
SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
MARYLAND LEADERSHIP INSTITUTE, SUMMER 2008
POLICY SEMINAR II: Ethics, Development, and Foreign Aid
July 14-25, 2008
Van Munching Hall 1203

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Course Webpage:

Links to readings listed in the syllabus will be posted on the course website.
www.wam.umd.edu/~dcrocker/Courses/MLI2008DevPol.html. This is noted as “website” below.

I. Aims of the Course

This course examines the empirical, conceptual, and ethical dimensions of local, national, and international development policies. Students will read portions of Nobel prize winner Amartya Sen’s *Development as Freedom*, and the class will focus on ethical assessment of the ends and means of development (such as the demands for distributive justice and democracy), how relevant these ideals are for developing countries, how they might be effectively implemented, and what kinds of leadership and citizenship are most appropriate in different contexts. Specifically, students will be challenged to analyze the present character of development in poor countries/regions and determine how development *should* be conceived, what development strategies are best, and what should be the ends and means of U.S. and global foreign aid and development assistance.

These general issues will be addressed in relation to a concrete case: the economic and political challenges confronting Ecuador, especially its native peoples such as the Huaorani. Among Ecuador’s problems, arguably, are national indebtedness, poor balance of payments, environmental destruction (often caused by international oil companies), poverty and ill health, violence (ethnic conflict and drug-trafficking), gender inequality, a shallow democracy, problematic leadership, and the loss of cultural traditions. The course will consider several perspectives on the Huaorani, including the left-liberal book *Savages* and video *Trinkets*

and Beads, and the conservative video *Beyond the Gates of Splendor*. These materials will be supplemented with more recent (since 1996) internet and news sources on Ecuador, the Ecuadorian Amazon, and the Huaorani tribe.

A high point of the course will be a simulation exercise – an “Asamblea” in the Huaorani territory. Students, working within 12 groups, will take on the roles of representatives of major stakeholders (the Huaorani, other tribes, national and international NGOs, the Ecuadorian government, multinational oil companies, USAID, or OAS) and together deliberate on what are the best development policies for Ecuadorian Amazon. Each group will help decide which role it will play in the Asamblea, do the research for the role, and select one of its members to play that role. On a due date following the Asamblea, each student will submit a written policy memo (in her own voice) analyzing and evaluating the competing options for the region and recommending one option as best.

**Please note: there are readings due the day of the site visit to the Organization of American States. Please treat this as a class session and come prepared to participate in the discussion.

II. Required Books

- Joe Kane, *Savages*, 2nd . Ed, (New York: Vintage 1996)
- Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom* (Harvard University Press, 1999).
- Selected handouts and items on class website

III. Grading

Daily participation (quantity and quality)	33 1/3 %
Huaorani Asamblea (presentation and discussion)	33 1/3%
Policy memo	33 1/3%

IV. Course Outline

Pre-Course Readings and Responsibilities

- Read, Joe Kane, *Savages*, 2nd ed., Joe Kane, *Savages*, pp. 3-255, Epilogue to Vintage Edition (1996), *Savages Update -2001* (website), Joe Kane Correspondence-2001 (website)
- Your group for the Asamblea will be the same as your group for the final presentations on July 31 (see “Guidelines for Final Presentations”). After Security Policy ends and before Development Policy begins, your assignment has been to read Joe Kane’s *Savages*. By noon, Sunday, July 13, each group must submit by email to Stacy Kosko three choices (in order of preference) for a role it will research and one of its members will play (see Asamblea Instructions and role options). Roles will be announced in the first class session, Monday, July 14.

Session I (Monday, July 14, 2-5 p.m.): What is the Ethics of Development? Ethical Issues in Ecuadorian and Indigenous Development? How is Ecuador Doing?

Required Readings:

- Review, Joe Kane, *Savages*, 2nd ed., Joe Kane, *Savages*, pp. 3-255, Epilogue to Vintage Edition (1996), *Savages Update -2001* (website), Joe Kane Correspondence-2001 (class website)
- Center for Global Development, “Rich World, Poor World: A Guide to Global Development” (www.cgdev.org).
- David A. Crocker, “Development Ethics and Globalization,” *Philosophy & Public Policy Quarterly*, 22, 4 (Fall 2002): 13-21. Hand out, class website, and www.puaf.umd.edu/IPPP/Quarterly.
- Sen, *Development as Freedom*, Preface, Introduction
- CIA or USAID websites for Ecuador Country facts or profile.
www.usaid.gov/locations/latin_america_caribbean.country/Ecuador
www.usaid.ec/portal
www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geus/ec.html

Discussion:

- What ethical and policy issues does *Savages* raise about Ecuadorian development and indigenous well-being and agency?
- What is global development and why does it matter (to the US)?
- What is development ethics and how does it relate to the development science, politics, and policy?
- What are the basic economic, social, political, cultural, and environmental facts relevant for judging how Ecuador and its indigenous peoples are doing?

