PREFACE

This is the first issue of the IFDA Dossier.

The International Foundation for Development Alternatives, which is further described in Annex 1 of the enclosed document, is essentially an instrument of mutually educating dialogue between statesmen, action-oriented researchers and social leaders. It is not a research institution.

As suggested by the composition of its Council and Executive Committee, the Foundation represents a global network linking, in a flexible manner, some of those who are committed to, and engaged in, new approaches to development and international co-operation. It is currently sponsored by some 'like-minded' industrialized and non-aligned Third World governments.

Its activities could be grouped in the following major areas:

. promotion of strategies of transition towards another development in both industrialized and Third World countries;

. promotion of a new international order for people in the North and in the South;

. promotion of the kind of public information capable of fostering authentic cultural co-operation.

The Foundation has been asked, and has accepted, to organize a policy-oriented project which aims at facilitating the participation of the extragovernmental sector (the 'third system') in
the elaboration and implementation of a United Nations Develop-
ment Strategy for the 80s and beyond.

As indicated in the enclosed note describing the project, the
IFDA Dossier will be the main vehicle for the dissemination of
new ideas and policy-oriented proposals emerging from the
project. It is the hope of the Foundation that it would thus
contribute to give a voice to those who are rarely heard in
international discussions and contribute to make the 'third
system' a viable element in development and international
coop-eration.

The policy of the Foundation is, as a general rule, to encou-
rage dialogues rather than seeking to express its own views.
The IFDA Dossier will, therefore, normally include materials
presented under the sole responsibility of their author.

It is expected that most papers included in the IFDA Dossier
will appear in English, French and Spanish. It will be
published whenever there is material available.

Those interested in receiving further issues of the IFDA Dossier
and/or the French and Spanish version of this first one are
invited to complete the enclosed coupon.
A United Nations Development Strategy for the 80s and Beyond

PARTICIPATION OF THE 'THIRD SYSTEM' IN ITS ELABORATION AND IMPLEMENTATION

A Project Description

INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR DEVELOPMENT ALTERNATIVES
NYON, SWITZERLAND, JANUARY 1978
international foundation for development alternatives
fondation internationale pour un autre développement
fundación internacional para alternativas de desarrollo

A United Nations Development Strategy for the 80s and Beyond

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A Project Description

NYON, SWITZERLAND, JANUARY 1978

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Annex 1 The International Foundation for Development Alternatives

Annex 2 Members of the Steering Committee, members of the IFDA secretariat, and Senior Scientific Adviser

To Conclude
I INTRODUCTION

A. Objectives and Terms of Reference

1. The primary aim of the project described in this note is to promote and facilitate the participation of institutions, groups and individuals outside the United Nations intergovernmental system in the elaboration and implementation of the United Nations Development Strategy to be adopted by a Special Session of the General Assembly in 1980. They are described in this note as the 'third system'.

2. This implies a major effort to give a voice, in the international discussion, to those who are never or rarely heard, even if they are primarily affected by decisions taken in their names. They are the people, in the South and in the North, their organizations, and the intellectuals who endeavour to listen to them. The project is thus an opportunity for the 'third system' to enter into mutually educating dialogues both with those who need another development and a new international order, and with those who make decisions. It is further an opportunity to contribute to making the 'third system' a viable factor in development and international co-operation.

3. As for the terms of reference of the project, activities constituting it are to

1/ In the international context, the intergovernmental organizations may be referred to as the 'first system', the transnational corporations as the 'second system', and concerned individuals, research or people's organizations as the 'third system'.

be policy-oriented, that is, geared towards convincing public as well as political opinion of the necessity of the New International Economic Order (NIEO) and towards formulating development alternatives;

address topics relevant to the new development strategy, including
- the 'white spots', that is, areas that are not and cannot be sufficiently covered by existing intergovernmental machineries, and
- alternatives to the conventional wisdom on development and international co-operation;

examine and propose solutions to stumbling blocks preventing the necessary process of structural transformations which societies have to undergo.

B. Background

4. Addressing the United Nations General Assembly in October 1976, with reference to the preparations for the new development strategy, the Dutch Minister for Development Co-operation, Jan Pronk, issued a challenge to the international community when he said:

'In preparing for the future, the first task (...) is to review, rethink and re-assess the past. The next step is to go beyond the horizons of today and to start formulating the strategy for the last quarter century. We must assign and distribute these tasks in a coherent and logical manner among international secretariats and institutes of research and learning. We may call on the wisest and most experienced among us, teachers and thinkers of today, to advise the world on the future. More than in the Sixties, the world community has at its disposal a variety of institutes and centres of excellence in developed and developing countries. (...) They must now be set to work. No effort must be spared.'

5. Accepting the challenge himself, he pledged his Government's financial support for ways and means to make that possible and invited others to join in this endeavour.

6. In the summer of 1977, the Dutch Government requested the advice of the International Foundation for Development Alternatives (IFDA - see Annex 1), in co-operation with the Third World Forum, on how to organize the participation of the extragovernmental sector in the formulation and implementation of the United Nations Development Strategy for the 80s and beyond.
7. The advice having met with the complete agreement of the Dutch Government, the latter, in October 1977, asked IFDA to act as the central secretariat and its president as the director of the project. This invitation was accepted by the IFDA Executive Committee on 27 November 1977. Further, as recommended by IFDA and the Third World Forum, a Steering Committee has been established (see paragraph 31 and Annex 2).

