Who is responsible for the failure to make sufficient progress towards the Millennium Development Goals?

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In the world where half of its population is living on less than $2.50[1] a day , 22,000 children die every day due to poverty[2], and where “a total of **114 million children** do not get even a basic education and **584 million women are illiterate**”[3], the new globalised world does not look so promising. However, the Millennium Summit was an attempt to manage globalization and to construct global governance, which would be able to tackle new challenges that needed global response. According to Kofi A. Annan “the arrival of the new millennium is an occasion for a celebration and reflection”[4] and the Millennium Summit organised by the United Nations had to be an opportunity for that reflection. Thus, back in September 2000, at the dawn of a new millennium, 189 heads of states and governments were united by the idea of a better world committed to a “ collective responsibility to uphold the principles of human dignity, equality and equity at the global level”[5] and ”to ensure that globalization becomes a positive force for all the world’s people”.[6]The greatest global commitment of partnership was made by signing the Millennium Declaration, which set eight Millennium Development Goals. According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), “The Millennium Development Goals

[1] Anup Shach (2010), ‘Poverty facts and stats’, *Global issues*, 10 September 2010, http://www.globalissues.org/article/26/poverty-facts-and-stats (accessed on 1 November 2010).
[2] ibid.
[3] United Nations(2010), ‘Fast facts: the faces of poverty’ , *Millennium Project*, United Nations, New York, http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/documents/3-MP-PovertyFacts-E.pdf , (accessed on 28 October 2010).
[4] Kofi A. Annan (2000), *‘We are the peoples’ the role of the United Nations in the 21st century*, (New York: United Nations), p5.
[5] United Nations (2000), *United Nations Millennium Declaration*, the United Nations, New York, 18 September, p. 1, http://www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.htm, (accessed on 23 March 2010).
[6] ibid, p.2.

(MDGs) are the most broadly supported, comprehensive and specific development goals the world has ever agreed upon".[7] Therefore, the MDG became "a set of time bound and measurable goals and targets for combating poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy, environmental degradation and discrimination against woman"[8] and were incorporate at the global agenda. However, ten years after the Millennium Summit the deadline for the delivery of the MDGs seems much further away than previously committed. According to United Nations reports on the progress of MDGs and the International Monetary Fund ('Global Monitoring Report'),"with only five years left until the target date of 2015, it is obvious that several of the MDGs will not be attained, globally or by a majority of countries".[9] Ten years of the MDGs existence showed that there are many reasons why the expected progress was not achieved, however, the lack of commitment, insufficient aid, trade barriers, domestic problems and economic crises, increased food prices remained the main ones. All these things set back progress even more after the recent economic meltdown. Nevertheless, to examine the key issue why these worldwide-accepted targets are behind schedule, emphasis should be put on the international community and its commitments towards the Goal 8(development of partnership for development). In 2002, just two years after the Millennium Declaration was signed, the report on 'Implementation of the United Nations Millennium Declaration' was calling for a greater commitment and effort in a global partnership because "otherwise, the ringing words of the Declaration will serve only as a grim reminders of

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[7] United Nations Development Programme(2010), What are the Millennium Development Goals?, United Nations Development Programme, http://www.undp.org/mdg/basics.shtml, (accessed on 1 November 2010).

[8] United Nations Development Programme(2010), *Beyond the Midpoint: Achieving the Millennium Development Goals*, United Nations Development Programme, January, p.2, http://content.undp.org/go/cms-service/stream/asset/?asset_id=2223855 (accessed on 27 October 2010).

[9] International Monetary Fund (2010), 'Global Monitory Report 2010', International Monetary Fund, p.97, http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/gmr/2010/eng/gmr.pdf (accessed on 26 October 2010).

human needs neglected and promises unmet". [10] Today, after ten years of global progress towards MDGs it looks like the report might have foreseen its results because many commitments are still not met and the global partnership remains fragile.

Therefore, this essay will look at the nature of the global governance with regard to its architecture and importance in the global issues and delivery of the MDGs. In addition, it will examine the purpose and importance of the Goal 8 Global Partnership that "has now reached emergency proportion, rather than simply being matter of urgency". [11] This essay will argue that the lack of partnership in the Global governance is the main reason for the failure of the sufficient progress towards the MDGs. In order to support this argument essay will discuss the role and the impact of the United Nations and institutions such as the World Bank (WB), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Trade Organization (WTO), and the international community of G8 group as its role is crucial in the process of the partnership for development. Essay will also put a great emphasis on the individual players, in particular the United States of America during the Bush Administration that provides most of constrains for the partnership. However, such factors as individual countries' domestic issues, private sector and financial crisis are acknowledge but no further analysed as they fall outside of the scope of this essay.

The great interdependence and a rapid pace of change that states are facing today create the environment where issues emerging in other countries became to be too costly to ignore. Thus,

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[10] United Nations(2002), *Implementation of the United Nations Millennium Declaration, Report of the Secretary-General*, United Nations, New York, *31* July, p.20, http://unstats.un.org/unsd/mdg/Resources/Static/Products/SGReports/57_270/a_57_270e.pdf , (accessed on 26 October 2010).

