

Notes

Chapter 1 Notes

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<http://www.independent.co.uk/environment/nature/dicaprio-putin-and-the-allstar-plot-to-save-tigers-2143085.html>
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5. Walker, “DiCaprio, Putin, and the All-Star Plot to Save Tigers.”
6. Jonathan Watts, “Putin May Be the Tiger’s Champion, but China Will Decide the Species’ Future: Premier Wen’s Vague Words at the Tiger Summit Do Little to Inspire Confidence in the Country That Drives a Gruesome Trade,” *The Guardian*, Environment Blog, November 23, 2010.
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/blog/2010/nov/23/putin-tiger-china-premier-wen>
7. Caroline Fraser, “As Tigers Near Extinction, A Last-Ditch Strategy Emerges,” *Yale Environment 360*, November 15, 2010.
http://e360.yale.edu/feature/as_tigers_near_extinction_the_world_bank_and_environmental_groups_craft_last-ditch_strategy/2339/
8. “New \$350-Million Plan to Save the Tiger—But Will It Work?,” WildlifeExtra.com, *Wild Travel*, n.d.
www.wildlifeextra.com/go/news/tiger-summit.html#cr
9. Technically the World Bank Group also includes a fifth institution, the International Center for the Settlement of Investment Disputes. As the name indicates, this is an arbitration panel, not a financial lending, insurance, or investment agency, as are the IBRD, IDA, IFC, and MIGA.
10. Voting shares differ, though, for the different affiliates, e.g., in the IBRD the United States has 16.09 percent, Japan 9.62 percent, Germany 4.41 percent, and the United Kingdom and France 4.22 percent each. In IDA the U.S. share is 11.09 percent, followed by 8.74 percent for Japan, 5.68 percent for Germany, 5.46 percent for the United Kingdom, and 3.86 percent for France. See: The World Bank, “Executive Directors and Their Voting Power, June 30, 2011,” *Annual Report 2011: Year in Review* (Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2011). At the IFC the United States has 24.03 percent of the voting shares, followed by Japan, Germany, France and the United Kingdom with 5.96 percent, 5.44 percent, 5.11 percent, and 5.11 percent, respectively. See: International Finance Corporation, World Bank Group, *I Am Opportunity—IFC Annual Report 2011* (Washington, DC: IFC, 2011), 91; International Finance Corporation, World Bank Group, *I Am Opportunity IFC Annual Report 2011* (Washington, DC: IFC, 2011).
http://www1.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/CORP_EXT_Content/IFC_External_Corporate_Site/Annual+Report/2011+Printed+Report/AR_PrintedReport/

11. See: World Bank Group website, Worldbank.org.
<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/0,,pagePK:50004410~piPK:36602~theSitePK:29708,00.html>
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13. “Rights groups say 19 journalists have been victims of contract killings in Russia since 2000, the year Putin was first elected president, and none of the masterminds of the murders has been jailed.” See: Timothy Heritage, “Analysis: Journalist’s Murder a Test Case for Russia’s Putin,” *Reuters*, October 6, 2011.
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<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/12/18/science/18conv.html?n=Top/Reference/Times%20Topics/Organizations/W/Wildlife%20Conservation%20Society>
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<http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2010/nov/09/last-chance-to-save-the-tiger>
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18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Peter Foster, “Poachers Empty Indian Wildlife Park of Tigers,” *Telegraph*, London, April 9, 2005; Fraser, “As Tigers Near Extinction.”
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21. Rachna Singh, “Illegal Mining Threatens Sariska,” *Times of India*, October 13, 2010.
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22. Kathy Lilly, “Members of Russian Summit Have Diverging Views but United Goal: Saving the Tiger,” *Washington Post*, November 20, 2010.
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/11/19/AR2010111903652.html?nav=emailpage>
23. Marwaan Macan-Marker, “World Bank Aims to Earn Stripes through Tiger Summit,” *Online Asia Times*, January 26, 2010.
http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Southeast_Asia/LA26Ae01.html
24. For more on the Operations Evaluation Department, see: Bruce Rich, *Mortgaging the Earth: The World Bank, Environmental Impoverishment, and the Crisis of Development* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1994), 171–72.
25. Richard Carlos Worden and Colin Reese, *IEG Review of Twenty World Bank–Funded Projects in Tiger Landscapes*, Evaluation Brief 12 (Washington, DC: World Bank Independent Evaluation Group (IEG), 2011), x.