C. Scope and Approach

8. The forthcoming UN Development Strategy must draw upon an analysis of the shortcomings of the past international development strategies, the decisions arrived at in the UN since then, especially those concerning the NIEO, and the legitimization of new concepts achieved during the 70s principally through the major UN system conferences.

9. Briefly, the NIEO, which is related to the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, aims at providing the kind of international economic relations which would ensure favourable conditions for the development of each society, be it in the North or in the South. The new concepts include the recognition that development cannot be reduced to economic growth, as necessary - if purposeful and socially sound - as that may be, but that it is rather a human-centred process aiming at satisfying human needs, both material and non-material, through self-reliance, endogeneity, harmony with the environment, and structural transformations.¹

10. A really new development strategy should thus cover not only the substance of a new international order, but also the concomitant changes in the internal structures of both industrialized

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¹ In this sense, the project is related to the 1974 Cocoyoc Declaration and the 1975 Dag Hammarskjöld Report on Development and International Co-operation 'What Now - Another Development' (texts available on request).
and Third World countries as well as the linkages and mutual ramifications between domestic transformations in the North and in the South.

11. Further, it is evident from the discussions during the 70s and the decisions of principle already made by governments that there is no dearth of ideas on what development and a new international order should be. Rather, what is missing is the political will and the capacity to remove the 'stumbling blocks' - essentially the interests of the present power structures, but also the limited public information on what is at stake. Progress would thus require making operational the present consensus of governments through filling the gap between principles and implementation. This requires the formulation of strategies of transition at the national level, the strengthening of the weaker partners in the international community, real negotiations where there is room for mutually beneficial contractual arrangements, and involvement of as many citizens as possible in the necessary actions. Activities to this end are illustrated in Parts II and III of this note.

12. Method. Just as a new international order will result only from a global effort, any conceptual and political attempt to promote its implementation must be based on global co-operation reflecting cultural diversity and pluralism. Further, actors of change are obviously not limited to governments. The social and human dimensions of new development strategies exclude any elitist determination of what needs to be done. New development strategies cannot be conceived and carried out without the participation of social actors in all phases. The project will, therefore, be essentially participatory in its nature and methods. Its validity will stem only from a genuine participation of people in the identification of issues, in the formulation of recommendations and in their implementation. This could be achieved by a process embodying a mutually educating dialogue
between those concerned, be they policy makers, researchers or social actors. Changes in the approaches and practices of those involved in the process may prove eventually more important than the material product of the project.

13. **Audience.** The audience of the project includes those making decisions and those preparing them in governments - especially those of the 'like-minded' countries, whether in the North or in the South, and in the intergovernmental sphere - including UN officials. It also includes those who are primarily interested in development and in a new international order because these are affecting their daily lives, that is, people, either directly or through their organizations and leaders.

14. The present note defines further the method of work and the organization of the project (Part II) and provides an illustrative and tentative list of topics which may be tackled by participating institutions and individuals (Part III). The Conclusion is an appeal to the reader. Since a vast number of those whose co-operation is sought are yet to be identified; it is hoped that the note will be widely disseminated and will stimulate a timely response from all those who feel they can contribute to the project.¹/

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¹/ Further copies - in English, French and Spanish - are available on request.
II  METHOD OF WORK AND ORGANIZATION

A.  A Mutually Educating Dialogue

15. 'Opinion' or 'people' cannot be seen as passive receivers of messages technocratically formulated. The project, because of the values which explicitly inform it, must encompass a major effort to

- understand better the reactions of the public opinion to the challenge of a new international order and its links with internal changes as well as people's perception of what is needed;
- present clearly the basic facts and their structural inter-relations; and
- work out with the social actors feasible alternatives to the present crisis.

16. This applies both to the North and to the South but, in view of the fact that the North - or part of it - still constitutes the major stumbling block in the transition towards change, a special effort is required there.

17. Further, the 'public opinion' or 'people' do not exist as such, but rather through their specific components or organizations and in relation to problems they face and contradictions which may oppose them. Any endeavour to organize a mutually educating dialogue would have to take into account different socio-economic categories and citizen groups and their specific problems: trade unions, youth movements, women's organizations, religious groups, consumers' organizations, academic or professional communities (including the international civil servants), schools, political parties, and other associations, such as the ecologists.

18. Ways and means to achieve such an ambitious goal constitute an essential element of the project. The experiences in this field of such countries as the Netherlands (e.g. its 'development field workers'), Norway or Sweden would be studied and drawn upon.
19. As a first approximation one may envisage that, on the basis of documents of an analytical nature as well as of draft measures, different kinds of debates would be systematically organized through meetings, seminars by correspondence, etc., between policy makers, researchers, opinion leaders and citizen groups. They would elicit reactions to issues and policy measures, identify contradictions and conflictual situations, seek solutions and feed them back into the process of formulation of proposals. This would be done by existing groups. The process would include such trend setters as writers, movie makers, and others. Such dialogues would imply not only the presentation of papers in local languages but also the use of non-written media.

20. This is not to underestimate the role of the press, both written and visual. Clearly, the project would also produce 'messages' for use by the media. They would be tailored according to their particular audiences and profiles.

B. Inputs and Outputs; Timing

21. The very nature of the project determines the organization of the work in view of the specific conditions resulting from the time frame, the target audiences and the relationship between the two elements.

22. The exercise being geared to the elaboration of a new International Development Strategy for the 80s and Beyond, which is to be submitted for adoption by a Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1980, there are time constraints. Already, following GA resolution 31/182, work has started in the UN secretariat. The extragovernmental effort cannot wait if its results are to have in impact on preparations, either at the United Nations or at national levels.
23. The time constraints are such that contributions to the project cannot be based, as a rule, on original research. They will rather reflect a spin-off principle: work undertaken would, in greater part, take off from research in progress within or outside the UN system on themes illustrated in Part III of this note and other themes meeting the objectives and terms of reference of the project.

