asia and Africa, including demographically (Furedi, 1998). These anxieties built on fears of the masses and their new political role in the mass societies created through industrialisation, urbanisation and the erosion of tradition, which the new science of social psychology sought to address (Dollard et al, 1939; LeBon, 1995, Oretga y Gasset, 1961).

Western policy-advisors repeatedly warned of competing with the Soviets for the hearts and minds of the South. The economist J.K. Galbraith observed how: 'It was accepted in the 1950s that if the poor countries were not rescued from their poverty, the Communists would take over' (Galbraith, 1979, pp. 30-31). Indicative of the security concerns underlying economic development policy, the government advisor Walt Rostow's famous treatise on *The Stages of Economic Growth* is subtitled *A Non-Communist Manifesto* (1960) As Rostow and Max Millikan stated in a report to the director of the CIA Allen Dulles in 1954:

Where men's energies can be turned constructively and with some prospect of success to the problems of expanding standards of living in a democratic framework we believe that attractions of totalitarian forms of government will be much reduced (Milikan and Rostow in Simpson, 1998, p. 41).

Western qualms over the destabilising impact of development for the existing international order were suppressed by concerns that if the West did not promote an ambitious international industrial development programme then the new states would turn communist. Its model of modernisation was to promote Westernisation and secure the developing countries to the Western bloc. The problem was considered urgent in Asia where if countries were to be brought:

more effectively into the free world alliance they must believe that the U.S. interest in Asia is not confined merely to our top priority concern – military security – but authentically extends to their top priority concern – economic development (ibid., p. 54).

Having accepted the necessity of promoting economic development, Western policy-makers hoped that reducing the economic development gap between states would also reduce ideological differences and promote international consensus around the values of the advanced Western industrial states (Etzioni, 1962, p. 203). This problem, Galbraith warned, would exist even without the Soviet threat:

Were the Russians to disappear from the world, or become overnight as intractable as church mice, there would remain vast millions of hungry and discontented people in the world. Without the promise of relief from that hunger and privation, disorder would still be inevitable (Galbraith, 1962, p. 283).

Development thinking complimented Western postwar domestic policy, which drew political legitimacy from economic prosperity. Rostow's highest stage of growth corresponds to a mass consumer society (Rostow, 1960). The 'engineering of consent', drawing upon social psychology, was based on citizens' identification with the mass

consumer products of capitalism elaborated by political advisers such as Edward Bernays, pioneer of public relations and Sigmund Freud's nephew (Bernays, 1956) (*For an excellent documentary which discusses the engineering of consent through consumerism, see Adam Curtis' The Century of the Self, first broadcast on BBC2, March 2003*).

The major debates of the first two decades after the Second World War accepted the necessity of supporting international economic development. International economic development goals ambitiously aimed at the industrialisation of the newly independent states, designated as *developing* countries. Development thinking revolved around the difficulties of generating economic take-off and urban industrial development; questioning whether it should be pursued was not acceptable internationally.

Modernisation strategies only enjoyed two decades of official Western support: the 1950s and 1960s. From the late 1960s Western official policies incrementally retreated from a goal of industrialising developing countries. As most developing countries did not become independent until the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, they only experienced a short period during which modernisation strategies dominated official Western international development approaches. Even in the heyday of modernisation strategies, developing counties found it very difficult to secure foreign capital investment, except if they were in areas such as the Asia-Pacific region of strategic importance to the rival superpowers interest. The development literature repeatedly observed over the decades that the countries, which received most development aid were consistently countries of strategic interest, not the poorest.

Developing countries witnessed significant economic growth in the first two decades of development until the mid-1970s, although development was uneven both between different states and within states. Industrial projects faltered in developing countries without comprehensive investment or aid strategies to establish adequate national infrastructures including sufficient power supplies, transport networks or urban housing and services to support the expanding urban populations. In the absence of adequate industrial or urban infrastructures, individual industrial projects became white elephants – industries located inappropriately for markets, machines lying idle without adequate energy supplies or spare parts. The development literature is replete with examples of abandoned schemes (see, for example, Clark, 1991).

