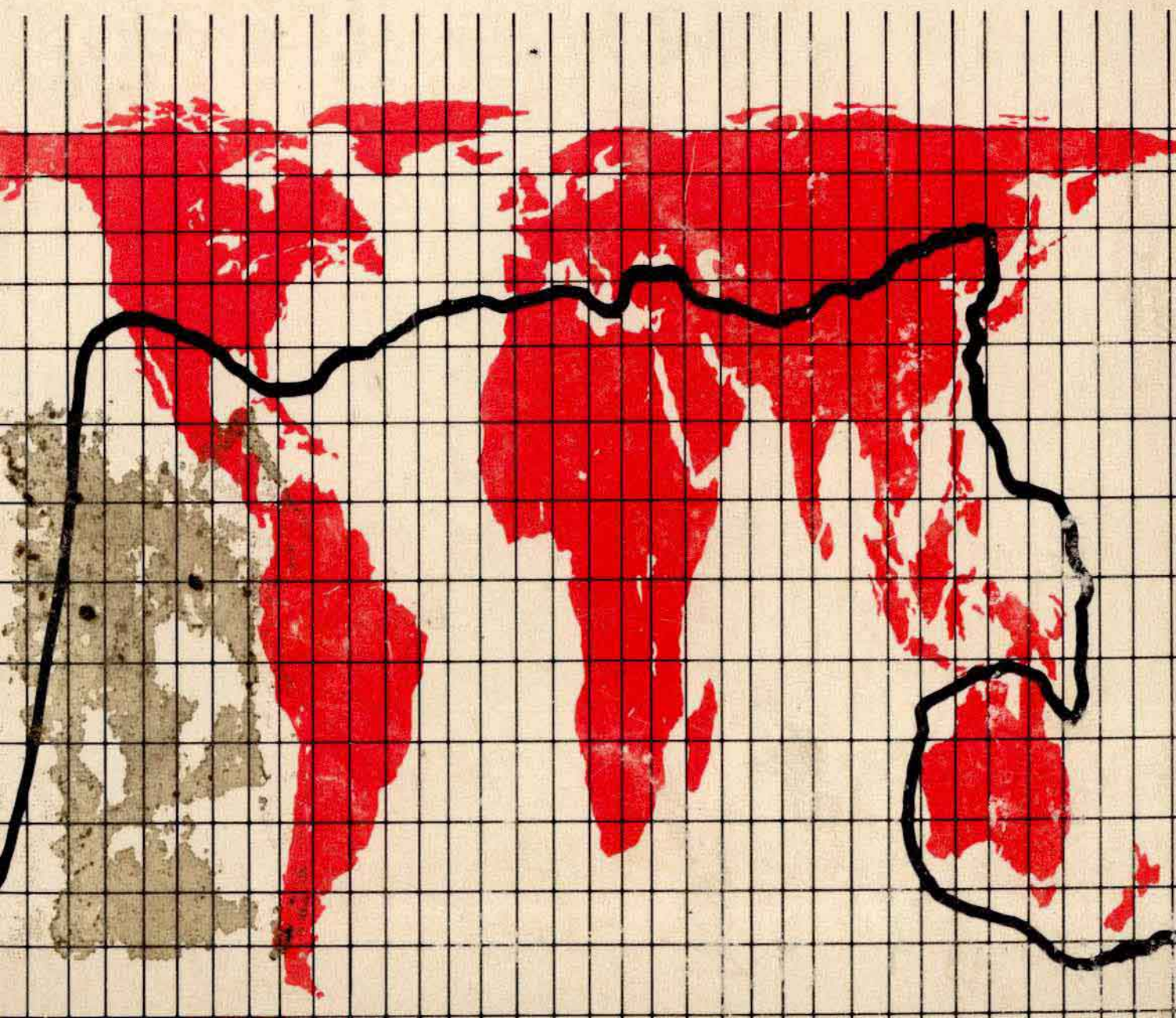


NORTH- SOUTH

A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL

The Report of the Independent
Commission on International
Development Issues under the
Chairmanship of Willy Brandt



N

A

Report International Development Issues

Willy Brandt

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The map on the front cover is based upon the Peters Projection rather than the more familiar Mercator Projection.

The Peters Projection introduces several innovative characteristics: an accurate rendition of the proportion of the land surface area; graphical representation of the entire world surface, including the polar regions; the Equator is placed at the centre of the map; the usual grid of 180 Meridians (East and West) and 90 Meridians each (North and South) is replaced by a decimal degree network dividing the earth both East and West and North and South into 100 fields each; angle accuracy in the main North-South, East-West directions.