26. Ibid., 17. The three projects in question were so-called ICDPs—Integrated Conservation and Development Projects. The concept of combining rural development with conservation dates back to the mid-1980s.

27. Ibid., xi.

28. See, e.g.: Steve Berkman, *The World Bank and the Gods of Lending* (Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press, 2008). All of these issues will be discussed in greater detail in subsequent chapters.

29. World Bank Annual Report, 2011, IBRD and IDA Cumulative Lending by Country/Fiscal 1945–2011.

30. Independent People’s Tribunal on the World Bank in India, *Findings of the Jury* (New Delhi: Shivaam Sundaram, September 11, 2008), 2, 26–27. Two non-Indians were also on the jury: Alejandro Nadal, professor of economics and coordinator of the Science and Technology Program at El Colegio de Mexico, and the author.

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31. Ibid., 11, 17, 23.

32. Herman Daly, interview with Martin Eierman, “We Need a Crisis, and a Change of Values,” *The European*, September 5, 2011.

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33. William Easterly, *The Elusive Quest for Growth* (Cambridge, MA, and London: MIT Press, 2011).

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39. Ibid., paragraph 44.

40. UK Parliament, Report Published on Impact of Overseas Aid on Environmental Protection,” June 29, 2011.

<http://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/environmental-audit-committee/news/report-published-the-impact-of-uk-overseas-aid-on-environmental-protection-and-climate-change-adaptation-and-mitigation/>

41. World Bank Annual Report 2011, 11–12.

42. UK Parliament, *Environmental Audit Committee—Fifth Report*, paragraph 49.

43. Heike Mainhardt-Gibbs, “World Bank Group Energy Sector Financing Update,” Bank Information Center, November 2010.

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45. Zachary Shahan, “World Bank Approves \$3B for World’s 4th Largest Coal Power Plant,” *Ecopolitology*, April 10, 2010.

<http://ecopolitology.org/2010/04/10/world-bank-oks-3b-for-worlds-4th-largest-coal-power-plant/>

46. UK Parliament, *Environmental Audit Committee—Fifth Report*, paragraph 60.

47. *Ibid.*, 28.

48. *Ibid.*, 27.

49. *Ibid.*, 58.

50. *Ibid.*, xvi.

51. The actual increase in the voting share for borrowing, developing countries was modest: a shift of 4.6 percent in voting shares for borrowers in International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), which lends to all but the poorest countries (concentrated mainly in Sub-Saharan Africa), to 47.2 percent; as in the past, rich country donors still control the voting majority. See: World Bank, *Annual Report 2011*, 28. But China’s voting share rose to 4.42 percent, third behind the United States (16.4 percent) and Japan (6.84 percent). (*Ibid.*, “Executive Directors and Alternates of the World Bank and Their Voting Power, June 30, 2011.”) The political clout of China, India, and Brazil on the Bank’s board is not just a function of voting shares, but of their fast-growing influence in the global economy and in other international fora such as the G20.

52. See, e.g.: Sebastian Mallaby, *The World’s Banker: A Study of Failed States, Financial Crises, and the Wealth and Poverty of Nations* (New York: Penguin, 2004). These issues are discussed in later chapters.

53. The Bank’s IEG examined a number of these issues in a 2011 report: World Bank Independent Evaluation Group, *Safeguards and Sustainability Policies in a Changing World* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2010). This IEG report and others will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTSAFANDSUS/Resources/Safeguards_eval.pdf

54. World Bank and International Monetary Fund, *Global Monitoring Report 2008: MDGs and the Environment* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2008), 5, 6.

http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTGLOMONREP2008/Resources/4737994-1207342962709/8944_Web_PDF.pdf

55. Independent Tribunal, *Findings*, 23.

56. *Ibid.*, 19. It is important to note that the charge is not that the Bank is bribing officials to take certain decisions, but that, from working at the Bank and IMF, they benefit personally and professionally by articulating and carrying out the policies of these institutions, so there are few incentives to raise doubts or questions. After five years as a full staff member at the World Bank or the IMF, an Indian official—or any other professional from a developing nation—vests in the institution’s pension program, which pays a benefit for life that is oftentimes as great as or greater than their government salary when they return to their former jobs.