24. The project is not geared to any final material product. The process which will have permitted an enlarged debate on what the new UN Development Strategy should contain and on how to implement it, will be the principal product of the exercise.

25. However, there will be a series of activities at different stages of the process. Some of them will lend themselves to written products. This calls for a phased production of mutually supporting documents presented under the responsibility of the author(s). One may also envisage, at a later stage and as a conclusion to the project, to formulate an 'alternative development strategy' to be submitted to individual governments and to the United Nations.

26. Whether directed at policy makers or or at the opinion (or opinion leaders), the documents to be produced must not be of an academic nature. They should on the contrary be presented as policy papers, that is, formulated in terms of policy options and recommendations supported as necessary by clear and well-documented under-pinnings and technical documents showing what is actually feasible, and how to do it.

27. When needed, documentary papers drawing to a large extent on the materials, published or not, already available within and outside the UN system secretariats, will also be prepared in addition to the technical under-pinnings of policy papers. Their purpose would be to facilitate the discussions referred to in paragraph 19 above.
28. Policy and documentary papers will be circulated, as they become available, to all participants in the project through the IFDA Dossier, the publication of which will be a central element of the project. The IFDA Dossier will also be circulated to selected media, policy makers such as ministers, members of parliament, diplomats, union cadres, and others. Technical annexes to policy papers will not, in principle, be reproduced in the IFDA Dossier. They would rather be communicated to interested parties, on request, by their authors or by the secretariat.

29. The first versions of policy papers would thus be subjected to a large discussion taking place essentially by correspondence, including through the IFDA Dossier. Small ad hoc meetings of concerned researchers, policy makers or social leaders will also be organized, when warranted by the topic or the nature of recommendations, to discuss particular draft policy papers.

30. **Timing.** Most activities are to be commissioned by the end of July 1978. Since different actions obviously require different periods of time, IFDA will endeavour to make available, through the IFDA Dossier, a continuous flow of documents. The first papers and meetings should be ready or take place by the Fall of 1978. All papers should be available not later than the Fall of 1979. Then, the main task would be to launch a public information campaign so as to make the formal adoption of the International Development Strategy, in 1980, a real public event.

C. **People and Structure**

31. **A Steering Committee** is responsible for planning and monitoring the unfolding of the process. The Committee's composition (see Annex 2) reflects the global concern that the project embodies as well as its essentially self-managed extragovernmental nature; at the same time it provides for participation by the
sponsors (the Netherlands and Norway). The Steering Committee met for a first planning session in December 1977 and is expected to meet three times a year.

32. The Steering Committee has access to the advice and co-operation of a number of experts, defined in the context of the project, as people who, as action-oriented researchers, policy makers, administrators, social leaders or communication specialists, may play a special role. A roster of such experts is being established. Experts will be called upon individually or in ad hoc panels depending on the subject areas and the requirements of the project. They will contribute substantive and personal advice and papers, and participate in the discussion process. As a matter of fact, as individuals or through their institutions, they would be expected to carry out a major proportion of the work. Some of them may possible act, in their respective institutions or as persons in charge of the 'consortia' referred to in paragraph 35 below, as 'correspondents' of the project.

33. The project director, who also acts as president of the Steering Committee, is supported by the IFDA secretariat and by the resident representative appointed by the Third World Forum. He assists the Steering Committee, administers the project, stimulates contributions to the project, monitors work in progress (both documents and dialogues), prepares and circulates the IFDA Dossier, and may organize meetings as necessary. The IFDA secretariat, whilst somewhat enlarged for the purpose of the project, will remain small and will not exceed a total of ten persons. For all practical purposes, the Third World Forum resident representative is a member of the international team which constitutes the IFDA secretariat (see Annex 2). The IFDA secretariat is assisted in the execution of its tasks by the necessary consultants, advisers and correspondents.
34. The project should not be seen as one which would provide elements to fit a pre-conceived, centrally-determined, design. On the contrary, it is an exercise which will be built up by those who will participate in it and who will constitute the project network. It is from this mass base construction that it will, hopefully, derive its strength and relevance.

35. On the basis of the response to this note, papers will be commissioned from qualified research institutes, individuals or ad hoc groups formed for the purpose of the project. It may be envisaged, at least in some cases, to organize 'consortia' whereby, for instance, the preparations of alternative scenarios for an industrialized country and a Third World country would be undertaken jointly by people of both countries.
III AN ILLUSTRATIVE AND TENTATIVE LIST OF TOPICS

36. The topics listed below are illustrative and tentative. Others could and should be added. Some may not provoke any response. It does not matter. The only purpose of this list is to exemplify the kind of activities which may constitute the project.

37. As suggested in paragraph 11, actions meant to further movement from principles to implementation could be presented under three major headings, as follows:

A. Strategies of transition at national level, both in industrialized and Third World countries;
B. Strengthening the weaker partners in the international community through Third World collective self-reliance;
C. Negotiation of contractual arrangements to give effect to the NIEO.

Clearly, key themes - e.g. the analysis of how the power structure operates and how it could be checked, or the linkages between national measures - should be covered in each section. Thus, this listing should not be seen as more than a presentation device.