[11] United Nations (2010), 'Keeping the promise: a forward-looking review to promote and agreed action agenda to achieve the Millennium Development Goals by 2015', United Nations, New York, p.24, http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/pdf/sgreport_draft.pdf (accessed on 2 November 2010).

the need to master the globalization is greater than ever. According to Kofi A. Annan, "part of a solution may be found in the emergence of "global policy networks"'.[12]In other words, to pursue common goals and control, and manage new challenges the multilateral framework for global governance should be created and applied to poverty, HIV/AIDS, environment, education and other important issues. According to the Commission on Global Governance, global governance "refers to the institutions, mechanisms or processes backed by political power and/or authority that allow an activity or set of activities to be controlled, influenced or directed in a collective interest".[13]Thus, the Millennium declaration was the important step towards the global governance framework that had to introduce a new face to global governance and show that it is not a 'zero sum game'. However, as James N. Rosenau points out, "governance is a system of rules that works only if it is accepted by the majority (or, at least, by the most powerful of these it affects)".[14] In the case of the MDGs some of these requirements were undermined: first, the national interest in many cases outweighed the collective interest (most obvious example is the uncompleted Doha agreement[15]); second, the most powerful player was not always following set agreements (as in case of the USA during the Bush administration). These pitfalls in the global governance process had a negative impact on the ample progress towards the MDGs. It can be argued that when it came to practice many members of the international community occasionally kept forgetting one of the UN Millennium Declaration and the MDGs guiding value – *shared*

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[12] Kofi A. Annan (2000), *'We are the peoples' the role of the United Nations in the 21st century*, (New York: United Nations), p. 70.
[13] Andrew Baker et al(2005), *Governing financial globalization: International political economy and multi-level governance*, (Oxon: Roatledge), p.5.
[14] J.N. Rosenau & E.O. Czempiel (eds.) (1992), *Governance Without Government: Order and Change in worlds politics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p.4.
[15] United Nations (2009), *Doha Declaration on Financing for Development*, (New York: United Nations).

responsibility[16]. In order to understand the importance of the international community role in the new framework of development and global governance the examination should be focused on Goal 8- strengthening partnership between rich and poor countries– the goal that had to be an engine for the delivery of the MDGs.

The great importance of Goal 8 can be explained by the fact that it "is arguably the most significant development since the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights because it takes the idea of international state obligations beyond a statement of principle to specific policy areas of required action—trade, aid, debt relief, and technology transfer".[17] The initial idea of the Goal 8 was to emphasise the importance of cooperation in the delivery of the MDGs. According to the UN agencies, "the last goal - global partnership for development - is about the means to achieve the first seven MDGs."[18] Thus in order to achieve targets that were set in the Millennium Declaration the commitment to partnership should be kept by all parties keeping the multilateral framework in order.

The MDG 8 consists of six targets starting from the development of "open, rule-based, predictable, non-discriminatory trading and financial system"[19], ending with "cooperation with the private sector, make available the benefits of new technologies, especially information and

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[16] United Nations Development Programme (2003), *Human Development Report 2003: Millennium Development Goals:A compact among nations to end human poverty*, United Nations Development Programme, p. 28, http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/hdr03_chapter_1.pdf (accessed on 25 October 2010).
[17] Sakiko Fukuda-Parr(2006), 'Millennium Development Goal 8: Indicators for International Human Rights Obligations?', *Human Rights Quarterly* 28, p. 968.
[18] United Nations Environment Programme(2010), 'Goal8: Global partnership for Development', *UNEP and the Millennium Development Goals*, http://www.unep.org/Documents.Multilingual/Default.asp?DocumentID=448&ArticleID=4895&l=en (accessed on 2 November 2010).
[19] United Nations Development Programme(2010),' Goal 8: A Global partnership for development', *Millennium Development Goals*, United Nations Development Programme, *http://www.undp.org/mdg/goal8.shtml , (accessed on 1 November 2010).*

communication".[20] Therefore, not only do targets involve states but also private sector and pharmaceutical companies, thus, the accountability is very important for such a diversity of actors. The process becomes complicated, especially working with a private sector that is by nature a profit seeking entity. However, it was admitted by the UN that the goals could not be achieved without the help from the private sector, which initially made process more difficult.

Another important part of Goal 8 is the role of indicators, most notably, *Official Development assistance (ODA), Market Access* and *Debt Sustainability*.[21] These indicators are central elements for the achievement of the MDGs. In 1970, the UN passed a resolution for official development assistance – "the best known target in international aid proposes to raise official development assistance (ODA) to 0.7% of donors' national income".[22] Accordingly, the goal of partnership had to strengthen the commitment of international community towards the ODA. However, in the recent UN report, which is focused on Goal 8, "The Global Partnership for at a Critical Juncture", Secretary- General Ban Ki-Moon positioned the lack of commitment to the ODA as one of the main issues for achieving global goals. The report stated that "the share of ODA in donor gross national income (GNI) was 0.31 per cent, well below the United Nations target of 0.7 per cent, which has been reached and exceeded by only five donor countries". [23] Apparently, the target of 0.7 per cent was undermined since the Millennium Declaration and

