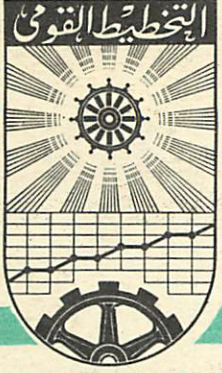


جمهورية مصر العربية



مَعهد التخطيط القومي

مذكرة رقم (١٢٢٣)

شركاء الفــــد

مجموعة مقالات عن النظام الدولى الجديد
أعدت تكريماً للأستاذ يان تـبـرجـن

تقديم واعداد

الدكتور ابراهيم حلى عبد الرحمن

اغسطس ١٩٧٨

شركاء الغد
مجموعة مقالات عن النظام الدولي الجديد
أعدت تكريماً للأستاذ يان تينبرجن
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صورة المستقبل

هل يقوم المستقبل على أساس مشاركة عادلة وإيجابيه بين الاغنياء والفقراء أم انه سينسهد استمرارا للنظم القائمه حاليا والتي كانت في المقام الاول ذات أثر في التفرقه بين الاغنياء الصناعيين وبين الفقراء الزراعيين والتي لو استمرت ستزيد الفجوة والتوتر في العالم ؟
للإجابة على هذا التساؤل ، يدور في العالم كله الآن البحث عن النظام الدولي الجديد المرتقب .

ومن أعمدة هذا البحث يان تنبرجن أحد قادة المفكرين في عصرنا -
لقد كان تنبرجن مهتما دائما بالتراث الاوروبي الانساني والاجتماعي الذي مازالت رسالته الروحية والفكرية - في عالم متعدد الثقافات - تلعب الدور الرئيسي . ففي الستينات كان يعمل رئيسا وموجهها للجنة تخطيط التنمية وهي إحدى المؤسسات المهامه في الامم المتحدة ويومئذ تنبأ بقرب ظهور نظام عالمي جديد .

وفي السبعينات كانت استراتيجيه التنمية الدولية - مثل كل الخطط في العالم المليء بعدم الاستقرار والمتغيرات السريعة - كانت تحتاج لتعديل وربما تجديد ، لذلك تعتبر مساهمته تنبرجن في هذا الشأن ذات قيمة كبيرة توجت بجدارة بجائزة نوبل في الاقتصاد .

وقد ساعدت مساهمة تنبرجن في ظهور اداة جديدة للتحليل الاقتصادي ، كما قدمت اضافات رئيسية ذات أهمية بالغة في فهم الانظمة الاقتصادية وفي تسهيل عملية صنع القرار .

والكتاب الذي تقدم له بهذه الكلمات اشترك في اعداده سبعة وعشرون مفكرا بارزا من ثمان عشرة دولة من الدول المتقدمة والنامية وقد موا فيه وجهات نظرهم بشأن ما يجب بذله من جهود للقيام بنظام عالمي اكثر عدلا .

وقد كتبت هذه المجموعة من المقالات في هذا الوقت بالذات تكريماً ليان تنبرجن بمناسبة الاحتفال بعيد ميلاده الخامس والسبعين .

ويتضمن الجزء الأول من الكتاب تقييماً للوضع الحالي للحوار بين الشمال والجنوب وعرضاً لأهم التطورات التي توصل إليها . كذلك يشمل تعريفاً للمناطق التي تلتقي التي يجب أن تشملها المحادثات بين الأغنياء والفقراء . أما الجزء الثاني فيتناول بالتحليل مجموعة من المشاكل الخاصة على المستويين القومي والعالمي التي تعوق قيام نظام أكثر عدلاً في العالم ، ومنها على سبيل المثال نزع السلاح والسيطرة على المحيطات والاصلاحات النقدية واستراتيجيات التنمية القومية .

وفي كلا الجزئين يطرح المشاركون سؤالين : الأول أين نقف الآن ؟ والسؤال الثاني وماذا بعد ؟

ويصادف نشر كتاب شركاء الغد بـ عدة مبادرات هامة جديدة مكرسة لتضييق الشقة بين الدول الغنية والدول الفقيرة ، لذلك فالكتاب يوسع أن يساهم بالمادة والتوجيه في هذه المبادرات بتقديم صورته محددة لاستراتيجية دولية للتنمية للأجيال القادمة كما يمكنه المساهمة في انجاح المناقشات التي تدور حول النظام العالمي الجديد .