57. Fraser, *As Tigers Near Extinction*.

58. Watts, “Putin May Be the Tiger’s Champion.”

59. United Nations Secretary-General, “Twentieth-Century Model ‘A Global Suicide Pact,’ Secretary-General Tells World Economic Forum Session on Redefining Sustainable Development,” SG/SM/13372, EC/186, ENV/DEV/1182 (New York: United Nations Department of Public Information, News and Media Division, January 28, 2011).

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Chapter 2 Notes

1. The U.S. Government, during the administration of President Jimmy Carter, was a pioneer in identifying these global environmental concerns already in the late 1970s. Sadly, the Carter administration was perhaps the high point of American international environmental leadership.

2. Address of Barber B. Conable, President, World Bank and International Finance Corporation, to the World Resources Institute, Washington, DC, May 5, 1987 (printed version of the speech released to the press). A detailed description of the events leading up to the Bank's first wave of environmental reforms, and of major aspects of the reforms themselves, can be found in Bruce Rich, *Mortgaging the Earth: The World Bank, Environmental Impoverishment, and the Crisis of Development* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994), 107–81.

3. World Bank, *The Forest Sector: A World Bank Policy Paper* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1991), 21–22. See also: Uma Lele et al., *The World Bank Forest Strategy: Striking the Right Balance* (Washington, DC: World Bank Operations Evaluation Department, 2000), 2–4.

[http://inweb90.worldbank.org/oed/oeddoclib.nsf/b57456d58aba40e585256ad400736404/f7d852631e3a2b25852569a800654b8c/\\$FILE/forestry.pdf](http://inweb90.worldbank.org/oed/oeddoclib.nsf/b57456d58aba40e585256ad400736404/f7d852631e3a2b25852569a800654b8c/$FILE/forestry.pdf)

4. Robert Wade, “Greening the Bank: The Struggle over the Environment, 1970–1995,” in *The World Bank: Its First Half Century*, vol. 2: *Perspectives*, ed. Devesh Kapur, John P. Lewis, and Richard Webb (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1997), 612.

The figures on increases in Bank staff, funding for environmental projects and research etc. are from Wade, 612.

5. Ibid., 711.

6. Ibid., 612.

7. Ibid.

8. Korinna Horta, Robin Round, and Zoe Young, “The Global Environment Facility: The First Ten Years—Growing Pains or Inherent Flaws?” report by Environmental Defense and Halifax Initiative, August 2002, 4.

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9. Wade, 679.

10. Charlotte Streck, “The Network Structure of the Global Environment Facility,” UN Vision Project on Global Policy Networks, 10. (See also: Charlotte Streck, “The Global Environment Facility: A Role Model for International Governance?” *Global Environmental Politics* 1, no. 2, 71–94.)

<http://www.globalpublicpolicy.net>

11. Horta et al., 5.

12. See: Gareth Porter et al., *Study of GEF's Overall Performance*, First Overall Performance Study, OPS1 (Washington, DC: Global Environment Facility, 1999), 69.

<http://www.thegef.org/gef/node/1915>

13. RESOLVE, Inc., “Issues Assessment: Incremental Cost Determination for GEF-Funded Projects,” in Global Environment Facility, GEF Council, Progress on Incremental

Costs, GEF/C.12.If.4, September 14, 1998, 3, 4, 7; see also: Porter, *Study of GEF's Overall Performance*, 70–71.

<http://www.thegef.org/gef/sites/thegef.org/files/documents/GEF.C.12.If.4.pdf>

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14. Streck, “The Network Structure of the Global Environment Facility,” 20.

15. The projects are discussed at length in Rich, *Mortgaging the Earth*, 178–80.

16. Susan George, quoted in Tom Athanasiou, *Divided Planet: The Ecology of Rich and Poor* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 283.