The surface distortions that do appear are distributed at the Equator and the poles; the more densely settled earth zones, it is claimed, appear in proper proportion to each other. This projection represents an important step away from the prevailing Eurocentric geographical and cultural concept of the world.

The map is printed by courtesy of Dr Arno Peters of the University of Bremen.

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Abbreviations

The following are the main abbreviations used in the text:

| | |
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| CIEC | Conference on International Economic Cooperation |
| CMEA | Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (also known as Comecon) |
| EEC | European Economic Community |
| FAO | Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations |
| GATT | General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade |
| GSP | Generalized System of Preferences |
| IBRD | International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (also known as the World Bank) |
| IDA | International Development Association |
| ILO | International Labour Office/Organization |
| IMF | International Monetary Fund |
| ODA | Official Development Assistance |
| OECD | Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development |
| OPEC | Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries |
| UNCTAD | United Nations Conference on Trade and Development |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| UNEP | United Nations Environment Programme |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization |
| UNIDO | United Nations Industrial Development Organization |
| WHO | World Health Organization |
| WIPO | World Intellectual Property Organization |

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A Plea for Change: Peace, Justice, Jobs

An Introduction by Willy Brandt

In the summer of 1978, half a year after we had started our work, a friend and distinguished African leader sent me an encouraging message: our Commission, he said, could 'contribute to the development of worldwide moral values'.

It is not for me to judge if and how far we have been able to meet that high expectation, but this Report, in any case, deals with some of the world's needs of the 1980s. It discusses North-South relations as the great social challenge of our time. We want to emphasize our belief that the two decades ahead of us may be fateful for mankind. We want responsible world citizens everywhere to realize that many global issues will come to a head during this period. But we also raise problems to be dealt with at once, long before we have come to the end of the century.

This Report deals with great risks, but it does not accept any kind of fatalism. It sets out to demonstrate that the mortal dangers threatening our children and grandchildren can be averted; and that we have a chance – whether we are living in the North or South, East or West – if we are determined to do so, to shape the world's future in peace and welfare, in solidarity and dignity.

The invitation to bring together this Independent Commission was the beginning of an exciting experience. For me, as for others, it has been an unforgettable education as well. It has been our advantage not to be preoccupied with national prestige, not to be under instructions from anywhere. We did not intend to take the place of governments or international institutions. But we tried to support decision-makers, and to appeal to the public on whom they rely.

We came not only from many parts of the world, but also carried with us differing convictions and different sums of experience, resulting from various fields of responsibility in political and economic life. As we discussed and argued over specifics, we found

that we had gradually come to share a common vision of the kind of world we hoped for, and of some of the major problems to be overcome if our hopes were to be realized. This was remarkable – consensus became a reality.

When we first met near Bonn in December 1977, we regarded it as our task (as we said in our terms of reference) 'to study the grave global issues arising from the economic and social disparities of the world community'. And we promised 'to suggest ways of promoting adequate solutions to the problems involved in development and in attacking absolute poverty'.

When we came to discuss our conclusions, there was an even stronger feeling that reshaping worldwide North-South relations had become a crucial commitment to the future of mankind. Equal in importance to counteracting the dangers of the arms race, we believed this to be the greatest challenge to mankind for the remainder of this century. We were aware of the fact that the concept of global responsibility for economic and social development is comparatively new – in state-to-state terms it does not go back much more than one generation. It was the concept of the United Nations which – in 1945, at the end of the Second World War – created hopes (and illusions) about a world of equity and justice.

Over a period of two years, and in a number of intensive meetings, we have discussed and debated a great number of issues, agreed on many proposals, differed on some. Our Report is not meant to be a technical document. On the main thrust of our recommendations and the programme of priorities in our last chapter we are in unanimous agreement. The other chapters are also the result of our common thinking, though perhaps not every one of us may associate himself fully with each particular sentence in them.

Before speaking for my colleagues, to whom I owe much, I want to make some remarks on my own behalf. When someone asked about my right to chair a Commission of this kind, I was not surprised. In all frankness, my own record did not necessarily qualify me for the job. But learning from one's own shortcomings sometimes helps in addressing one's fellow citizens.

As a young journalist opposing dictatorship, I was not blind to the problems of colonialism and the fight for independence. During the Second World War, I also gave thought to problems of decolonization and development in terms of a new world order. I met Nehru, Nasser, Tito, and other leaders, at a time when most people, at least in my part of the world, had not even heard about a

Third World or the beginning of a non-aligned movement. Reading, travel and talks did tell me something about Asia and Latin America, Africa and the Middle East. I had not forgotten the problem of decolonization and development when, in 1971, I expressed my gratitude for the award of the Nobel Peace Prize, nor when I spoke to the General Assembly after my country had joined the United Nations, or on other occasions. But it is nonetheless true that, as a head of government, other priorities took up most of my time and kept me from realizing the full importance of North-South issues. I certainly did not give enough attention to those of my colleagues who at that time advocated a reappraisal of our priorities.