A. Strategies of Transition

38. In the effort to formulate strategies of transition, global models do not really help very much, whereas examples and exchange of operational information on experiences are useful. There is as much to learn from failures as from successes. In this context, policy-oriented Third World research institutes, groups or individuals could undertake case studies of current or recent efforts to design and carry out development strategies aiming at the satisfaction of human needs through self-reliance, new patterns of education, innovative health systems, increased productivity and production, autonomous technological choices, transformation of socio-economic structures, wealth and income redistribution, popular participation. The implications of the links with the centre's power structure (economic, social, cultural, ideological, military) could also be investigated as well as the scope for 'de-linking' partially or totally from it. In particular, the experience of countries having chosen to 'de-link' may be of interest. Generally speaking, the experiences of the following countries - at different moments in time - could be studied: Algeria, Burma, Chile, Cuba, Egypt, Iraq, Jamaica, Kampuchea, Madagascar, Peru, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Tunisia, Vietnam.

39. Illustrating further such an approach, attempts could also be made to sketch out alternative strategies of transition towards another development, including collective self-reliance, for selected Third World countries - such as Bangladesh, Brazil, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Nigeria and Pakistan, i.e. those with a population of 60 million and more, as well as some of those mentioned in paragraph 38. Such strategies may vary from relatively
'moderate' (including, for instance, a more imaginative use of the limited possibilities offered by the present systems) to more 'radical', depending on the local power relationships and the attitude of the foreign interests involved.

40. Further, societies being more complex than state structures, this work could be supplemented by case studies of change through people mobilization at the local level, whether in an urban or rural context. Particular attention could be given to the role of spontaneous or promoted people's organizations in bringing about change (landless peasants, small holders, debtors, co-operative unions, youth and women's movements, workers' unions, squatters' or tenants' groups, etc.).

41. In the North, any proposal meant to overcome the current crisis should be based on in-depth analyses of the causes of the situation and the fundamental inadequacy of the existing system(s). Beyond unemployment and inflation, there seems to be a political crisis (note the number of marginal majorities in parliaments and of minority governments), as well as a crisis of civilization. Proposals would need to be bold and imaginative so as to appeal to the forthcoming actors, essentially the youth. It would be essential to show clearly why and how a new international order - perceived as a real alternative to the present system - is needed by the industrialized countries as much as by the Third World and the world at large; why and how it would contribute to a better quality of life in the North and elsewhere.

42. First, it would be important to know more about the people's perception of the crisis, their aspirations and their capacity to organize for change, and to understand better the on-going process of social transformation in such countries as the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden. What are the real trends? What is the experience of the 'provo' movement in the Netherlands? Are movements like that of Norway Daman ('Ny livsstil') typical or marginal? Could the reactions of the Swedes to 'How much is enough - Another Sweden' be analysed? What policy lessons could be derived from the US grassroots movements for greater equity? What is the significance of the ecological movement, especially among the youth? What is the role of the unions?

43. What alternatives can be worked out to the present option of either unemployment or alienating work? What is the potential for the reduction of unemployment through a general reduction of working time? Of improvement of conditions of work (e.g. the Volvo experiment)? More generally, what is the scope and feasibility of increasing free time? Is it not astonishing that the tremendous increase in labour productivity over the last thirty years has not been matched by a significant increase in free time? Is the improved material standard of living the only explanation for this, or was not a major part of the added surplus diverted into the consumption of non-necessary goods and services encouraged by socially irresponsible advertisement, into the growth of public and private bureaucracies, into military expenditures? What are the 'terms of trade' between time use and need satisfaction? What kind of restructuring could be envisaged to improve them?
44. Second, a number of critical aspects of the implementation of a new international order for the industrialized countries could be analysed. As a point of departure, one could attempt to work out, at least for a few selected countries, balance-sheets of the actual economic relations between each of these countries and the Third World (covering trade in commodities, manufactures, invisibles and arms; financial and other flows in both directions - investments, profit repatriations, royalties, aid, brain drain, workers' migration) with a view to presenting the facts to the opinion and gauging the possible implications of a new international order with respect to trade, balance of payments, production and employment. Precise figures may be difficult to ascertain, but such an exercise could at least suggest the orders of magnitude, and become an important conscientization tool for the opinion in the industrialized countries.

45. In the same manner, attempts could be made to prepare and present some well-documented studies - again on a country basis - comparing the real gains, if any, and the costs, for the economies at large and the people in the North, of the activities of transnational corporations in the South.

46. What would be the potential implications for, and necessary adjustments in, the North of the industrialization and economic growth of the South through both changing patterns of imports (e.g. capital goods in place of consumption goods) and through substitution of imports by national production and services? In particular what would be, for selected countries, the implications of various scenarios of implementation of the UNIDO Lima Declaration, taking into account, for example, the conflicting interests of transnational and national enterprises? The objective would be to formulate specific measures which would avoid or minimize social costs such as unemployment or brutal relocation of industries, workers and their families.

47. A new international order is likely to affect more and more the consumption of raw materials and energy of the industrialized economies. 'State of the art' papers on current trends and critical analyses thereof could be prepared with a view to examining alternative resource and energy policies and options.

48. The relationships between aid and trade policies of selected countries and groups of countries (e.g. the European Economic Community) could be examined critically. Ways and means could be investigated to move from current aid policies to more comprehensive co-operation policies and practices. How could aid policies as such be re-oriented to contribute better to the Third World autonomous capacity for development?