[20] Ibid.
[21] United Nations Development Programme (2010),' Goal 8: A Global partnership for development', *Millennium Development Goals*, United Nations Development Programme, *http://www.undp.org/mdg/goal8.shtml , (accessed on 1 November 2010).*
[22] Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (2010), 'The 0.7% ODA/GNI target- a history', *Development Co-operation Directorate*, http://www.oecd.org/document/19/0,3343,en_2649_34447_45539475_1_1_1_1,00.html, (accessed on 26 October 2010).
[23] United Nations (2010),' Millennium Goal 8, The Global Partnership for Development at a Critical Juncture', *MDGs Gap Task Force Report 2010*, United Nations, New York, p. x, http://www.preventionweb.net/files/15404_3105233.pdf , (accessed on 27 October 2010).

even though it reached an all- time high of $120 billion in 2009, and its projection for 2010 is estimated to be $ 126 billion, it is still below the $146 billion agreed by donor countries in Gleneagles summit and the UN World summit.[24] The indicated proportion of gross national income from each donor if followed had to deliver the required resources for the MDGs delivery. However, "detailed analyses by the International Monetary Fund and UNDP have shown that highly worthy Millennium Development Goal-based programmes are unfunded because of non-delivery of promised donor funding."[25] The particular shortfall of aid affected Africa, the continent of special needs, which is estimated to "receive only about $11 billion out of the $25 billion increase envisaged at Gleneagles, due mainly to the underperformance of some European donors who earmark large shares of their aid to Africa."[26]Consequently, the other indicators have the same pattern in deficit of agreement and partnership. The indicator of *Market Access* has been a global issue since the Doha conference in 2001, which had to increase trade globally by lowering trade barriers for developing countries. The concluded Doha round of negotiations had to fulfil the commitment of establishing a fair trading and financial system (target 8a). However, the agreement has not been reached yet. According to the UN report 2010, "since the last serious push for a breakthrough collapsed in July 2008, no new concrete deadline for the conclusion of the Round has been set, despite recent efforts to revive negotiations and the target announced by

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[24] United Nations(2010), *Millennium Development Goals: At a glance*, United Nations, September, p.6, http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/pdf/MDGs%20at%20a%20Glance%20SEPT%202010.pdf, (accessed on 25 October 2010).

[25] United Nations(2010), 'Keeping the promise: a forward-looking review to promote and agreed action agenda to achieve the Millennium Development Goals by 2015', *United Nations*, New York, 12 February, p. 25, http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/64/665 (accessed on 2 November 2010).

[26] United Nations(2010), *Millennium Development Goals report 2010*, United Nations, New York, p. 67, http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/pdf/MDG%20Report%202010%20En%20r15%20-low%20res%2020100615%20-.pdf#page=69 , (accessed on 27 October 2010).

the Group of Twenty (G-20) to complete the Round in 2010."[27] The debt sustainability indicator is one of the indicators that actually experienced tangible progress; the successful debt management resulted in ongoing debt relief that succeeded to reach the level well below historical level, which means the debt burdens have eased for poor countries. However, even though the progress is substantial there are still 16 out of 39 heavily indebted poor countries (HIPCs) and 11 out of 39 Non-heavily indebted poor countries (Non-HSPCs) that are at high risk or in debt distress, and need continued efforts from the international community for debt relief. It seems that the goal of partnership became the struggle point of the MDGs because "for poor countries to achieve the first seven Goals, it is absolutely critical that rich countries deliver on their end of the bargain with more and more effective aid, more sustainable debt relief and fairer trade rules, well in advance of 2015".[28]

On the other hand, to understand why the Goal that had to be the engine of the MDGs progress became an issue for global governance, the discussion should lead to the examination of the United Nations. With a universal membership of 192 states, it is the only one real example of the global government, and the founder and monitor of the MDGs. Therefore, to understand the process of the MDGs first the structure of the UN and its monitoring role should be discussed with reference to the main documents and conferences that had to direct and supervise the international community towards the successful outcomes of MDGs.

[27] United Nations(2010),' Millennium Goal 8, The Global Partnership for Development at a Critical Juncture' ,*MDGs Gap Task Force Report 2010*, United Nations, New York, p. xll, http://www.preventionweb.net/files/15404_3105233.pdf , (accessed on 27 October 2010).
[28] United Nations Millennium Campaign (2010), 'Goal 8- Global Partnership', *ENDPOVERTY2015Millennium Campaign*, http://www.endpoverty2015.org/en/global/resource/un-millennium-campaign-goal-8-global-partnership (accessed on 25 October 2010).