I kept in contact with the new approach to development problems. In 1974 and 1975, the Presidents of Algeria and Mexico told me about their important initiatives in calling for a new international order. But those who urged me to take on the task of forming and chairing this Commission probably recalled my contribution to what had become known as *Ostpolitik*. The problem then was: could sterile and dangerous confrontation between parts of Europe be replaced at least partially by realistic cooperation? Could one discover areas of common interest under the heavy load of irreconcilable ideological controversies?

The results have been strengthened peace and cooperation in Europe although very little has been achieved in the field of arms limitation up to now. The lesson I learned nonetheless was that one can move things by achieving practical and confidence-building agreements, so that old conflicts do not lead to new ones, and thus one can improve the political climate. In certain circumstances one may even be in a position to change the nature of a conflict. This indeed was the experience which I thought to bring to bear on our studies of North-South problems.

How to Change Attitudes

There has been much talk about a North-South dialogue. And there have been serious contributions to it. But there has also been a tremendous waste of opportunities and goodwill. The difficult and controversial subjects which divide richer and poorer countries will certainly not be solved by prejudices, nor by wishful thinking. They must be approached with a will to overcome dangerous tensions and to produce significant and useful results for nations and regions – but, first and foremost, for human beings – in all parts of the world.

I repeat: in *all* parts of the world. The Commission neither wanted to lose itself in polemics, nor to shirk difficult subjects. In the interest of global needs and universal efforts, it does advocate the greater involvement of the Soviet Union and its allies. No less important, the People's Republic of China should be invited to cooperate more intensively and – in doing so – let others benefit from its experience as by far the largest developing country. High level contacts with these countries and expert talks in some of their capitals underlined the Commission's endeavour to move a step further than the Pearson Commission found it possible to do a decade ago.

The Commission agreed on the necessity for a thorough rethinking to create a new type of relationship which could accommodate all nations. Such change can be brought about within the remainder of this century if governments of both developed and developing countries are convinced of the need to act. One should not give up the hope that problems created by men can also be solved by men.

This calls for understanding, commitment and solidarity – between peoples and nations. But they can come about only with a feeling for realities and a grasp of intertwined interests, even if these are not identical. It also calls for courage, for a vision of the future without which no great task has ever been completed. Such endeavours must be guided by mutual respect, open-mindedness and honesty, with a willingness not only to offer criticism but also to listen to it.

Change and reform cannot take place in a one-way street: they must be supported by governments and people in both industrialized and developing countries. If we are honest and want to promote international understanding, we should not avoid any serious exchange of views. Waste and corruption, oppression and violence, are unfortunately to be found in many parts of the world. The work for a new international order cannot wait until these and other evils have been overcome. We in the South *and* the North should frankly discuss abuses of power by élites, the outburst of fanaticism, the misery of millions of refugees, or other violations of human rights which harm the cause of justice and solidarity, at home and abroad.

This Report will be formally presented to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and through him to governments and international organizations. But at the same time we hope to reach open-minded, responsible women and men all over the world. It is our ambition to enable ordinary people to see more clearly how

their jobs and their daily lives are interlocked with those of communities at the other end of the world. We are asking them to think things over, to be sensible and act humanely and thus help secure a common future.

In our terms of reference we said the Commission would strive above all to convince decision-makers and public opinion 'that profound changes are required in international relations, particularly international economic relations'. We also promised to 'pay careful attention to the UN resolutions on development problems and other issues explored in international fora in recent years'.

Most people know that the existing system of international institutions was established at the end of the Second World War, thirty-five years ago, and that the South – mostly as latecomers on the international scene – faces numerous disadvantages which need fundamental correction. Hence the demand for a new international economic order. Fundamental change, of course, is not the result of paperwork but part of a historical process, of what is developing or foreshadowed in people's minds.

We expect much of those among the young generations who will soon carry major political responsibility. We hope that their insistence on dealing with human beings rather than bloodless abstractions or self-serving institutions grows stronger. We also hope that they are more concerned with human values than with bureaucratic regulations and technocratic constraints. And we are convinced of the great role education has to play: a better knowledge of international, and not least North-South, affairs will widen our views and foster concern for the fate of other nations, even distant ones, and for problems of common interest. The Commission feels that schools all over the world should pay more attention to international problems so that young people will see more clearly the dangers they are facing, their own responsibilities and the opportunities of cooperation – globally and regionally as well as within their own neighbourhood.