ولا شك أن المناداة باقائه نظام دولي أكثر عدلاً لا يمكن أن تستمر دون استجابة فقد شكلت لجنة عامة داخل الأمم المتحدة تعمل كمركز للتوجيه ومتابعة القرارات والاتفاقيات التي تم التوصل إليها في المباحثات التي تدور حول اقامه نظام دولي جديد في مؤسسات الأمم المتحدة وستعقد الجمعية العامة للأمم المتحدة دورة خاصة في سنة ١٩٨٠ لهذا الغرض .

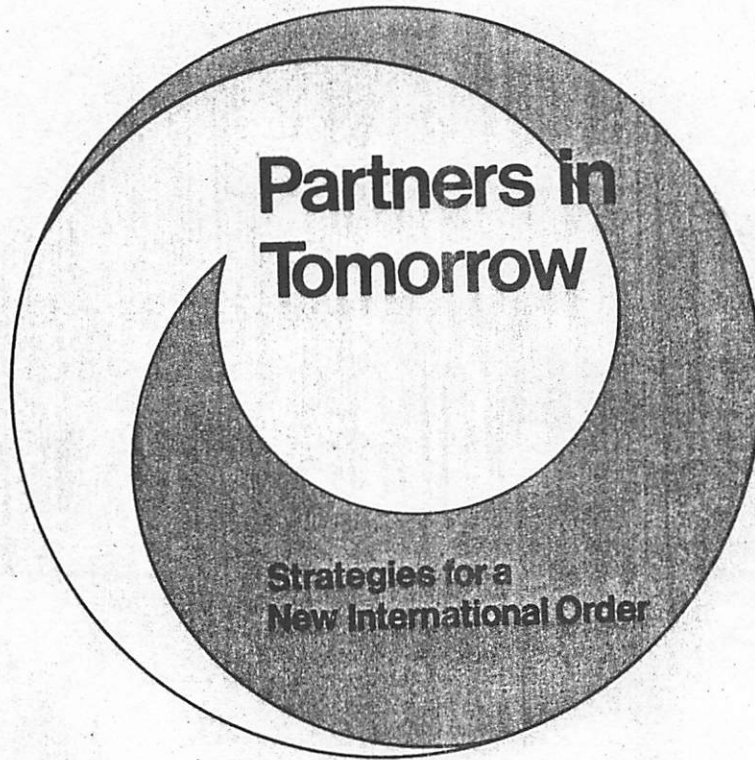
أما على المستوى غير الحكومي فقد شكلت لجنة براندت ومنظمة المائدة المستديرة للحوار بين الشمال والجنوب كما برزت مجهودات لجنة التنمية الدولية والمؤسسة العالمية لبدائل التنمية والمعهد الدولي للمحيط والمنظمة التي تناقش إعادة تشكيل النظام العالمي وهيئات ومؤسسات أخرى عديدة .

وهذا التعدد في المبادرات على المستويات المختلفة يجب اعتباره مؤشرا ايجابيا فكلها تطالب بتدخلات على مستويات أعلى .

ونحن نأمل أن تساهم المقالات التي يحتويها هذا الكتاب في توجيه هذه المبادرات للاتجاه السليم فهي بمثابة ثروه من الأفكار والآراء بعيدة النظر بوسعها أن تقضى على حالة الركود التي تنتاب المباحثات بين الشمال والجنوب .

والمقالة الاولى التي يتضمنها هذا الكتاب كتبها الاستاذ الدكتور ابراهيم حلمي عبد الرحمن بعنوان : " الحاجة الأكثر إلحاحا : الرغبة في ترشيد التنمية " .

وفيما يلي نص هذه المقالة بعد عرض المحتويات وأسماء المشاركين في الكتاب ثم صورته مسن الخطاب الذي أرسله الاستاذ يان تنبرجن للدكتور ابراهيم حلمي عبد الرحمن بعد أن تسلم نسخه من الكتاب يوم عيد ميلاده الخامس والسبعين .



Partners in Tomorrow

Strategies for a
New International Order

Edited by **Antony J. Dolman**
Jan van Ettinger

A Sunrise Book · E.P. Dutton · New York

To Jan Tinbergen
on the occasion of his
seventy-fifth birthday

"What impresses me
and gives me hope is
the growth of the mind
and the spirit of man,
and not his being used as
an agent to convey a message".