However there were anxieties over the destabilising impact of development. The WHO's constitution refers to the problem of people's capacity to live harmoniously in a time of rapid social change. These concerns were explored in the UN Tensions and Technology research series, later entitled Technology and Society, whose authors included the anthropologist Margaret Mead (Mead, 1953). Western security thinking promoted research on the functionality of societies experiencing rapid change. Western anthropology, area studies and political science literature studied 'the Third World mind', the difficulty of nation-building and establishing a democratic political culture, especially in strategically important Asian countries (Benedict, 1946; Pye, 1962; Pye and Verba, 1965). Psychosocial risk studies such as the aborted Camelot project sought to evaluate the contributory factors for Third World revolution, although they were not well received internationally (Herman, 1995, pp. 124-173). Overall such psychological

operation programmes were marginalised in UN development approaches, which embraced rapid growth in the 1950s and 1960s.

3. Modernisation and Culture

The attitudes towards modernisation in developing countries were studied because it was contended that having a modern culture was vital to economic development (Ikeles and Smith, 1974, p. 9)**.** Theorists prioritised different sections of society. Rostow highlighted the elite's identification with modernisation as a desirable goal (Rostow, 1960, p. 26). Galbraith stressed the attitudes of the population as a whole, proposing literacy as a tool for raising aspirations (Galbraith, 1964).

The problem of capital investment fuelled policy concern over the cultural disposition of developing societies. Developing countries were advised to concentrate national resources on economic investment to improve productivity, and limit population growth and social welfare spending. Western modernisation advisers repeatedly stated that population growth drained national capital and called for population controls (Myrdal, 1968). Family planning programmes were promoted, along with other public education initiatives, to foster populations' backing for modernisation strategies.

Western governments were far more willing to offer technical expertise than capital investment, although the quality of the technical advice offered was sharply criticized (Curle, 1971, p. 48; Galbraith, 1964). Technical advice was cheaper than capital investment, and reflected Western priorities. The focus on population control chimed with Western security concerns over losing the demographic race; security thinking had historically linked demography to national strength (Furedi, 1997). Unsurprisingly foreign advisers who propounded cultural explanations for a nation's poverty could be negatively received, especially where they advised on limiting population growth. The very status of foreign technical advisers could be viewed as a 'veiled insult' (Curle, 1971, p. 48), and population control advice risked racist charges (Galbraith, 1979, p. 39).

The preference for technical expertise, targeting the attitudes of populations, has persisted over the decades. Yet there are significant differences in the cultural and personal traits viewed as desirable in Western development thinking of the period discussed above and the contemporary era. Fifty years ago the desirable character to be cultivated was the rational ambitious moderniser, inoculating the individual against the perceived irrationalism of mass society as well as challenging the atavistic remnants of traditional society (Kornhauser, 1960, p. 109). This conception of the ideal citizen as an ambitious moderniser is in sharp contrast to the ecologically sensitive modest personality of today's sustainable development model. Strikingly earlier economic discussions concerned how to raise the aspirations of populations so that they would actively foster economic growth (Rostow, 1971, p. 26). David McClelland's *The Achieving Society* (1960) strove to identify the 'mental virus' making individuals want to achieve and drive economic growth and 'infect' others with the need to achieve. Galbraith highlighted the need to tackle the poor's accommodation to poverty, their 'absence of aspiration' and 'tendency to prefer acquiescence to frustration' (Galbraith, 1979, pp. 61-62).

Industrialisation and urbanisation were treated internationally as desirable goals, not antithetical to social justice, but essential for its realisation. Galbraith, although one of the first prominent economists to question affluence as a social goal, repeatedly argued that industrialisation was a sound way of attacking rural poverty by offering people both alternative sources of income and alternative ways of life that challenged acceptance of rural poverty as inevitable (Galbraith, 1979: 61-63, 108-110). This view was held among the Bretton Woods institutions and the international welfare organizations, such as UNICEF as the leading international child agency. UNICEF redefined itself as a development agency because of the strong link made between industrialisation and advancing a population's welfare. Consequently UNICEF reports of the period viewed government policy prioritising national economic growth as compatible with child welfare concerns (UNICEF, 1964). It was almost regarded as an economic law then that 'the poorer the country, the greater the difference between poor and rich' (Myrdal, 1956, p. 133), a presumption that later sustainable development or human development approaches have challenged.