The most important document of the UN – the Charter of the United Nations – clearly stated in 1945 that one of its purposes is "to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, or humanitarian character".[29] In order to fulfill its purpose the UN bound itself by Article 55 to be a promoter of "a. higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development; b. solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational cooperation."[30] Consequently, the Millennium Declaration and establishment of the MDGs was the best promotion of international cooperation for the human development that the UN has made since the creation of the organization. Yet, the focus on the issue of human development started in 1990 when the UN published its first report on Human Development. The report in 1999 examined human development at the age of globalization and stated that the biggest challenge was to "find the rules and institutions for stronger governance – local, national, regional and global – to preserve the advantages of global markets and competition, but also to provide enough space for human, community and environmental resources to ensure that globalization works for people – not just for profit."[31] The step towards this goal of stronger governance for human development was taken by establishing the MDGs and placing the UN as a leading institution.

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[29]United Nations(1985) , Chapter I: Purposes and Principles, *Charter of the United Nations*, United Nations, January, *http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter1.shtml* (accessed on 28 October 2010).

[30] United Nations(1985), Chapter IX: International economic and social co- operation, *Charter of the United Nations*, United Nations, January, http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter9.shtml, (accessed on 28 October 2010).

[31] United Nations (1999), *Human Development Report 1999*, (New York: United Nations Development Programme), p.2.

However, the UN as an organization with the basic principles of specialization and coordination today seems to lose its focus, especially concerning coordination. The failure of sufficient progress towards the MDGs and financial crisis are clear examples that the entity that had to guide a process is facing some difficulties in establishing the framework for the development. One of the roles that the UN took as a leader of new global governance towards the MDGs was to mobilize the international community at the national, regional and global level by organizing conferences and summits – follow-ups to the outcome of the Millennium Summit. In 2000 UN held the Millennium Summit where world leaders set an agenda for making globalization to work for all and creating an environment "which is conductive to development and elimination of poverty."[32] The set task required high levels of national and international commitment in order to create the environment for poverty eradication, but moreover, as was mentioned before, the previous commitment of the 0.7 per cent of GNI was essential for the resources necessary for halving poverty and achieving other goals. According to the UN Millennium Project, "if every developed country set and followed through on a timetable to reach 0.7% by 2015, the world could make dramatic progress in the fight against poverty and start on a path to achieve the Millennium Development Goals and end extreme poverty within a generation."[33] However, the UN cannot enforce accountability for countries to follow the agenda; therefore, the dramatic shortfalls were felt just in two years time since the Millennium Summit. In order to keep the MDGs on track the UN arranged a conference in 2002 on Financing for Development, better known as Monterrey Consensus. One of the targets during the conference was "to make concrete efforts towards the target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product (GNP) as ODA to developing

[32] United Nations(2010), *United Nations Millennium Declaration*, United Nations, New York, 18 September, p. 4, http://www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.htm , (accessed on 23 March 2010).
[33] United Nations (2006), ' The 0.7% target: An in-depth look', *UN Millennium Project*, http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/press/07.htm, (accessed on 28 October 2010).

countries and 0.15 to 0.2 per cent GNP of developed countries to least developed countries."[34] The Monterrey Consensus was a chance to remind the world community about their commitments, call for better partnership and at the same time "to reinvigorate the United Nations system as fundamental to the proportion of international cooperation for development and to a global economic system that works for all."[35] However, the outcome of the Monterrey conference was not as it was predicted, as the Millennium Goal 8 remains an issue. The lack of commitment towards the ODA remains the main obstacle for the MDGs to succeed, though other issues such as trade and market access were jeopardising the progress as well. Therefore, the UN held a World Summit in 2005. The target of the summit was to reaffirm the "commitment to the global partnership for development set out in the Millennium Declaration, the Monterrey Consensus and the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation."[36] The World Summit did not make the big push which was expected and to make the MDGs acceleration progress worse the financial crisis hit the world in 2008 making the goals even less achievable. Nevertheless, in September 2008 the UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon during the MDG High Level event called world leaders, private sector, foundations and civil society to "inject new energy into the global partnership to meet the Millennium Development Goals."[37] The MDG High Level event was another chance to remind the international community of their previous commitments and "the outcomes of the High level Event, including commitments made at its side events, could

[34] United Nations, *Monterrey Consensus of the international conference on Financing for Development*, Monterrey, Mexico, 18-22 March 2002, p. 12, http://www.un.org/esa/ffd/monterrey/MonterreyConsensus.pdf, (accessed on 24 October 2010).
[35] Ibid, p.21.
[36] United Nations (2010), *MDG Gap Task Force – Official Development Assistance(ODA)*, United Nations, http://www.un.org/esa/policy/mdggap/mdggap_matrix_oda.html, (accessed on 24 October 2010).
[37] United Nations (2008), 'Time to inject new energy into global partnership for development- Ban', *UN News Centre*, New York, 25 September, http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=28250&Cr=MDG&Cr1=, (accessed on 4 November 2010).

provide Member States and all other stakeholders with a platform for action to achieve the Millennium Development Goals"[38]. However, according to *the Global Partnership for development: at a Critical Juncture 2010* report, the target of around $17.6 billion[39] towards the MDGs committed in the MDGs High level event had not been met, meanwhile not only the shortage in the ODA aggregation but also its uneven allocation holds back the progress of the MDGs. The most recent UN Summit on the Millennium Development Goals was held in September 2010, where the fragile progress towards the MDGs followed the critical need for strong partnership. Once again, countries committed to "deliver and fully implement existing Millennium Development Goal 8 commitments by enhancing the global partnership for development to ensure the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals by 2015"[40]. The UN supporters would say that maybe this time the UN urgent call for global partnership for the MDGs would foster the delivery of commitments, while skeptics would say that the UN lost its leadership a long time ago when its multilateral framework of development accommodated institutions dominated by developed counties who were not always willing to favour development.