Nehru, The Discovery of India

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J. Tinbergen

2566 XD The Hague, 29 April 1978
Haviklaan 31
Tel.: (070) 64 46 30

My dear Dr Abdel-Rahman

It was a very pleasant surprise to learn that on the occasion of my 75th birthday a book was published "Partners in Tomorrow" and a copy of it was offered to me on that very day by those who had organized and carried out technically the book.

Knowing how involved you are in many activities related to our subject, the new international order, and how busy you are, I was struck even more by this token of your friendship, and I want you to know my deep appreciation for your contribution. As is natural, it also helped, by new suggestions, to increase the sense of new North-South dialogues which we all hope will carry us further than the CIEC meetings in Paris.

Already the number of contributors makes it a bit difficult to write a personal letter to you in my old-fashioned handicraft way (I have no typewriter and so far managed to survive - thanks to other people's or some institutions' typewriters). So I hope you permit me to express my feelings of gratitude in this way. I use this opportunity to inform you about the newly introduced zip-code in my country and the change in my telephone number.

Thank you again!

Yours cordially,

Jan Tinbergen

(Jan Tinbergen)

My recollections of my stays in Cairo are quite vivid still and I remain always aware of our common background.

The title of your essay struck me as a very good slogan - you know how helpful good slogans are!

J.T.

The Most Basic Need : The Will to Develop Rationally

Ibrahim Helmi Abdel Rahman

Increasing Timidity

The future of the poor countries has previously been considered a marginal problem for the industrialized countries. Less than one per cent aid and some trade and financing measures seemed at one time to be all that was needed from the rich countries. If these were not sufficient, then it was only the developing countries that would be blamed and suffer.

This opinion is no more accepted, at least as far as pronouncements and declarations go. Rather, it is generally considered that the peace and prosperity of the advanced countries can only be secured on the basis of a certain improvement in the economic and social situations of the poor countries; and to realize this objective, basic structural and policy changes will have to be introduced in the development of the rich and the poor countries as well as in international relations.

Hence the call for a new set of management policies and strategies which in their totality may be called "the new order" towards which all countries should work. There are still considerable differences of opinion and concepts about the future of the world in 20 to 25 years from now, but no one seriously doubts that certain basic questions are emerging, and that their answer calls for new policies and sets of relations both between and within the rich and poor countries. The basic questions include the availability and allocation of food,

energy, raw materials, security and peace, population control, the provision of employment, the international division of labour and the environment, to name just some of the most prominent world problems which have been recognized and much discussed.

If we set aside the lack of agreement and precision with respect to the proposed elements of the new order - which in any event will continue to exist - we may be dissatisfied with the actions which have so far been taken concerning their implementation. Hence the need to raise the question of whether the world of the poor and of the rich possesses the will to develop along the lines of the proposals submitted. In other words, there seems to be a certain reluctance, incapacity or timidity to take actions now which seem necessary to secure peace, justice and development in the future. Many countries - rich and poor - take part in the discussions, dialogues, resolutions and declarations about the future, but fall short of even starting the initial steps towards the realization of the objectives set. This general, rather sweeping, statement should not be taken as a negative judgement on the considerable efforts in many directions which are currently being pursued, and which indeed should be continued and intensified and amplified in the coming years. What is implied is that the declarations and pronouncements seem to be very far removed

from what is actually going on; indeed, it is so far removed that one can justifiably doubt whether the necessary "will" to develop in fact exists.

The enquiry should proceed to examine the causes & propose solutions as may be necessary according to the findings. It may be that the centres of decision, which were supposed to act, are not honestly convinced of the substance of the proposed actions, which are derived from an estimation about the future situation, to which they do not agree. If decision-makers and public opinion in the advanced countries are not convinced that an energy gap in oil-supply will develop between 1985 and 1990 without immediate changes in current energy policy, then they will not consider seriously any proposal for new energy policies. It becomes a question of lack of conviction which inhibits implementation of the measures prescribed in the pronouncements. There may be another situation in which there is conviction but the inability to introduce the necessary measures due to the existence of strong opposing vested interests, or the absence of the instruments required to implement the measures. The situation in this second case is one of ineffectiveness of the decision-making machinery, due to its own shortcoming or to the strength of the opposition to it, or to both.

It is argued here that a third situation is most likely to be the one pertaining now.