In the first two decades of international development, rural poverty was the great evil to be eradicated. Urban poverty, however visible, was regarded in the optimistic progressive outlook as a lesser evil to rural poverty and a condition whose extremes were a transitory feature of a dynamic industrialising economy – moreover one that also provided its own checks. Mobile urban populations had greater expectations of well-being and opportunities for political engagement, and therefore to articulate and defend their interests. Not least they could riot to put pressure on governments. However these very advantages that the urban poor enjoyed over their rural cousins also held the potential of leading to political radicalisation during industrialisation.

Policy-makers were concerned over modernisation's impact on the stability of societies from the inception of international development, as the WHO's Constitution testifies. Urbanisation processes were studied with interest. Various large international conferences were held on the subject in the 1950s, prominently the UN/UNESCO 1956 seminar on urbanisation in Asia and the Middle East and the UN/UNESCO 1959 seminar on urbanisation in Latin America with the UN Bureau of Social Affairs, the ILO and OAS and the Economic Commission for Latin America (Hauser, 1961). Urbanisation studies repeatedly warned that although urbanization was evident in the spectacular growth of cities, urbanism in the sense of civic values was less evident (Ginsburg, 1966: 151-163; Nelson, 1969; Miner, 1967). Urban expansion was becoming associated with social problems, epitomised in the vast squatter settlements developing around cities. Western analysts worried that achieving a sense of identity would be more difficult and perplexing in an urban world (Wood, 1966, p. 51). Modernisation eroded traditional ties and disorientated individuals, and exposed them to new desires and anxieties, which disposed people to violent behaviour to escape from the tensions in their lives (Smelser, 1966: 123) (Kornhauser, 1960, p. 32). Studies further suggested that the developing nations faced more complex problems in achieving a stable identity under modernization because they had to address the impact of colonial rule on people's sense of identity and develop new postcolonial national identities (Curle, 1971, p. 40). Analysts worried that developing countries were too future-orientated and destroying traditional communal ties, which would fuel politically dangerous unrest in their bid for

modernisation (Smelser, 1966, p. 130). Urbanization studies spoke of a 'revolution of rising frustrations' (Lerner, 1967, p. 28) and warned of modernization promoting 'social dissatisfaction and revolutionary consciousness' (Berger et al, 1974, p. 122). The 1973 oil crisis, when oil-producing countries demanded changed international trade terms, suggested the West's vulnerability to more confident developing countries, which could prevent Western access to raw materials.

But even before alarm over the risks of political radicalisation of the Third World for international security became manifest, Western debates on the impact of technological advancement on their own societies cast doubt on international modernisation strategies. Initially doubts over modernisation were over how machinery would create unemployment. Later scepticism involved environmentalist critiques of technological progress.

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Biographical Sketch

Dr Vanessa Pupavac has Bachelor of Arts degree in Russian and Serbo-Croatian from the University of Nottingham awarded in 1988 and a doctorate awarded in 2000. She also studied the Law Society Finals at Leeds Polytechnic awarded in 1990 and completed her legal training in 1992.

She has previously worked for the United Nations. She has published widely on international aid and human rights. She received the 2003 Otto Klineberg Award for *'the best paper or article of the year on intercultural or international relations'*. Recent articles include Vanessa Pupavac, 'Refugee Advocacy, Traumatic Representations and Political Disenchantment' in the journal *Government and Opposition* in 2008, and Vanessa Pupavac, 'Changing International Health Policy and Changing International Development Goals', in *New Sociology of Health and Illness* edited by David Wainwright in 2008.

She is currently a lecturer in the School of Politics and International Relations at the University of Nottingham, United Kingdom.