There is a real danger that in the year 2000 a large part of the world's population will still be living in poverty. The world may become overpopulated and will certainly be overurbanized. Mass starvation and the dangers of destruction may be growing steadily – if a new major war has not already shaken the foundations of what we call world civilization.

Shaping Order from Contradictions

We are aware that this Report is being published at a time when rich countries are deeply worried by the prospects of prolonged 'recession' and the diminishing stability of international relations.

We believe that these difficulties are more serious than those of past recessions and economic crises. It would be dangerous and insincere to suggest that they can be overcome with the conventional tools of previous decades.

Many people in government, and elsewhere, may consider this to be the worst possible moment for advocating radical changes. How can industrial nations preoccupied with grave problems of their own be expected to make far-reaching and bold moves to intensify cooperation with the developing world? But we believe that it is precisely in this time of crisis that basic world issues must be faced and bold initiatives taken.

We see signs of a new awareness that mankind is becoming a single community; but so far they have not been strong enough to stem the drift. In the short period since our Commission first met, in December 1977, the international situation has gone from bad to worse. It is no exaggeration to say that the future of the world can rarely have seemed so endangered. But it would be an illusion to reduce all the problems of the world to the conflict between North and South. Our world has many more facets, and world development is not merely an economic process. As one of our Commissioners remarked towards the end of our deliberations, the new generations of the world need not only economic solutions, they need ideas to inspire them, hopes to encourage them, and first steps to implement them. They need a belief in man, in human dignity, in basic human rights; a belief in the values of justice, freedom, peace, mutual respect, in love and generosity, in reason rather than force.

While the struggle continues for a new structure of international relations, non-economic considerations are being taken more seriously: religious and ethnic factors, education and public opinion. Peace is the aim of all religions, beliefs, philosophies. It is the great desire of all races, nations and creeds. Is it impossible to derive from this desire a *common* passion for peace as the emotional and moral driving force of our enterprises? But even here there should be no illusions. Peace, conciliation and other common values do not develop automatically. Development in the broad sense of a quest for peace may enable us to identify conflicts and handle them in ways that will no longer result in military or economic wars. There must be room for the idea of a global

community, or at least a global responsibility evolving from the experience of regional communities.

It seems to be a permanent task for man to shape order out of contradictions. Efforts to restructure international relations receive invaluable support wherever they can be based on similar values. The impulses from churches and religious communities as well as from humanism can strengthen worldwide solidarity and thus help resolve North-South problems.

Destruction or Development?

Our Report is based on what appears to be the simplest common interest: that mankind wants to survive, and one might even add has the moral obligation to survive. This not only raises the traditional questions of peace and war, but also of how to overcome world hunger, mass misery and alarming disparities between the living conditions of rich and poor.

If reduced to a simple denominator, this Report deals with peace. War is often thought of in terms of military conflict, or even annihilation. But there is a growing awareness that an equal danger might be chaos – as a result of mass hunger, economic disaster, environmental catastrophes, and terrorism. So we should not think only of reducing the traditional threats to peace, but also of the need for change from chaos to order.

At the beginning of a new decade, only twenty years short of the millennium, we must try to lift ourselves above day-to-day quarrels (or negotiations) to see the menacing long-term problems. We see a world in which poverty and hunger still prevail in many huge regions; in which resources are squandered without consideration of their renewal; in which more armaments are made and sold than ever before; and where a destructive capacity has been accumulated to blow up our planet several times over.

There is no reasonable alternative to a policy of reducing tensions and bringing about a higher degree of cooperation. Quick solutions are an illusion; what is of paramount importance is the need to build up more confidence and to curb the mounting spiral of sophisticated and expensive weaponry. Antagonism in power politics and ideology can lead to dangerous armed conflicts. Efforts have been made to ease tensions in the most crucial areas of East-West relations. But the production and sale of arms keeps growing and can easily get out of hand. We may already be arming ourselves to death.

The relationship between armament and development is still very

much in the dark. The prospects which might open up if only part of the unproductive arms spending were turned to productive expenditure on development are only slowly dawning on people. The annual military bill is now approaching 450 billion US dollars, while official development aid accounts for less than 5 per cent of this figure. Four examples:

1 The military expenditure of only half a day would suffice to finance the whole malaria eradication programme of the World Health Organization, and less would be needed to conquer river-blindness, which is still the scourge of millions.

2 A modern tank costs about one million dollars; that amount could improve storage facilities for 100,000 tons of rice and thus save 4000 tons or more annually: one person can live on just over a pound of rice a day. The same sum of money could provide 1000 classrooms for 30,000 children.