It goes as follows: there is a considerable degree of acceptance, even conviction, about the reality, nature and magnitude of the forthcoming difficulties and hence of the need for basic new thinking and action. At the same time, there are strong opposing forces which not usually opposed to the objectives of change, are resistant to the procedure required for organizing it. Everybody wants to go to heaven but no one wants to die. This attitude gives the opponents of change not only the satisfaction of sharing in the thinking and declarations, which are virtues, but also of refusing actions for one pretext or another. One common and frequently quoted pretext is that "public opinion" under the present circumstances will not support the required actions. In other words, the political machinery, while convinced, is unable, because of the voting system and/or the pressure of current problems, to act. They will say, please do something to convince the voters, then we will go along. A variation of this situation, more common in the developing countries, is that the political machinery in power prefers traditional short term solutions which reduces its vulnerability to the radical solutions which are essential in the long run. In all of these cases, there is "timidity" and coolness about turning objectives into programmes of action.

Timidity by the political machinery of decision-making - nationally and internationally - can be camouflaged by more acceptable slogans. The most common

is that current problems should receive priority and urgent attention, though it is known that these problems in most cases have been created by previous in-action and that their solution will in any case require periods of time extending far beyond the coming election. In this way, the current problems of inflation, stagnation, unemployment, monetary instability, environmental degradation and others in the industrialized countries, which no doubt require all attention, are given as excuses for the failure to start serious action about future - and possibly even more serious - problems. In the same way, the developing countries are, in general, at present facing problems of balance of payments, mounting debts, shortages of food and energy, internal unrest, increasing unemployment, fluctuating export proceeds and lack of capital and technology for development. How can decision-makers, faced with these immense and urgent problems, spare the time, attention, and resources, to look far ahead and to initiate new actions and possibly face political risks in the process? The question, however, is whether they can afford not to do so. The answer is political timidity or the lack of will for rational development. The same phenomenon has also been described as a "lack of governance".

Continuation of Intellectual Effort

The intellectual effort of studies, projections, models, discussions and

proposals should in any case continue and for three reasons. First, this is required; many studies and careful examinations are still needed at the national, regional and global levels for specific sectors and aspects. The analysis of the past performance in development in the advanced and the developing countries is not yet complete. Varying opinions and projections will have to be reviewed and further scrutinized.

Second, this intellectual effort should be extended to include the problems which are referred to above, namely, the incapacity of the decision-makers to act and how to overcome their reluctance or hesitation to face forthcoming events in good time so as to avert more serious difficulties and, in so doing, to realize a better future for all. In this analysis, one accepts the existing system of decision-making represented by nation-states, together with emerging regional and international groupings which may in future increase in power. One also notes the business decision-makers, including the financing and monetary centers and the major transnational companies.

Third, the continued intellectual effort will provide material for those decision-makers who either now or in the future, will come forward to lead the construction of the new order. There are already many of these centers, among governments, intergovernmental, non-governmental and business organizations,

and they have to be supported and stimulated.

In the following lines some problems which could serve as the subject of further study are outlined, not as a coherent or complete programme, but rather as observations and remarks about current activities or, rather, inactivities.

The timidity of the energy importing industrialized countries has been mentioned as an example. The most glaring examples of this attitude, however, are current armanent policies and the increasing wastage of resources on non-essential luxury consumption. The developing countries, which may have more acceptable excuses because of their lack of experience, are increasing their public expenditures in non-priority areas far beyond their resources; in spite of population increases, they are neglecting economic growth in favour of superficial modernization, especially in the services sector. The advanced countries, however, have the longer experience, the better developed institutions, the greatest share of economic, military, and technological capacity, and hence the greater responsibility.

The advanced countries here include both the capitalist and the socialist groups since the period of the cold war and of sharply opposed ideologies has been followed by co-existence, then detente, and now stabilization and

increasing cooperation. Although we do not yet have one system for the advanced countries and basic differences within this group still exist, the ideological dividing lines are less sharp. The same is even more true with respect to the developing countries. Some, such as the oil exporting countries, have surplus financial resources but remain undeveloped; others are at different stages of development. It is believed that the previous general - and rather sweeping - remarks nevertheless apply fairly to the development situation as a whole.