17. See, for example, Wade, 622.

18. See discussion in Rich, 243.

19. For a good description of the Bank’s role in Stockholm and immediately afterwards, see Wade, 620–23.

20. Wade, 672.

21. Streck, “The Network Structure of the Global Environment Facility,” 23.

22. See: GEP website, thegef.org.

<http://www.thegef.org/gef/instrument>

23. See: Rich, *Mortgaging the Earth*, 261.

24. United Nations Conference on Environmentally Sustainable Development (UNCED), *Agenda 21*, chap. 33, paragraphs 13, 18.

<http://www.un-documents.net/a21-33.htm>

25. International Monetary Fund, *IMF Survey*, vol. 29, issue 8 (2000), 172.

26. See, e.g.: United Nations Development Programme, “The Millennium Development Goals: Eight Goals for 2015”; the World Bank’s commitment to the MDGs can be found on its website, Worldbank.org.

<http://www.beta.undp.org/undp/en/home/mdgoverview.html>

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27. Rich, 151, 250.

28. Arundhati Roy, “The Greater Common Good,” April 1999, Narmada.org.

<http://www.narmada.org/gcg/gcg.html>

29. *Sardar Sarovar: Report of the Independent Review*, Chairman, Bradford Morse; Deputy Chairman, Thomas Berger (Ottawa: Resource Future International, 1992), 226, 233–34.

30. *Ibid.*, 53.

31. *Ibid.*, 36.

32. Willi A. Wapenhans et al., “Report of the Portfolio Management Task Force, July 1, 1992” (internal World Bank document), 12, 14.

33. “Statement of E. Patrick Coady, U.S. Executive Director, to an Executive Board Seminar, May 4, 1993” (U.S. Treasury Department, typewritten document, 4 pages).

34. For example, action number 15—“produce report on Bank’s environmental policies and activities”—referred to a public relations environment report the Bank had been already issuing for three years.

35. Action 85 was “provide leadership in implementing the reform plan” and action 86 was “assess implementation progress.”

36. Willi A. Wapenhans, “Efficiency and Effectiveness: Is the World Bank Group Prepared for the Task Ahead?” in Bretton Woods Commission, *Bretton Woods: Looking to the Future* (Washington, DC: Bretton Woods Commission, July 1994), note 22, C-304.

37. Wade, 704.

38. For an in-depth discussion of the Morse Commission and the Bank's subsequent withdrawal from the project, see: Wade, 699–709; see also: Rich, *Mortgaging the Earth*, 249–54, 301–2; Maartje Van Putten, *Policing the Banks: Accountability Mechanisms and the Financial Sector* (Montreal, QC, and Kingston, ON: McGill-Queens University Press, 2008), 67–74.

39. World Bank, “Resolution No. 93-10, Resolution No. IDA No. 93-10, September 22, 1993, The World Bank Inspection Panel,” paragraph 12, in Ibrahim F. I. Shihata, *The World Bank Inspection Panel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 129.

40. Similar inspection panels, or inspection functions, were established in the other multilateral development banks, as well as in at least three public export credit and investment insurance agencies in recent years, the U.S. Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), the Canadian Export Development Corporation (EDC), and the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC).

41. See: Wade, 727–28; and see especially: Van Putten, *Policing the Banks*, 74–81.

42. Interview with Barney Frank, in Van Putten, *Policing the Banks*, 342–45.

43. Ibid.

44. Horta et al., 13–14.

45. Leif Christoffersen et al., GEF OPS2, 59.

46. Porter et al., GEF OPS 1, xv.

47. Global Environment Facility, *GEF Annual Report 2010*, 9–10.

<http://www.thegef.org/gef/pubs/gef-annual-report-2010>

48. Heike Mainhardt-Gibbs, “World Bank Group Energy Sector Financing Update,” Bank Information Center, November 2010, bicusa.org.

<http://www.bicusa.org/en/Document.102339.aspx>

49. See discussion of the World Bank/GEF Kena Tana River Primate Reserve project in Horta et al., 20–21.

50. World Bank and United Nations Development Program, *Reducing Threats to Protected Areas: Lessons from the Field* (Washington, DC, and New York: World Bank and United Nations Development Program, 2007), 66.