49. Assuming that workable and credible alternatives to existing structures, policies and practices could be elaborated, the major question becomes that of implementation. Even in the case of forward-looking governments, there remains a gap between what they say, locally and internationally, and what the present (economic, political and administrative) order permits them to do. One could explore the constraints, e.g. the EEC trade policy, as well as the existing margin of freedom open to such governments and at the same time the possible means to make the private power structure more responsive to the immediate and long term public interest.
50. The measures of income redistribution and social security taken internally by the industrialized countries over the last 30 years could be compared, in a specific manner, to certain aspects of the NIEO with a view to show to the opinion, in the North, that there is nothing extraordinary in the present claims made by the Third World but rather that they have precedents, or parallels, in the internal policies of the North itself.

51. Finally, future-oriented groups could devise, for selected industrialized countries, strategies of transition towards another development which would provide for a better use of the existing productive capacity and reflect the adjustments required by a new international order and the internal aspirations to change.

52. In both North and South, what are the possibilities of curbing the existing power structure and democratizing the concrete exercise of power, whether at national level, at work (e.g. participation in decision-making, workers' control, self-management) or in human settlements (at the level of the region, the city and the housing block)?

53. What is the scope for redistributing wealth and income to finance change? What are the political and economic implications? How can redistribution be carried out without inflationary pressures?

54. What are the alternative patterns of consumption and lifestyles, principally in the industrialized countries but also in the South (the 'elites')?

55. What are the alternative means of providing the goods and services which are really needed whilst minimizing alienation and waste of resources (including time) through, for instance, alternative technologies, larger series cum better quality and longer life-expectancy of the products, simpler processing and packaging, production in smaller units when feasible, curbing advertisement, developing public transportation, improving settlement planning and, generally, increasing household self-reliance and limiting the sphere of the market and of the state?

56. Are current health and education systems really appropriate, given the needs and capacity of people and given the capacity of the economies? What are the feasible alternatives? How could the quality of life be improved in cities and rural settlements in general and in dwellings in particular? Can the urbanization processes be slowed down? How?

57. Would it be possible to throw more light on the militarization of economies and societies? What is the impact of armaments research and development and expenditures on patterns of production and technological choices in the economy at large? How could disarmament and development be really linked? How is the military sector related to the centre-periphery domination?
B. Third World Collective Self-Reliance

58. The present 'order' clearly strengthens the already strong, and weakens further the weak. A new order, aiming as it does at a more equitable world, implies the strengthening of those who are weaker; among other things, this calls for much greater Third World collective self-reliance. The potential of South-South co-operation could be investigated further on the basis of an analysis of past experience (both positive and negative), at regional and sub-regional levels as well as between countries in different regions facing similar problems. This examination could cover Third World co-operation measures for development, as well as for strengthening Third World bargaining capacity. The former could include the formulation of such concrete measures as:

59. - Co-ordination of industrial and agricultural development aimed at securing greater collective economic balance and productive efficiency, with trade among members as a necessary supporting means to achieving these gains. These would include, for instance, new and imaginative use of non-renewable resources. Directly linked to production and trade is the creation of joint or co-ordinated institutions in such fields as transport, marketing and consultancy to facilitate co-ordinated development or production and to reduce dependence on TNCs in prospecting, manufactures, trade, transport and knowledge provision.

60. - Reinforcement of autonomous financial capacity in Third World countries through the building up of Third World controlled and funded channels for financial resource flows and movement towards a Third World monetary system.

61. - Strengthening technological capacity through innovation, and internalizing the processes of knowledge creation, adaptation and use.

62. - Strengthening autonomous - but not necessarily governmental - channels of communication among Third World countries, and between them and industrialized countries, to exchange specific information and to help create new patterns of communication and cultural co-operation, thus contributing to mental de-colonization and re-affirmation of cultural identity.

63. - As for the strengthening of the Third World bargaining capacity, identification of areas where its members have a latent power and its effective organization are critical to the development of a 'Trade Union of the Third World'. There appear to be at least three major fields where concrete measures could be proposed: Third World countries' joint capacity as exporters, as importers and as 'hosts' of TNCs.

64. - Further, the strength of the Third World in the current negotiations could be fostered if certain contradictions among different aspects of the NIEO as presently formulated, the conceivable lack of relevance of some of them, as well as missing elements, could be identified by Third World institutions or groups with a view to presenting a coherent and consistent plan of action designed to promote a really new international order. In particular, the links between collective self-reliance and the NIEO could be
elucidated, and the sometimes different interests of different countries could be analysed and reconciled so as to further the unity of the Third World as a whole.

65. Such options as 'de-linking' from, or selective participation in, the centre-dominated system could also be examined from a Third World point of view. One may also consider, as an alternative to an international development strategy, the possibility of a 'moratorium' in the North-South 'dialogue' to be replaced, for a period of time, by a South-South dialogue geared to strengthening and furthering collective self-reliance.

66. More generally, an important contribution to the strengthening of the Third World bargaining capacity would be systematic analytical preparations for the negotiations.

C. Towards Contractual Arrangements

67. The approach to the global level component of the project could be two-fold. First, the impact could be examined, for countries in each category (industrialized and Third World), of the alternative patterns of development envisaged in the other category as well as of the implementation of a new international order or, in other terms, the linkages between changes in the North and changes in the South as well as problems common to both, i.e. goals of the development process (including technological alternatives) and power structures.

68. Second, one would have a fresh look at the negotiations which are underway. Clearly, the project should not enter the technical field which is the responsibility of the specialized intergovernmental agencies such as UNCTAD. Its role would rather be to contribute to the negotiations by establishing, especially for the public opinion in the North, that they are not a zero-sum game or concessions granted by some (at their expense) to others, not a matter of sharing but of changing what exists, i.e. a mutually beneficial re-arrangement and re-orientation of world affairs. The project should also make and illustrate the case of a contractual approach between the different partners involved, be they governments, economic organizations or social actors, so that they face their responsibilities and recognize the trade-offs which may be required.