Development Interdependencies

The timidity of action, which can also be called a lack of effective leadership, will not by itself prevent the forces of change active within societies from exerting their pressures and thus leading to a continued series of events. The forces of change are in the minds of the people, as attitudes or value-systems and aspirations. They exist in the economic and business communities, where self-interest and livelihood are expressed in production, consumption, wealth, profit and income. It exists in the social classes and groupings, with their dynamics of conflict, compassion and compulsion within themselves and towards others. It exists in the structure of the nation-states and in multi-state organizations. And, finally, in the sense of insecurity and the desire to have hope for the future and satisfaction for the present.

At one time, not so very long ago, development was essentially seen as economic growth. Later, social and human development became equally important as an instrument of growth and also as a final objective in the application of a welfare concept. Economic and social development within the welfare concept - however defined - was subsequently recognized as being in need of a set of international relations and rules beyond the one-state, in the form of security and peace, trade and finance, technology-transfer, mobility of labour, and finally in the framework of the world - problematique which has evolved in the last ten years, culminating in a total concept which is being designated "the new world order".

Across this spectrum of changing concepts, economic and social development theories and practices have evolved in parallel. Simple models of capital output ratios, followed by national planning techniques, development strategies and, to mention the most recent additions, cooperation between developing countries, self-reliance, collective self-reliance, North-South dialogue, the concept of basic human needs, and the direct attack on poverty.

If it is now considered that the development of Third World countries forms an integral part of future world development, rather than simply comprising a marginal problem, and that the future is defined by the policies and actions of the industrialized countries, then theories, and hence the practice, of development in the poor countries must be directly linked to

developments within the advanced countries, and vice-versa. This leads to forms of interdependence and hence modulation of national autonomy which, if left to act within the existing power structure, will most likely lead to the domination of the poor by the rich and to new forms of colonialism and competing spheres of influence. This may be the core of the affirmation that the future peace and prosperity of the industrialized countries is dependent upon an improvement in the quality of life and hopes for the future in the poor countries. Therefore, it is in the self-interest of the advanced countries to cooperate in the development of the poor countries. The advanced countries, however, are seeking security not through development but, unsuccessfully, through increasing armaments. No wonder then, that they afford such low priority to problems of development.

What can the developing countries do under these circumstances? They now realize that they themselves, with their own resources and policies, are primarily responsible for their own development. They may have come to believe in this concept, but they have not yet put it fully to practice. But because of it, they look to aid and assistance from the developed countries as a supplement to their own efforts. In general, they realize that pattern of development will have to be different from that of the industrialized countries. They search and experiment with different strategies with varying degrees of success. The measure of success and failure is derived from a set of goals and objectives. Here, the develop-

ing countries, implicitly and even explicitly, adopt the present criteria of the industrialized countries as their target - namely, modernization and "catching up" with the rich. They pay price - a dual society and wide income disparities - then frustration and instability. They carefully guard their recently acquired political independence and national identity, but find under the pressure of events that they have the political power of recognized independence, but within the framework of policies of development and international and regional cooperation which reflect an increasing world interdependence in which they are the weaker partner, and hence the fear of domination - not only politically and economically - but even culturally.

Complementary Solutions

After amplifying these two sketchy scenarios, it may dawn on the investigator that neither the advanced nor the developing countries will be very successful should they seek to solve their major problems by themselves. And that if the two sets of problems are put together, then the chances of reaching acceptable solutions will be larger. In other words, there may be complementarity of solutions to the two integrated sets of problems. The integration here would be between the rich and the poor and also in looking into the major problems as multisided - economic, social, political, technological and cultural - at the same time.

One may find useful examples to illustrate such a hypothesis.

Chancellor kreisky of Austria has been advocating a Marshall-like plan for infrastructure development in Africa, which will stimulate production in heavy industry and hence employment and recovery in Europe, and eventually pay its costs through better utilization of African resources. A similar wider scheme has recently been proposed within the European community. An intensive and determined approach to the problem of appropriate technology for the developing countries would cost in money and human skills a small fraction of the technological capacity in the advanced countries but would lead, through cooperation with the poor countries, to real and immediate savings in current development budgets and result in an expert body of research and development which is so far not really available to the developing countries. The U.S. government has recently taken a symbolic step in this direction by establishing a fund for appropriate technology. The developing countries may well be advised to invert the priorities in their development, giving much higher priority to R & D with the support of the advanced countries. Many studies have already shown that problems of energy, food, environment, employment and others cannot be solved in the advanced countries except within a wider framework which includes the poor countries.