Session II (Tuesday, July 15, 2:30-4:30) Site Visit: Organization of American States. Topic: “Latin American Development and Indigenous Peoples: Ethical Challenges”

Required Readings:

- Organization of American States website “The OAS as a Glance” and “The Rights of Indigenous Peoples” (http://www.oas.org/key_issues/eng/default.asp)
- Rodolfo Stavenhagen, “Indigenous Peoples: An Essay on Land, Territory, Autonomy, and Self-determination,” (website and www.landaction.org/display.php?article=327) (A longer version is available at hdr.undp.org/docs/publications/background-papers/2004)

Optional Readings

- Organization of American States, “*Report on the Situation on the Human Rights in Ecuador*,” Introduction and Chapter IX (class website)

Discussion:

- **What is the current OAS policy toward indigenous peoples in Latin America and how should it be assessed and, if necessary, improved?**

Session III (Wednesday, July 16, 9-12 a.m.): What is (Good) Development? Who Should Decide?

Required Readings:

- Sen, *Development as Freedom*, chaps. 1-2
- David A. Crocker, “Cross Cultural Communication and Development Ethics,” (hand out and class website) plus addendum

Optional Readings:

- Kenyan Pictorial Summary of *Development as Freedom*, chaps. 1-2 (class website)

Discussion:

- How should “development” be defined? Who should decide and how?
- What are the leading theories of development, including their ethical assumptions and practical implications?

Session IV (Thursday, July 17, 2-5 p.m.): Huaorani Development: Alternative Views

Required Readings and Videos:

- The Conservative Missionary View. In-class Video: “Beyond the Gates of Splendor”
- The Radical View. Inclass Video: “Trinkets and Beads” and Joe Kane
- The Bolivian Model: Alma Guillermoprieto, “Bolivia’s New Order,” *National Geographic*, July 2008, 90-103: <http://ngm.nationalgeographic.com/2008/07/bolivias-new-order/alma-guillermoprieto-text/2>
- Huaorani views: www.saveamericasforests.org/yasuni/indigenous/documents/index, www.onhae.org
- Huaorani women’s view: (AMWAE) www.saveamericasforests.org/Yasuni/Indigenous/AMWAE/index
- A Quechua’s View: Daniel Zider Interview with Carlos Viteri: “Indigenous Community and Development”

Optional Readings:

- The Government View (explore Government of Ecuador website)
- Oil Company Views (explore Petrobras or Reposal website)
- A Quechua’s View (Carlos Viteri, IADB)
- Editorials in el Diario Hoy (2002) (class website)
- Vision del Desarrollo en La Amazonia (2000) (class website)
- “Gender and Development Projects in Indigenous Communities” (class website)

Discussion:

- Compare, contrast, and assess the two films and documents with respect to their diagnosis of and remedy for the Huaorani’s problems.
- What is the Ecuadorian government’s past and current policy toward the problems of indigenous well-being and the oil industry?
- What do the different indigenous groups contend ought to be done in the Oriente (and who ought to do it)?
- What is your view of the best way forward for Ecuador and its indigenous peoples?

Session V (Monday, July 21): Poverty, Inequality, Justice, and Human Rights

Required Readings:

- Sen, chaps. 3 (pp. 54-67, 70-81, 85-8), 4, 5 (pp. 142-45), 10

Optional Readings:

- Kenyan Pictorial Summary of *Development as Freedom*, chs. 3, 4, 5 (class website)

Discussion:

- “Have the Huaorani been treated justly by the oil companies and the Ecuadorian government?”
- “What do justice and human rights require in the Ecuadorian Amazon?”
- How should we understand ethically-justified development?

Session VI (Tuesday, 2-5 p.m., July 22): Asamblea

Session VII (Thursday, July 24, 2-5 p.m.): Democracy, Participation, and Development

- Sen, Chapters 6, 7 (pp. 189-92), 11 (pp. 249-54, 279-81), 12 (pp. 282-92)
- David A. Crocker, “Deliberative Participation in Local Development” (email; website)

Discussion:

- Should “Deliberative Participation” be institutionalized among all stakeholders in the Ecuadorian Amazon? Why? How?
- Should democracy and citizen participation be among the ends and means of good development?