69. Conflicts and confrontations are, in certain areas, unavoidable. The challenge is to minimize them and to search for mutually beneficial solutions wherever possible. The process of negotiation of contractual arrangements to this effect could be facilitated by the co-operation of action-oriented institutions, groups or individuals from both the North and the South who could contribute to a better understanding of, and new approaches to, such issues as:

70.- The way the prevailing power structure operates and the linkages between its Northern and Southern components with a view to formulating concrete and workable proposals for change.
71. - A new system of trade relationships, supported by the appropriate institutions, in commodities, industrial goods, shipping, technologies and other invisibles, with particular reference to access to markets and resources and to purchasing power of the Third World and prices indexation.

72. - Specific elements of a new industrial geography of the world providing for a significantly larger share of the transformation of its raw materials by the Third World itself (especially to satisfy the needs of its people), taking into account the problems of the migration of workers and the brain drain as well as the interest of industrialized countries in halting pollution resulting from excessive industrial concentration.

73. - An agreement between the main creditor and debtor countries on a solution to the problem of accumulated debts.

74. - Revision of contracts, leases and concessions entered into with the TNCs under conditions of inequity, as well as regulation of private foreign investment.

75. - Regulation of conditions governing trade in technology, including the revision of the present patent system.

76. - Establishment of a more democratic and truly global monetary system.

77. - Arrangements for the utilization of the seabed.

78. - New aid and co-operation policies and practices (both bilateral and multilateral).

79. - Alternatives to the present tourism industry with a view to limiting its negative impact, increasing its economic benefits for the Third World and making it an element of real contacts between peoples.

80. - A new information structure to promote a better understanding between peoples and to contribute to the cultural co-operation which is an essential element of a new international order.

81. In more specific terms, since different industrialized countries react in different manners to the challenge of a new international order, one could thus investigate, on the basis of illustrative contractual arrangements, the feasibility of possible long-term pilot agreements between selected pairs of forward-looking industrialized and Third World countries, aiming at comprehensive co-operation through mutually beneficial trade, financial, technological and cultural relations. This could be undertaken by co-operative teams involving, on each side, both government officials and representatives of the professional, technical, cultural and popular organizations.

82. If it is true that out of the US$200 billion paid by the final consumers in the North for commodities imported from the South only $30 billion remain in the South, a detailed analysis of such a margin, product by product, would
help in identifying the scope and methods of concerted action between producers (in the South) and consumers (in the North). The role of the TNCs in the production, marketing and distribution processes would be an important element of the analysis, which might reveal possibilities for alternative action through, for instance, direct links between producers' and consumers' organizations. This would also apply, in reverse, to the products imported by the South.

83. Also of relevance would be an investigation of various forms of automatic mobilization of resources for development transfers, e.g. through use of benefits from the seabed operations, re-allocation of resources now devoted to armaments, etc.

84. Finally, the NIEO does require a new structure for negotiation and co-operation. The recent decisions on the restructuring of the development sector of the United Nations system are likely to fall short of what is needed, especially if the time-horizon of the undertaking is year 2000. Much remains to be done to understand the functioning of the United Nations system, to streamline its functions and organizations and to formulate alternatives covering the entire system (i.e. including not only the General Assembly organs but also the specialized agencies, including the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)).

85. Since the intergovernmental system is only one part of reality, ways and means to make the 'third system' contribute in a continuous and meaningful manner to development and international co-operation should be investigated. The project as a whole should indeed help in furthering this objective.
AN INTRODUCTION

1. The International Foundation for Development Alternatives (IFDA) has been established on the initiative of a number of individuals from both Third World and certain industrialized countries who are committed to, and engaged in, new approaches to development and international co-operation. Three major elements made them feel that the moment had come to launch such an undertaking:

2. A NEED. The current international discussion reflects a new concern for the liberation of all men and women from want, exploitation and alienation. This concern is combined with an anxious interrogation on the future of human society. If trends are not to become destiny (René Dubos), the future must be investigated now, and be taken into account in current decision-making. There is, therefore, an urgent need for:

   . innovative research, experimentation and action towards another development, required by most societies individually and by mankind collectively, and implying the re-ordering of international relations in the direction indicated by the New International Economic Order and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States;

   . a greater awareness of the full implications of the Only One Earth concept and deliberate promotion of that, in particular through an informed North-South dialogue at the level of public opinion as well as of governments.

3. A POTENTIAL. An informal network of individuals and institutions operating at the interface between action-oriented research and policy-making has been active over the last few years, from the preparations for the 1972 Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment (including the 1971 Founex seminar on development and environment) to the 1975 Dag Hammarskjöld Project on Development and International Co-operation, and beyond. This network, essentially transdisciplinary, has connexions in a number of countries, non-aligned or 'like-minded', industrialized or...
belonging to the Third World. It should be expanded and utilized in a much more systematic manner. The establishment of a truly global facility servicing the network and promoting development policy research and dialogue was seen as a means to mobilize more fully the potential of this network.