3 For the price of one jet fighter (20 million dollars) one could set up about 40,000 village pharmacies.

4 One-half of one per cent of one year's world military expenditure would pay for all the farm equipment needed to increase food production and approach self-sufficiency in food-deficit low-income countries by 1990.

Could one be content to call something a 'new world economic order' if it did not include major progress towards disarmament? Arrangements on the limitation of intercontinental destruction machines are to be welcomed, but they cannot replace disarmament.

The past thirty years have seen peace in the northern hemisphere, against a background of military blocs controlling sophisticated arms, while the southern half of this earth has suffered outbreaks of violent unrest and military clashes. Some Third World countries have substantially boosted their armaments, sometimes to protect their legitimate or understandable security interests, but sometimes also for prestige purposes and sometimes encouraged by arms-producing countries. Business has been rewarding for both old and new arms suppliers who have spread an incredible destructive capability over the globe. It is a terrible irony that the most dynamic and rapid transfer of highly sophisticated equipment and technology from rich to poor countries has been in the machinery of death.

The involvement of so-called great powers, especially the nuclear

superpowers, in the conflicts of other continents entails the risk of escalation. We join with those who warn against interventionism; there certainly is no military solution to the problems of energy or commodities.

On the other hand, manifest disrespect for international law and rules of conduct will certainly not make it easier to settle bilateral disputes or problems of a multilateral character. North-South relations should be seen for what they are, a historic dimension for the active pursuit of peace. Instead the tensions between North and South are complicating East-West antagonism, and Third World countries could easily become theatres of conflict between nuclear world powers.

Such tensions not only endanger peace but also disturb the development of reasonable economic relations and retard the growth of prosperity. That is one reason for asking: when will the arms-producing countries be prepared – in the framework of the United Nations or directly – to agree on certain rules of conduct? These might range from the disclosure of exports, both of arms and of the capacity to produce arms, to a non-discriminating arrangement barring certain types of weapons from export or preventing arms deliveries to certain areas. But it should be realized, of course, that by now arms exports are not coming exclusively from the North.

Peace can be consolidated by developing systematic cooperation with defined goals, by building confidence, by checking and reducing armaments, and by jettisoning ideological deadweight. People must be made aware of the relationship between problems of disarmament and development. The motives of power, influence and commerce – and, absurdly, prestige – that lie behind the arms trade must be harnessed to development, which would be a source of legitimate pride.

There is much in favour of a 'programme of survival' with common and unifying objectives: we must aim at a global community based on contract rather than status, on consensus rather than compulsion.

An End to Poverty and Hunger

It is a matter of humanity to conquer hunger and disease on our way to the next millennium – to prove wrong those forecasters who say we will have to face the distress of hundreds of millions of people suffering from starvation and preventable diseases at the turn of the twenty-first century.

The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) estimated that in 1978 alone more than 12 million children under the age of five died of hunger. And although the United Nations declared 1979 the Year of the Child these devastating figures will not have changed for the better.

History has taught us that wars produce hunger, but we are less aware that mass poverty can lead to war or end in chaos. While hunger rules peace cannot prevail. He who wants to ban war must also ban mass poverty. Morally it makes no difference whether a human being is killed in war or is condemned to starve to death because of the indifference of others.

Mankind has never before had such ample technical and financial resources for coping with hunger and poverty. The immense task can be tackled once the necessary collective will is mobilized. What is necessary can be done, and must be done, in order to provide the conditions by which the poor can be saved from starvation as well as destructive confrontation.

Solidarity among men must go beyond national boundaries; we cannot allow it to be reduced to a meaningless phrase. International solidarity must stem both from strong mutual interests in cooperation *and* from compassion for the hungry.

The elimination of hunger is the most basic of human needs. Therefore we attach great importance to the increase of international food production and to the promotion of agriculture in many parts of the world which have become precariously dependent on imports.

The quality of life is almost meaningless without health, which depends on proper nutrition and a healthy environment. This also demands more research and operational funds devoted to combating the diseases of people in poor countries. Health care, social development and economic progress must advance interdependently if we are to attain our objectives for the year 2000.

Illiteracy too is a tremendous waste of human potential. Literacy – which goes beyond just being able to read and write – arouses people's consciousness and helps them participate in community life. Thus it is also a prerequisite for fighting hunger and disease.

We emphasize that human needs can only be met by the productive efforts of the society which strives to meet those needs. The only way to make this possible for developing countries, particularly the poorest ones, is to enable them to build up and develop their own productive capability. Therefore, we support additional and immediate measures for these countries. In our Report we suggest that such endeavours should, amongst others,