Session VIII (Friday, July 25): What Should be Done in the Ecuadorian Amazon, Who Should Decide, and Who Should Do It?

Required Readings:

- Anti-Foreign Aid: William Easterly, “Was Development Assistance a Mistake?”
http://www.nyu.edu/fas/institute/dri/Easterly/File/Was_Development_Assistance_a_Mistake.pdf
- Pro-Foreign Aid: Nicholas Kristof, “Does Aid Work” (*New York Review of Books*) and “The Luckiest Girl,” (*New York Times*, July 3, 2008, A23).

Suggested Readings:

- World Bank, Organization of American States, Inter-American Development Bank:
 1. World Bank, “The World Bank and Indigenous Peoples” (class website)
 2. Inter-American Development Bank, “Operational Policy on Indigenous Peoples.” (class website)
- US Government: US Congress view:
www.saveamericasforests.org/yasuni/news/articles/7-6-05.US_Congress_Letter
- Ecuador’s Challenges and Options: Correa’s Sequestration Proposal

Discussion:

- What should the Huaorani do by themselves or with other groups?
- What should the Ecuadorian government do?
- What should the World Bank, IADB, USAID, the US government do?

V. Asamblea: (in class, Tuesday, July 22, 2-5 p.m.)

Setting the Scene: Luis Macas, the president of CONAIE (Confederación de las Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador) has called a meeting of all the actors and stakeholders in the Oriente of Ecuador. The question on the table is how the ends and means of “good development” should be conceived and “operationalized” for the Huaorani and region as a whole and especially for the territory in which the Huaorani live, including Maxus Block 16. What are the available options? Which is best? Who should decide?

Role Preferences and Group Formation. As prescribed in the *Guidelines for Final Presentations*,” by 12:00 noon, Sunday, July 13, each of the 12 groups formed for the Asamblea (and final presentations) will submit to Stacy Kosko their three choices (in order of preference) for the role they will play in the Asamblea, July 22. At the first class meeting, Monday, July 14, your group’s role will be announced. You may select roles with which you are in sympathy or antipathy.

Huaorani Asamblea Process:

Each group will decide on one speaker to represent the group as a whole, and this speaker will speak for no more than 5 minutes. At the conclusion of the 12 presentations to the Asamblea, Luis Macas will facilitate public deliberation about the best option and seek a reasonable consensus or, if necessary, take a vote (if not to select one option, at least to narrow the field). Initial speakers, in character, may depart from their opening views in and through the give and take of argument in order to try to bring “concord from discord” or find a solution which most all can live with. Negotiation and alliance formation as well as rational deliberation is permitted.

It will be up to your group to decide on only one of your group members to make the presentation in the Huaorani Asamblea, but each member of the team is expected to do the research (no free riders!), help prepare the presentation, and be ready to participate in the general deliberation following the 12 presentations. Each group member will be given a fair chance to contribute to the Asamblea’s deliberations. In the deliberation (give and take) period, do not read “canned” speeches but critically respond to the proposals and arguments of others and give your own in response. Together seek a reasonable solution that most participants can accept.

Proposals should be directed to the entire Asamblea, although a given proposal may emphasize special responsibilities for one “stakeholder” (Moi’s village, the Huaorani, ONHAE, a Company, the government, OAS, IADB) Each proposal should identify the practical problem to be resolved and then clarify and assess at least two options and defend which is the best option and what should be done to address the problem and by whom. Reasons may appeal both to values (ethical principles or criteria) and empirical data and be understandable to all participants. Following the 12 presentations, Luis Macas will facilitate a public discussion to deliberate the strengths and weaknesses of the various options and, if possible, decide by consensus or voting which is best. In this general discussion, all class members (still in role) are encouraged and will be given a chance to participate. The last portion of the time will be spent discussing the merits and demerits of the Asamblea as a method of social choice.

Asamblea Grading:

Each group will be evaluated collectively with respect to both the form (50%) and content (50%) of its presentation. The most effective speakers will not read their presentations (or, if they read, do so with good eye contact), but speak directly to the Asamblea in a clear and accessible

manner. Strive to back up your recommendations for action with compelling arguments. One collective grade will be given to each group, and no individual grades will be given. You will rise or fall together. Although you may not make your group's initial presentation, you will be able to contribute to your group in doing research, preparing the presentation, and participating in the deliberation itself.