<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTBIODIVERSITY/Resources/ReducingThreats-web.pdf>

51. Ibid., 65–66.

52. Richard Carlos Worden and Colin Reese, *IEG Review of Twenty World Bank–Funded Projects in Tiger Landscapes*, Evaluation Brief 12 (Washington, DC: World Bank Independent Evaluation Group [IEG], 2011), 17, 16.

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53. Global Environment Facility/World Bank, “Proposal for Review: India Ecodevelopment Project,” 1, 4–5 (on Gefonline.org, see link to pdf of “Project Document for WP”).

<http://gefonline.org/projectDetailsSQL.cfm?projID=84>

54. Worden and Reese, *IEG Review of Twenty World Bank–Funded Projects*, 16.

55. Ibid.

56. Independent People's Tribunal on the World Bank in India, *Findings of the Jury* (New Delhi: Shivaam Sundaram, September 11, 2008), 16–17.

57. P. Devullu et al., “Indigenous and Tribal Communities, Biodiversity Conservation and the Global Environment Facility in India: General Overview and a Case Study of People’s Perspectives of the India Ecodevelopment Project,” May 2, 2005, 1.

<http://www.forestpeoples.org/region/india/publication/2010/indigenous-and-tribal-communities-biodiversity-conservation-and-global>

58. Ibid.

59. See complaint and eligibility for inspection documents at Worldbank.org.

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60. Horta et al., 21–22.

61. Ibid.

62. World Bank, “The Inspection Panel Report and Recommendation on Request for Inspection India: Ecodevelopment Project, Rajiv Gandhi (Nagarahole) National Park,” October 21, 1998, 29, paragraph 86.

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTINSPECTIONPANEL/0,,contentMDK:22515703~pagePK:64129751~piPK:64128378~theSitePK:380794,00.html>

63. Ibid., 13, paragraph 35.

64. For an interesting case study of the complex factors at work undermining the success of the World Bank India Ecodevelopment Project in another one of the seven protected areas, see: Lucie Dejouhanet, “Participatory Eco-Development in Question: The Case of the Parmbikulum Wildlife Sanctuary in Southern India,” *Journal of Alpine Research* 98, no. 1 (2010).

<http://rga.revues.org/index1146.html#tocto1n4>

65. Ross Hughs and Fiona Flinton, *Integrating Conservation and Development Experience: A Review and Bibliography of the ICDP Literature* (London: International Institute for Environment and Development, 2001), 7.

http://www.ucc.ie/famine/GCD/ICDP_sec.pdf

66. Kaavya Varma, “The Asiatic Lion and the Maldharvis of Gir Forest,” 158, citing T. O. McShane and S. A. Newby, “Expecting the Unattainable: The Assumptions behind ICDPs,” in T. O. McShane and M. P. Wells, eds., *Getting Biodiversity Projects to Work: Towards More Effective Conservation and Development* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 49–74.

67. See, for example, the Bank Management Comments, in Worden and Reese, *IEG Review of 20 World Bank–Funded Projects in Tiger Landscapes*, xiii-xv: “Management notes that the median year of concept review of the 20 reviewed projects is 1997. Some of the design issues noted in the IEG review have been previously identified in other reviews and subsequently addressed. . . .” Nevertheless, “at the same time management recognizes that there is scope for improvement in the monitoring and reporting on environmental impacts during project implementation.” And, yes, “Management appreciates the advice that the Bank should further mainstream biodiversity into sectors that can have significant impacts on biodiversity, such as infrastructure and rural development. Management agrees that mainstreaming biodiversity considerations into the design of Bank-supported projects to complement focused stand-alone biodiversity conservation efforts is key to continue advancing this agenda through proactive support to improve environmental aspects of Bank-supported projects.”

68. Ibid., 5.

69. Nevertheless, the report does put forth as one of its general recommendations that better assessment of the real threats to protected areas is needed.

70. World Bank internal memo, March 26, 1993, quoted in Steve Berkman, *The World Bank and the Gods of Lending* (Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press, 2008), 28.