In order to achieve Millennium Development Goals the multilateral framework was created within the UN system that involved such agencies as the World Bank (WB), International

[38] United Nations (2008), *Committing to actions: achieving the Millennium Development Goals (Background note by Secretary-General)*, United Nations, New York, 25 September, p.24, http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2008highlevel/pdf/commiting.pdf, (accessed on 28 October 2010).

[39] United Nations (2010), *MDG Gap Task Force – Official Development Assistance(ODA)*, United Nations, http://www.un.org/esa/policy/mdggap/mdggap_matrix_oda.html, (accessed on 24 October 2010).

[40] United Nations(2010), 'Keeping the promise: united to achieve the Millennium Development Goals', United Nations, New York, p. 28, http://www.un.org/en/mdg/summit2010/pdf/mdg%20outcome%20document.pdf, (accessed on 27 October 2010).

Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organization (WTO) that is not part of the UN system. By trying to coordinate such a complex net of institutions, the UN has lost its main role of the coordination in lots of areas of development especially in trade and market access. According to Jeffrey Sachs, "the current system is surprisingly dysfunctional, to the point where the IMF and the World Bank sometimes hardly speak with the UN Agencies, even though they all depend on each other."[41] It became an issue for the UN system and the achievement of the MDGs. All these institutions had a different perspective on the development at the same time structure. The Bretton Woods institutions and the WTO accommodate the neo-liberal ideas, the Washington Consensus and are dominated by developed countries. The UN with its voice for all the Washington Consensus too narrow for the development and was prepared to consider a major departure from neo-liberals bringing state and public domain back to the global governance (10 recommendations of the United Nations Millennium Project[42]). The contradictory nature of these institutions made the process difficult because accommodating human development principles, the market fundamentalism approach and the interests of the developed countries, was in itself a hard task to achieve. Market by its nature is focused on profit and creates inequality, which becomes opposite to principles of human development and the MDGs. Nevertheless, the institutional framework had several issues with regards to partnership for implementation of the MDGs.

While the UN is representing all countries in the world despite their economic capabilities, the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO are dominated by the rich countries. Even though these organizations agreed on greater policy, coherence and better cooperation between the UN in

[41] Jeffrey D. Sachs (2005), *The End of Poverty,* (New York: the Penguin Press), p. 285.
[42] United Nations (2005), '10 Key recommendation', *the United Nations Millennium Project,* http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/resources/keyrec.htm, (Accessed on1 November 2010).

achieving the MDGs it seems that the cooperation towards the same goals have different means. On the one hand, the IMF had to contribute to the MDGs "through its advice, technical assistance, and lending to countries, as well as its role to mobilizing donor support."[43]In addition, the Monterrey Consensus calls for the IMF "to give high priority to the identification and prevention of potential crisis and to strengthening the underpinnings of international financial stability."[44] On the other hand, the World Bank provided a strategy of partnership for MDGs that involved reduction of "low-income countries' burden of external debt through debt relief"; improved "access to global markets for goods and services through advisory services and grants"; and connection of "people and markets by investing in IT and communications infrastructure."[45] However, the outlined functions of these institutions were not fulfilled: the IMF did not manage to identify the current financial crisis and sustain financial stability; the World Bank distribution of aid is selective and inefficient. The problem with these institutions is that the rich countries who dominate the IMF and the World Bank are pushing economic reforms such as privatization and linearization on poor countries, the policies that were acknowledged by the UN to be actually harmful for the developing countries. According to the Oxfam, "a 2006 study by the Norwegian government of IMF conditionality revealed that 23 out of 40 poor countries still have privatisation and liberalisation conditions attached to their IMF loans."[46] The

[43] International Monetary Fund (2010), *The IMF and the Millennium Development Goals*, http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/facts/mdg.htm, (accessed on 29 October 2010).
[44] United Nations, *Monterrey Consensus of the international conference on Financing for Development*, Monterrey, Mexico, 18-22 March 2002,p. 18, http://www.un.org/esa/ffd/monterrey/MonterreyConsensus.pdf, (accessed on 24 October 2010).
[45] World Bank, 'Develop a Global Partnership for Development by 2015', *Millennium Development Goals*, World Bank, http://www.worldbank.org/mdgs/global_partnership.html, (accessed on 29 October 2010).
[46] Oxfam (2006), 'Kicking the Habit: How the World Bank and the IMF are still addicted to attacking economic policy conditions to aid', *Oxfam Briefing Paper*, p.2, http://www.oxfam.org.uk/resources/policy/debt_aid/downloads/bp96_conditionality_mali.pdf, (accessed on 29 October 2010).