4. A DIFFERENCE. The Foundation is not to be another research institution, but rather an instrument of promotion, support, organization and co-operation. There are many institutions already engaged in development research - most of them, however, essentially national entities rooted in the industrialized countries. They should now turn their attention more and more towards the adjustments which another development and the new international order require in the industrialized societies and their economies. At the same time, there are institutions in the Third World which have access only to meagre financing and would benefit from close relations with a global centre, which could provide or channel support permitting the full participation of Third World institutions and intellectual resources in an endeavour which cannot be but global. Related to this, finally, is the need of some intergovernmental agencies, and at times governmental ones, for an organization enjoying the confidence and participation of the Third World which could contribute to their own work. It was indeed this need which pointed up the dearth of such organizations and, in turn, led to the support by some United Nations units of the initiative taken to establish IFDA.

THE OBJECTIVES OF IFDA

5. The specific objectives of IFDA are essentially to:

- provide intellectual and analytical under-pinnings for development alternatives geared to the satisfaction of human needs - material and non-material - on the basis of self-reliance and of harmony with the environment, as well as with the cultural and social values and aspirations of each society, whether in the industrialized countries or in the Third World,

- a meaningful dialogue conducive to the establishment of a new world system based on equality between nations and societies and recognition of their diversity;

- stimulate dialogue between those who, because of their political, intellectual, social or economic activities, are aware of the needs for development alternatives; undertake or

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1/ As exemplified by the list of those who contributed to the Dag Hammarskjöld Report, which includes some 150 persons from 48 countries, 14 United Nations bodies and 24 research and development institutions.
promote research, studies and exchange of information on relevant themes; make available to interested parties, through meetings and papers, the analyses, findings and proposals resulting from work in progress;

- promote a better understanding of development and international co-operation on the part of public opinion, particularly in the industrialized countries;

- establish and develop co-operative relations with similar institutions throughout the world and provide support to such institutions, in existence or to be created, in the Third World.

LEGAL STATUS

6. The International Foundation for Development Alternatives was established on 13 August 1976 as a Swiss non-profit Foundation according to articles 80 & sqq. of the Swiss Civil Code, with an initial capital of Swiss Francs 50,000. The Swiss Federal Government has the responsibility to see to it that the resources of the Foundation are used in accordance with the purposes described in its Statute. The Foundation was registered with the 'Registre du Commerce' of Rolle, Switzerland, on 21 February 1977.

ORGANIZATION

7. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. Responsibility for the policies, direction and administration of the Foundation is vested in an Executive Committee (the list of its members appears at the end of this presentation).

8. COUNCIL. A Council was established for the purpose of advising the Executive Committee on matters related to the policies and programmes of IFDA. It also assists in identifying the persons and institutions required to undertake particular projects. As will be seen from the attached list of its members, the Council consists of persons in a position to contribute significantly to the objectives and the work of IFDA. Its composition is widely representative both of the global constituency of IFDA and of the range of intellectual and policy interests with which it is concerned.
LOCATION

9. IFDA is located at Nyon, 20 km from Geneva. This enables it to benefit from the proximity of many international organizations and the consequent availability of the vast number of delegates, experts and consultants residing in or visiting the area. It further benefits from the documentation accumulated by those international organizations. The location also provides good access to most Third World countries with which the work of IFDA is closely associated.

PRINCIPAL IFDA ACTIVITIES SO FAR

10. The following projects have been undertaken and completed by IFDA:

- December 1976: Seminar on 'Sweden and the World Society' organized in co-operation with the Swedish Secretariat for Future Studies and the University of Lund. The seminar appears to have been the first occasion on which an industrialized country, reflecting on its future, sought the reactions of a group coming in its majority from the Third World. The Seminar report, 'Challenge to Sweden', is available on request from either IFDA or the Secretariat for Future Studies, P.O. Box S-10310, Stockholm, Sweden;

- Spring 1977: Ad hoc meeting and subsequent elaboration of a discussion paper, 'Science and Technology for Self-Reliant Development', prepared in the context of the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development. The paper is available on request from IFDA;

- May 1977: IFDA provided assistance to UNDP in the organization and meeting of a panel of experts on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries held in Kuwait. The 'Kuwait Declaration' is available from UNDP offices;

- September 1977: Joint Marga Institute-IFDA workshop, in Colombo - 'Sri Lanka: An Experience in a Need-Oriented Development - Achievements, Conditions, Limits, Alternatives'. The workshop was attended by researchers, statesmen and journalists from Sri Lanka, eight Third World countries and three industrialized countries. The report will appear in a forthcoming issue of the Marga Institute Quarterly Journal;

- October 1977: Private discussions at Nyon on the Common Fund issues with participation of high-level representatives of both industrialized and Third World countries as well as the Secretary-General of UNCTAD.

**FINANCE**

12. The initial capital of the Foundation, Swiss Francs 50,000, was contributed by one of its founding members. The total expenditure of IFDA (secretariat and specific projects) for 1976 and 1977, that is, the preparatory stage and the first year of regular operation, amounted to about Swiss Francs 500,000. Its regular budget for 1978 is of the same order. IFDA resources for 1978 are, or will be, provided by the Governments of Algeria, Canada, the Netherlands, Norway, Sri Lanka, Sweden and Venezuela. The Governments of the Netherlands and Norway are, in addition, sponsoring the project described in this Dossier.
international foundation for development alternatives
fondation internationale pour un autre développement
fundación internacional para alternativas de desarrollo

MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Ismail-Sabri Abdalla, Egypt
Former Minister of Planning; Director-General, Institute of National Planning; Chairman of the Third World Forum

Ahmed Ben Salah, Tunisia
Former Minister of Planning and Development; former Minister of Education; Vice-President of the Vienna Institute for Development

Gamani Corea, Sri Lanka
Former Governor of the Central Bank; former Chairman of the Academy of Sciences; Secretary-General of UNCTAD