71. *Ibid.*, 44–45.

72. Richard Webb, “Demotion and Rededication: 1981 to the Mid-1990s,” in *The World Bank: Its First Half Century*, vol. 2: *History*, ed. Devesh Kapur, John P. Lewis, and Richard Webb (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1997), 338.

73. S. Guhan, “The World Bank’s Lending to South Asia,” in *The World Bank: Its First Half Century*, vol. 1, 382–82.

74. Wade, 733–34.

Chapter 3 Notes

1. World Bank, “Meeting of President Wolfensohn with Senior Management, March 12, 1996,” internal World Bank document, 12.

2. World Bank, “Wolfensohn Lays Out Future Direction of World Bank,” News Release No. 96/S21, October 10, 1995.

3. Michael Holman, Patti Walmeir, and Robert Chote, “World Bank Chief Accuses Staff of Resisting Reforms,” *Financial Times*, March 29, 1996, 1.

4. Michael Holman and Patti Waldmeir, “World Bank Chief’s Cry from the Heart,” *Financial Times*, March 29, 1996, 4.

5. James D. Wolfensohn, letter to World Bank staff, June 1, 1995, as reported by Al Kamen, “Keep It in the Family,” *Washington Post*, June 9, 1995.

6. James D. Wolfensohn, *A Global Life* (New York: Public Affairs, 2010), 261–62.

7. *Ibid.*, 269.

8. Garry Evans, “The World According to Wolfensohn,” interview, *Euromoney*, September 1995, 56.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*, 22–23.

11. For example, Charles H. Antholt, a Bank senior agriculturist, concluded in a 1992 study that “without a doubt, T&V is widely considered ineffective,” citing numerous examples of Bank-supported programs in Pakistan, Indonesia, India, Nepal, Thailand, Bangladesh, and Malaysia. He noted that the T&V approach “has tended to further institutionalize [agricultural] extension’s top-down hierarchy and centralized management” and that its emphasis on hiring large numbers of extension staff “may have undermined [the] public sector’s long-term sustainability unintentionally” through “the unacceptable strain . . . it puts on public resources.” See: Charles H. Antholt, “Relevancy, Responsiveness and Cost-Effectiveness: Issues for Agricultural Extension in the 21st Century” (unpublished paper), July 1992.

12. World Bank, Operations Evaluation Department, Project Performance Audit Report, Kenya National Extension Project (Credit 1387-KE), draft report (Washington, DC: World Bank, January 10, 1996), 14.

13. See: Edward W. Cronin, *A Natural History of the World’s Deepest Valley* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1979).

14. Arun Concerned Group, Request for Inspection, World Bank Independent Inspection Panel, October 24, 1994, 8; available on World Bank website.

15. Ibid., 7; see also: Lori Udall, "Trampling on Nepal," *Multinational Monitor* 16, no. 12 (December 1994).
http://multinationalmonitor.org/hyper/issues/1994/12/mm1294_08.html
16. Edward W. Cronin, *A Natural History of the World's Deepest Valley*.
17. Arun Concerned Group, Request for Inspection, 2.
18. Eduardo Lachica, "Environmentalists Are Opposing Plans of World Bank to Build Dam in Nepal," *Wall Street Journal*, September 12, 1994.
19. Korinna Horta, "Monster of the Himalayas," *Washington Post*, November 11, 1994, C4.
20. Martin Karcher, interview with Environmental Defense Fund concerning the Nepal Arun III Hydroelectric Project, September 9, 1994.
21. Ibid.
22. German Federal Audit Office, "FZ-Massnahme mit Nepal; Wasserkraftwerk (WKW) Arun III," December 19, 1994, 2, 5.
23. Daniel D. Bradlow, "A Test Case for the World Bank," *American University Journal of International Law and Policy* 11, no. 2 (1996): 266.
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25. Richard E. Bissell, "The Arun III Hydropower Project, Nepal," in *Demanding Accountability: Civil-Society Claims and the World Bank Inspection Panel*, ed. Dana Clark, Jonathan Fox, and Kay Treakle (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003), 25–45, 31.
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