World Bank was practising the Washington Consensus type conditions as well. The former World Bank vice –president accused "the World bank the IMF of formulating policies that "expose more people to poverty instead of reducing poverty"."[47] Therefore, instead of creating the partnership between developed and developing countries for the poverty reduction and achievement of the MDGs the IMF and the World Bank created more division by applying conditions that most of the developing countries were not capable to implement. However, supporters of the Bretton Woods institutions can defend their policies giving the statistics of substantial progress in debt reliefs[48]. Conversely, the biggest concern regarding the Goal 8 and in general all MDGs is the Market Access indicator and the policies of the World Trade Organization (WTO).

The challenge of the globalised world was to make the trade fair game for poor countries; the Goal 8 established an indicator for this. Head of states who were signatories to the Millennium Declaration agreed to commit to "an open, equitable, rule-based, predictable and non-discriminatory multilateral trading and financial system" and adopt "a policy of duty- and quota-free access for essentially all exports from the least developed countries."[49] Action was taken in 2001 when the WTO organized the Doha Development Round of multilateral trade negotiations. The purpose of the round was to reform trade rules in order to give developing countries more opportunities for trade, income generation, and improve employment. The Ministerial conference

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[47] Andreas Motl (2003), 'Global Policy Forum - Social and Economic Policy: The Three Sisters', *Global Policy Forum*, http://www.netfrag.org/webnews/article.php?id=76&group=nfo.links.misc, (accessed on 22 October 2010).
[48] United Nations (2010), 'Keeping the promise: a forward-looking review to promote and agreed action agenda to achieve the Millennium Development Goals by 2015', *United Nations*, New York, 12 February, p. 26, http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/64/665 (accessed on 2 November 2010).
[49] United Nations (2000), *United Nations Millennium Declaration*, United Nations, New York, 18 September, p. 4, http://www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.htm, (accessed on 23 March 2010).

stated that they are *"mindful* of the importance that Members attach to the increased participation of developing countries in the multilateral trading system, and of the need to ensure that the system responds fully to the needs and interests of all participants."[50] However, at the very beginning of the conference it was clear that agreements would not be easy to reach because developing countries and developed ones had a different view on trade. While the developing countries' interest was focused on the development, the developed countries were focused on market access. Thus, the agreement was not made and the Doha development round is still in process. The disagreement on trade became the most worrying issue in the delivery of the MDGs. According to the report, 'What will take to achieve the Millennium Development Goals?', "the failure to deliver a development-oriented Doha Round constitutes the most significant gap in formulating the Global Partnership for development."[51] Since the Doha Round made little progress in the North and South partnership, "developed countries have dedicated more effort to negotiating bilateral and regional free trade agreements with developing countries, which place severe restrictions on the very policies that developing countries need to fight poverty and inequality."[52] However, the attempt to bring development back to the trade agenda was made in 2005 in Hong Kong, where the members of WTO agreed to give developing countries 97 per cent of duty free access to the developed countries' markets. According to the

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[50] World Trade Organisation (2001), 'Implementation-Related Issues And Concerns', *Ministerial Conference Session four*, Doha, 9-14 November, p. 1, http://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/minist_e/min01_e/mindecl_implementation_e.htm, (accessed on 26 October 2010).

[51] United Nations Development Programme (2010), *What Will It Take to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals? – An International Assessment*, United Nations Development Programme, New York, p. 36, http://content.undp.org/go/cms-service/stream/asset/?asset_id=2620072 ,(accessed on 2 November 2010).

[52] Oxfam International (2009), 'Empty promises: What happened to 'development' in the WTO's Doha Round?', *Oxfam Briefing Paper*, 16 July , p. 2, http://www.oxfam.org.uk/resources/policy/trade/downloads/bp_131_empty_promises_summary.pdf , (accessed on 29 October 2010).

UN this commitment falls short because "only 81 per cent of least developed country exports, excluding armaments and oil, have acquired duty-free status in industrialised country markets."[53] The 2010 Secretary- General's Report also remarks on the export subsidies and calls developed countries "to honour the 2005 pledge to eliminate, by 2013, all export subsidies including on agriculture, which remain a major distortion affecting trade and farm production in developing countries."[54] As long as the agreement between developed and developing world is not reached, sufficient progress towards the MDGs will be constrained. Bearing in mind the fact that the global partnership on trade, as indicated in the Goal 8, is the engine for other goals, its failure determines the acceleration of all other seven goals.

The WTO should be a monitoring institution for the trade negotiations; however, the developed states that dominate the WTO and their business sectors are playing a main role in the international trade affairs. Therefore, the acknowledgment of the development importance from the international community is essential in the course of the MDGs and in particular in the improvement of the global partnership for development. It is clear that international financial architecture requires the initiative from world greatest economies. The G8 is the group of the most powerful economies in the world and as a group has "nearly 50% of the vote in the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). G8 countries also have enormous influence in the

[53] United Nations (2010), 'Extra push is needed on aid, trade and debt to meet global anti-poverty goals, UN reports', United Nations Press Release, 16 September, http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/pdf/MDG_PR_EN.pdf, (accessed on 26 October 2010).