Asamblea Research:

In addition to reviewing *Savages*, you will want to consult the website for post-1996 information, such as Huaorani Updates from Joe Kane, other items on the class web site other web sites, including the Huaorani's own website (www.onhae.org). Remember, the book was published in 1996 (although the updates are more recent) and researched even earlier. Much has happened in the meantime (as the websites show), and it is up to you to be as up to date as possible. We urge you to be resourceful researchers and good detectives in using the net (Google your character), telephone calls, and even interviews as you prepare for your roles and update us on the Huaorani. For example, in the past a group playing Judith Kimerling (212-777-2135) communicated with her for her views on Joe Kane and his book as well as her current views on the best options for the Huaorani. One group tried unsuccessfully to talk to Robert Kennedy, Jr. (concerning his current views of the Huaorani and his past involvement). The team representing an USAID spokesperson would want to talk to people at USAID working with Ecuador and any successor projects to SUBIR (referred to in *Savages*). What do representatives of the Embassy of Ecuador or current oil companies such as Petrobras now think of the Indigenous/Oil company conflict and what role the government might and should play? What is the current status of the Organization of American States (OAS) litigation case against the oil companies? What role does the University of Maryland's program in Sustainable Development and Conservation Biology (David Inouye) play in promoting Ecuador's petroleum sequestration proposal?

Think of this as a networking as well as research opportunity. (Remember, many important people love to talk about their ideas with students. Once you're on the job market, making these contacts will be much harder.)

Asamblea Timetable:

- Role Presentations: 1 hour, 12 presentations, no more than 5 minutes each (yellow card after 4 minutes and red card after 5 minutes).
- Break: 15 minutes
- Deliberation and decision: 45 minutes
- Evaluation of Asamblea: 30 minutes

Cast of Characters for Huaorani Asamblea (Each group is to list their first, second, and third preferences.) (Numbers in parenthesis refer to page numbers in *Savages*.)

1. Moi

- (Former) Vice-President of ONHAE (and past president)
- Moi believes that Huaorani should appropriate parts of their past in order to cope and survive, but also is willing to use modern tools and ideas.
- "If we do not stop the Company, the Huaorani will disappear forever"
- Led 1995 uprising (with Quichua) against Maxus and skirmish with Ecuadorian military.
- Participated in negotiations with Company and testified in OAS in DC.
- What is he doing now?

2. William Hutton

- General Manager of Maxus in Ecuador
- Evangelical Baptist: sees Block 16 as opportunity for both oil and missionary conversion (and helping Huaorani adapt to change, Maxus style)

3. Rachel Saint (her ghost or her son Steve)

- Missionary (director of Summer Institute of Linguistics, tasked by Government in the 1990's to be in charge of the Protectorate and Huaorani health and education)
- Goal: "civilize" (change Huaorani way of life from semi-nomadic to farming and market economy) and Christianize the Huaorani (138)

4. Enqueri (El Condorito)

- Plays "all the angles" but is also altruistic (92); good at adapting to "cowode" ways and opportunities (203)
- Takes on urban ways in dress and manners
- Became President of ONHAE and makes a "side" deal with Maxus: oil development in exchange for schools
- Most recently a missionary for Steve Saint

5. Judith Kimerling

- Former environmental litigator
- Author of *Amazon Crude*, a critique of foreign oil companies
- Set up legal aid programs in several Indian villages
- Believes the Huaorani have the legal (and moral?) right to live in a clean and safe environment (174) and survive in a way they judge best (right against ethnocide)
- Believes in and works for a multiethnic alliance of Indians, Ladinos, and Anglos (197, 201)
- Lives now in NYC (phone: 212-777-2135; email: jkimerling@igc.org)

6. Ali Sharif

- Iranian horticulturalist and practitioner of permaculture
- Against top-down and for grass-roots and sustainable development (108)
- Believes the "Company" will destroy the Huaorani because they can't protect themselves (128)

7. El Presidente of Ecuador (Correa – 2008)

- His predecessors (in the book) believed government needed outside oil investment and development for solving balance of payments and debt problems and knows that oil companies might go elsewhere if they are regulated
- Earlier government put Saint's Institute and then Maxus in charge of Huaorani health and education
- Proponent of oil sequestration where rich countries would pay the Ecuadorian government not to extract oil from its territory.