Mahbub ul Haq, Pakistan
Former member of the Planning Commission; Director of the Programme Review and Policy Planning Department, World Bank

Enrique Iglesias, Uruguay
 Former Governor of the Central Bank; Executive Secretary of the United Nations Regional Commission for Latin America

Jan Meijer, The Netherlands
Former Director-General of Development Co-operation; Special Adviser to the Foreign Minister

Marc Nerfin, Switzerland
Director of the 1975 Dag Hammarskjöld Project; Consultant to international and national organizations; President of the Foundation

Justinian Rwemamur, Tanzania
Former Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Dar es Salaam; former Secretary of the Ministry of Planning; Personal Assistant to the President of the Republic

Ignacy Sachs, France
Professor at the Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales; Director of the Centre for International Research on Environment and Development; Consultant to UNEP
Juan Somavia, Chile
Former Chairman of the Board of the Andean Pact; former Rapporteur of the
UN Group of Eminent Persons on Transnational Corporations; Executive
Director of the Latin American Institute for Transnational Studies

Maurice F. Strong, Canada
Former Executive Director of UNEP; Chairman of the Boards of PetroCanada,
the International Union for the Conservation of Nature, and the
International Development Research Centre

Inga Thorsson, Sweden
Member of Parliament; Under-Secretary for Disarmament Affairs
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MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL+

Kamel Abdallah-Khoja
Algeria, Secretary of State for Planning

Arne Arnesen
Norway, Director-General, Norwegian Agency for Development

Sartaj Aziz
Pakistan, Deputy Executive Director, International Fund for Agricultural Development

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Luis Echeverria Alvarez
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Canada, President, Groupe Gérin-Lajoie

Godfrey Gunatilleke
Sri Lanka, Director, Marga Institute

Judith Hart
United Kingdom, Member of Parliament, Minister of Overseas Development

+ Members of the Council act in their personal capacity. Affiliations are given for identification purposes only.

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Cheikh Hamidou Kane  
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Carlos Mallmann  
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Ernst Michanek  
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Ashok Parthasarathi  
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Enrique Penalosa Camargo  
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Switzerland, Director, Geneva Development Studies Institute
Jan Pronk  
The Netherlands, Member of Parliament

Anisur Rahman  
Bangladesh, Rural Development Adviser, International Labour Office

Shridath S. Ramphal  
Guyana, Secretary-General of the Commonwealth

Hernan Santa Cruz  
Chile, President, Centre international de développement, Paris

Rodolfo Stavenhagen  
Mexico, El Colegio de Mexico

Thorvald Stoltenberg  
Norway, Under-Secretary of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Shigeto Tsuru  
Japan, Professor Emeritus, Adviser to the Asahi Shimbun

Wilhelm Ulrichsen,  
Denmark, Ambassador, Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York
ANNEX 2

1. MEMBERS OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE

Isma'il-Sabri Abdalla (Egypt), Chairman, Third World Forum
R. Nita Barrow (Barbados), Director, Christian Medical Commission, World Council of Churches
Richard Falk (USA), Senior Fellow, Institute for World Order
Godfrey Gunatilleke (Sri Lanka), Director, Marga Institute
Martin Huslid (Norway), Head, Policy Planning Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Sheikh Hamidou Kane (Senegal), Chairman of the Board, Environment and Development in Africa (ENDA)
Marc Nerfin (Switzerland), President, IFDA
Ngo Manh Lan (Vietnam), Economist
Jan Pronk (The Netherlands), Member of Parliament; Former Minister of Development Co-operation
Philippe de Seynes (France), Senior Fellow, United Nations Institute for Training and Research
Juan Somavia (Chile), Executive Director, Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales
Maurice F. Strong (Canada), Chairman of the Board, International Development Research Centre

2. MEMBERS OF THE IFDA SECRETARIAT AND SENIOR SCIENTIFIC ADVISER

Dawne Fletcher (Trinidad and Tobago)
Beat Alexander Jenny (Switzerland)
Ann Mattis (Jamaica)
Ieelananda Silva (Sri Lanka), Third World Forum resident representative
Michael Zammit-Cutajar (Malta)

Support

Maria Teresa Dias (Portugal)
Jean Genoud (UK/Switzerland)
Rosemary Jommo (Kenya)
Anna Kleber (Switzerland)

Senior Scientific Adviser

Professor Ignacy Sachs, Director of the Centre international de recherche sur l'environnement et le développement, Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris.
TO CONCLUDE

Now that you have read this note and its annexes, you know better who we are, what we are seeking, what the opportunity is. Let us repeat it: We have been requested to organize the project, and we have accepted. Its objectives and terms of reference are given. Its approach and method of work have been described. As far as its content is concerned, we could not do more than illustrate it. The tentative suggestions you have just seen may have given you an idea of what we think may be relevant to the elaboration of the new United Nations Development Strategy. Once again, it is neither exhaustive nor compulsory, only illustrative. The final content of the project will result from work you and others may wish to contribute.

There is a contradiction between the objective of endeavouring to give a voice to those who are rarely heard in the international discussion and the list of those to whom this note has been circulated. Your being on our mailing list means probably that your voice has been heard somewhere, sometime, somehow. This does not exclude you from the exercise, of course, but places a certain responsibility on you if you agree with us. It is to help us to reach out for those yet to be identified by us and whom you may know. Please circulate this note widely. Request further copies, or send us addresses to whom we should forward it.

Finally, if you feel that this project may also be yours, or your institution's, or group's, please fill in and return the coupon which is attached.