[54] United Nations(2010), 'Keeping the promise: a forward-looking review to promote and agreed action agenda to achieve the Millennium Development Goals by 2015', United Nations, New York, 12 February,p.25, http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/64/665 (accessed on 2 November 2010).

World Trade Organization (WTO) and the Security Council of the United Nations (UN)."[55] In order to achieve the goals of the sustainable development embedded in the MDGs the cooperation of such a powerful and influential group is essential. Thus, the new collective leadership for the development emerged in the G8 Gleneagles Summit 2005. The new era of G8 had to bring a helping hand for the MDGs and bring more order in the new turbulent world.

The Gleneagles Summit sounded promising for developing countries as commitments made by G8 members had to accelerate the delivery of the MDGs. The Communiqué not only reaffirmed the previous international commitments but even expanded them. G8 committed to increase "official development assistance to Africa of $25 billion a year by 2010, more doubling aid to Africa compared to 2004", also to increase the ODA to all developing countries "by around $50 billion a year by 2010, compared to 2004".[56] The Summit also included commitments to end export subsidies and to write off $40 billion worth of debt to the eighteen poorest countries. However, the aftermath of the Gleneagles Communiqué revealed that the international community was not united and better cooperation is needed. In 2006 the United Kingdom increased its ODA by 13.1 percent, while "the United States' fell by twenty per cent, Japan's by 9.6 per cent, Canada's by 9.2 per cent and Italy's by thirty per cent".[57] The ODA is essential for the MDGs. The issue was highlighted by the UN recent reports, which focus on global partnership and a greater effort to meet commitments, it also remarked the failure of the

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[55] Mapleleafweb (2002), 'Criticism of the Group of Eight', *Mapleleafweb.com,* June 25, http://web.archive.org/web/20070706172042/http://www.mapleleafweb.com/features/global_event/g8/critics/,(accessed on 28 October 2010).
[56] G8 (2005), 'The Gleneagles Communiqué', p. 26, http://www.unglobalcompact.org/docs/about_the_gc/government_support/PostG8_Gleneagles_Communique.pdf, (accessed on 24 October 2010).
[57] Simon Lee (2009), *Boom and Bust: Politics and Legacy of Gordon Brown*, (Oxford: Oneword Publications), p. 180.

Gleneagles commitments that affected the increase of the ODA. Recent data shows that the target of the ODA falls short, "the gap between delivery in 2009 and in 2010 target was $26 billion (in 2009 dollars)"[58]. However, the OAD is not the only failed commitment made by the G8. According to the latest data from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) "Africa in particular, is likely to get only about USD 12 billion of the USD 25 billion increase envisaged at Gleneagles".[59] In addition, the statistics show that the G8 leadership had its limitations concerning the partnership for development. The group of eight industrial countries had to make a breakthrough not only for trade but also for the environmental issues. However, the national interest in most cases took over. The biggest issue for negotiations became the interest of the USA. President George W. Bush clearly announced before the G8 Summit that he would approve the agenda that would be the best for the country[60]. His statement revealed an open secret, that partnership for development can be achieved only if it is in the interest of the big players of the international community.

Apparently the USA was the leader since Second World War in the international institution and global governance building, but undermined the global partnership commitment and acted alone after the 9/11 and during the Bush Administration. The rejection of the Kyoto Protocol, the invasion of Iraq without UN approval and criticism of the international institutions and global governance - became evidence of the USA unilateralism. The new shift in the USA politics

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[58] United Nations(2010),' Millennium Goal 8, The Global Partnership for Development at a Critical Juncture' ,*MDGs Gap Task Force Report 2010*, United Nations, New York, p. x, http://www.preventionweb.net/files/15404_3105233.pdf , (accessed on 27 October 2010).

[59] Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (2010), 'Donors' mixed aid performance for 2010 sparks concern', *Development issues*, http://www.oecd.org/document/20/0,3343,en_2649_34447_44617556_1_1_1_37413,00.html, (accessed on 27 October 2010).

[60] John Simpson (2005), 'Summit will expose G8 fault lines', *BBC New*, 31 August, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/4647921.stm, (accessed on 29 October 2010).

during the Bush Administration affected the progress of the MDGs and at the same time brought a great challenge for the global governance and its key requirement of partnership.

Since the terrorist attacks in New York, American foreign policy and resources have been focused on the war on terror. Instead of cooperating with countries for development, the USA was calling states for the united fight against terrorism. The former President of the UN General Assembly M. d'Escoto stated in 2008, "it is calculated that the amount spent so far on the Iraq war could have paid for a full course of primary schooling for all of the world's children and youth who are not in school. The price of a single missile is enough to build about 100 schools in any country in Africa, Asia or Latin America".[61] The figure indicates that if the same cooperation and national interests were focused on the delivery of the MDGs, the progress would have been sufficient. At the same time, the example given by the M. d'Escoto shows that individual members of the international community can provide or discourage cooperation. The USA has the power and influence to create an environment for the partnership and development. It has the right of veto in the UN Security Council, and votes equal to veto in the IMF and the World Bank, thus it can promote support for the MDGs in all of these institutions, and promote partnership in the G8 and G20 summits. However, in most of the cases the USA is using this power to promote its own interest. The war on terror brought its national interest to the centre of international affairs, undermined the UN approval (for the invasion of Iraq) and implied a new development approach to the World Bank. During the Bush Administration the international development was regarded as a national security issue, and poor countries as a source of