A certain degree of self-sufficiency in food production in the developing countries is required, since the transport and distribution of bulky grains beyond certain limits across continents and oceans will become impossible. Similarly, a certain supply of manufactured goods should be made available

in different communities for local demand. Hence the need for a dualistic approach in technology for the developing countries - or some of them at least - which will be a transitional stage towards a later, more equitable, international division of labour with its fairer share of industrialization and technological development for the developing countries. There will certainly be many other and better examples of "real" and "just" partnership between the developed and developing countries in solving what may in the first instance appear as separate problems for separate and very diverse communities.

Present Realities

We should not be transported very far, however, by hopes alone; we must return to the realities of the present, from which one would, in any event, have to start. At present, the industrialized countries are encountering strong opposition and extreme difficulties in their efforts to introduce a very limited set of adjustment policies designed to shift production and labour away from certain labour-intensive, non-competitive industries to other employment and to open, to a limited extent, their markets to low-cost manufactures from the developing countries. The opposition understandably comes from labour, supported emotionally by the public. No one notes that the same process of market development has been going on in the developing countries for decades through high-cost imports, mostly in the form of consumption goods, for a high income and corrupt minority. This has been going on to such an extent that many developing countries find it

impossible to embark upon serious development without isolating themselves from the inflow of goods and ideas from the industrialized countries.

Protectionism among the advanced countries is on the way as short term - and certainly wrong - policy of managing current difficulties. In this atmosphere, the talk about much larger adjustments that would eventually have to take place in the economic, social & political and international relations in the advanced countries seems to be completely unrealistic. On further reflection, however, it may be found to be part of a much more acceptable general solution in the interest of all parties concerned.

This leads to the conclusion that, in proposing general strategies of development for the future, it is necessary to map schematically the series of steps, starting from the present, that would lead eventually to the desired situations and avoiding the more serious problems which will develop if no such action is taken. Strategies may or may not be acceptable, but they will be implemented through a number of successive steps. Some, but not many, of them may for tactical reasons be diversionary and dispersionary.

This is of course the well known approach of the carrot and the stick. The stick is the dangers confronting communities and nations should the set of major world problems, including development, not be tackled rationally, collectively and in good time. The carrot is that if one bears for a while with the short term problems, diffusing their most critical manifestation, while at the same time gradually and systematically implementing a rational set

of global policies, then the present problems will be solved and the feared problems of the future will be avoided. A rather sweet carrot. Unfortunately, the political decision-makers in many advanced and developing countries have their own approach to the carrot and the stick. The carrot in this case is short term solutions and further benefits at the cost of increasing inflation and maintaining stagnation and, because of this, "please vote us back into power and maintain political stability". The stick, however, is even more macabre. If things go bad - as they certainly frequently do - then attacks should be mounted against one class, group, or idea. Free trade may be the victim. The developing countries may be the villain. If all these fail, then it is national honour that will be in danger and the call for war is sounded. The stick will be death and destruction.

Cooperation and Understanding

Reference has already been made to the cold war between East and West which, fortunately, has given way through fairly peaceful means - but not without conflict or strain - to greater cooperation. There is no possibility of direct military confrontation between the North and South. The large number of small wars that took place and are taking place all over the developing world - usually with the arms and involvement of the big powers - is a new phenomenon which is not unconnected to the precarious nuclear balance and the unstable security situation in the industrialized countries. Small wars can lead to big wars and, should they keep multiplying as such, they

will leave behind death, destruction and tensions. Excluding direct confrontation between the North and South, therefore, does not mean the exclusion of war between the East and West, nor does it mean the exclusion of destruction and tension.

The confrontation between North and South, which no one wants, can take different, undesirable forms. I was told by a distinguished Western scholar in a public meeting that the Western countries have the military and economic power to oppose any of the policies or misgivings of the developing countries. I wonder if this is still true, or whether it will ever be put to the test. It would be useful to clarify and correct such ideas so that people and nations in the North and South can identify for themselves a future of prosperity, justice and peace. They may well also see that the current difficulties which confront all of them are the result of short-sighted, perhaps well-intentioned, nationalistic or sectarian policies, and that the way out of their dilemma lies in the application of the will to develop rationally. With this in view, the developing countries will be happy if they see the advanced countries successful in solving current crises for they will be hoping for reasonable cooperation and understanding in building the future. How to get such understanding and mutual confidence? This is the most basic need: the will to develop rationally.