8. Father Jose Miguel Goldaraz (El Capuchin)

- Believes that change in the region is inevitable, but the Huaorani can and should have the right to a say in deciding what sort of change.

9. Valerio Grefa (El Vaselino)

- Quichua President of CONFENIE (umbrella Indian organization)
- Tries to sabotage ONHAE
- Cooperates opportunistically (he would say, “realitically”) with oil companies

10. Adriana Fabra

- Spanish lawyer for Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund. Handled Huaorani petition to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States.

11. Randy Borman

- Gringo/Cofan Leader (Insider/Outsider mix) of Cofans, who have been reduced to abject poverty (194) (after being banned from their forest home) but got rights to another forest area and started indigenous ecotourism. (195)

12. Representative of USAID (Sustainable Resource Development Program (SUBIR) or its successor)

- Coordinated Yasuni Park Management Plan, one component of which was to incorporate the Huaorani into the management of the Park and the enforcement of the Yasuni Park Management Plan (funded by Maxus) – which included environmental monitoring of Maxus (232-330)

13. Douglas McMeekin (not in book *Savages* but now owns and operates ecotourist lodge in the Oriente of Ecuador)

- Former Conoco executive
- Now involved with the Yachana Lodge, one approach to “ecotourism.” (See website)
- Subject of two 2008 positive op ed pieces by Nicholas Kristoff (*New York Times*).

14. Representative of Inter-American Development Bank

- Advocates applying IADB’s poverty reduction strategy to the Ecuadorian Amazon
- Key contact: Carlos Viteri, a Quichua employee in the “Sustainable Development” Unit of the IADB

15. Robert Kennedy, Jr.

- Worked with National Resources Defense Council
- Negotiated ill-fated plan with Ecuadorian government to protect Amazon and help the Huaorani

16. James Leach or Carol Mahoney

- US Congressman and congresswoman who supported the Huaorani. See 2005 letter from US Congress.

17. Alicia Cahuyia

- Leader of Huaorani women’s group AMWAE (see www.onhae.org/yasuni/indigenous/documents/5.18.05)

18. Another character from the book, current actor in Ecuador, or a character you invent

- E.g., Carl Ros, Director of Save the Forest; official from Ecuadorian Embassy

VI. Policy Memo (Due: Noon, Sunday, July 27)

1. **Who does the memo and in what voice?** *Each* student will write a memo in her or his own voice on the following question: “What should be done (to bring about good development) in the Ecuadorian Amazon, who should do it, and how?” You may cast yourself either as an “insider” to the group (but being asked to give your own views) or an “outsider” (asked to give an independent assessment). (For advantages and disadvantages of both “insiders” and “outsiders” see D. Crocker, “Cross-cultural Communication and Development Ethics.” (class website))
2. Decide on the **recipient or “client”** of your memo, for example, one of the Ecuadorian indigenous organizations, such as the Organization of the Huaorani Nation of the Ecuadorian Amazon (ONHAE); The President of Ecuador; Ecuador’s Ministry of Indigenous Affairs; the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB); the World Bank (WB); the US Agency for International Development (USAID); the Organization of American States (OAS); an international NGO working in Ecuador, e.g., Save America’s Forests or Yachana Lodge.
3. A **template?** Follow the template of memo instructor Patty Joyce. Typically, good memos have the following components:
 - Summarize upfront your **recommendation**.
 - Set the stage. What is **the problem**? How did it come about?
 - Set forth **criteria** a good solution should satisfy. These criteria can and often should include ethical criteria, such as respect for human rights or fairness.
 - Describe two or more **competing** and (more or less) exclusive **options** (maintaining the status quo can be one option).
 - **Evaluate** strengths and weaknesses of each option (by referring back to your criteria).
 - **Recommend one option** as best (because it best satisfies your criteria) and (optional) next steps to be taken.
4. **Format?** Memos should be no more than three pages (single spaced, 12 point Times Roman font, one inch margins, adequate “white space”).
5. Comply with additional **“dos” and “don’ts”** provided by your memo instructor, Patty Joyce
6. **Memos Due: 12:00 noon, Sunday, July 27) (Send electronic copy to DC, SK, ER, and PJ)**
7. **Grading?** You will be graded on both the form (see Patty Joyce instructions on template, format, dos and don’ts, etc.) and content (accuracy and relevance of data; clarity and convincingness of argument) of your memo. Stacy Kosko and Elliott Reed will comment on and suggest to Dr. Crocker a grade for 23 memos each. Dr. Crocker will comment on and determine the grade for all 46 memos.