[61] United Nations (2008), 'Time to inject new energy into global partnership for development – Ban', UN News Centre, New York, 25 September, http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=28250&Cr=MDG&Cr1, (accessed on 29 October 2010).

terrorism; therefore, accountability formulated the assistance for development. Thus, instead of committing to solidarity of global partnership for helping the least developed countries[62] the USA established Millennium Challenge Account (MCA) where poverty was "treated as a merit-based problem, rather than a need-based problem"[63]. Therefore, the requirements known as the 'policy- level conditionality' were applied for the assistance and only countries who were already on the road to independence and development met the criteria, leaving least developed countries without support. According to Francis Y. Owusu, "the administration had additional intentions for the MCA: to overhaul the post-9/11 U.S. foreign-aid regime"[64]. Thus, instead of committing to the UN idea of departing from market fundamentalism, the USA decided to go in the opposite direction and "actively work to bring the hope of democracy, development, free markets, and free trade to every corner of the world".[65] The individualistic position in the architecture of global governance for the MDGs indicates the lack of partnership and commitment. As it was mentioned earlier, James N. Rosenau stated that governance could only work if the most powerful payer accepts the rules, and it is clear that the USA being the most powerful failed to deliver this condition by creating its own rules, which resulted in the failure of sufficient progress towards the MDGs.

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[62] United Nations (2010), *United Nations Millennium Declaration*, the United Nations, New York, 18 September, p. 2, http://www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.htm , (accessed on 23 March 2010).
[63] Ashley R Notini (2010), 'The Millennium Challenge Account: Foreign Aid and International Development Programs During the Bush Administration', *Student Pulse*, p. 2, http://www.studentpulse.com/articles/273/the-millenium-challenge-account-foreign-aid-and-international-development-programs-of-the-bush-administration-, (accessed 29 October 2010).
[64] Francis Y. Owusu (2007), 'Post-9/11 U.S. Foreign Aid, the Millennium Challenge Account, and Africa: How Many Birds Can One Stone Kill?', *Africa Today*, Vol. 54, No. 1, Fall 2007, p.4.
[65] White House(2002), *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, Washington, September 17, pdf file, http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/policy/national/nss-020920.pdf, (accessed on 26 October 2010).

To conclude, the idea of a better world for all people and the creation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) had to start a new millennium with the hope of the global partnership for development. Soon it became clear that the achievement of the MDGs rely on the Goal 8 and international community partnership. The recent data on the progress of the MDGs is not very promising and the deadline in 2015 does not look realistic in the crisis of the partnership. The commitment of the ODA remains the key element of sufficient progress towards the goals. However, as it was examined in this essay the commitment falls $20 billion short and the international community's partnership is essential however, as it was discussed, often is absent. At the same time the inability of the UN to coordinate and monitor the global governance of development, the market based Bretton Woods institutions' lack of cooperation with the UN and domination of the rich countries in the WTO creates an institutional framework for dysfunctional and inefficient development. However, the central issue remains the international community and its ability to deliver partnership, which is necessary for the delivery towards the MDGs. As it was discussed throughout this essay, the developed countries were undermining their commitments and slowing the progress. The ODA, the debt relief and the market access had to be the enabling indicators for the MDGs progress but it became the main obstacles. The example of the Doha Development Round for trade shows the lack of the partnership in the delivery of fair conditions for developing countries because the sensitive issue of trade remains the important part of the developed countries' national interest and main obstacle for negotiations. The heart of the international community was and remains the G8; even though the expansion of the group developed G20 the group of eight holds the most power and influence in the G's summits. The G8 had to promote the idea of development and put the MDGs in the centre of its agenda but the failure of the Gleneagles Communiqué shows the lack of unity and partnership between the members of the most powerful countries. Consequently, the most powerful ones try to impose their own rules and this ,in turn, creates imbalance in the global governance as happened during the Bush Administration, when the USA decided to transform partnership for development with a new approach for developing world. The USA led ‘war on terror’ located partnership towards war in Iraq and the fight with terrorism, rather than towards the delivery of MDGs that aimed to improve lives and make the world at least a little bit. This lack of coherence in the global partnership in the global governance for development affected the execution of the MDGs. The UN is still calling on the international community for better partnership and it seems that this is what it has been doing for the past ten years. The ‘critical juncture’[66] of the partnership is the reason for the international community to consider its interests and to take responsibility for the failure of sufficient progress towards MDGs by learning and correcting their previous mistakes.

[66] United Nations(2010),’ Millennium Goal 8, The Global Partnership for Development at a Critical Juncture’ ,*MDGs Gap Task Force Report 2010*,United Nations, New York, pp. 1-2, http://www.preventionweb.net/files/15404_3105233.pdf , (accessed on 27 October 2010).

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