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# ARTICLES

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## *Development Policies*

# Problems of the Second Development Decade

by Willy Brandt, Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bonn \*

**T**he Second Development Decade offers us truly big chances for constructive work, and at the same time, it lays upon us even greater obligations. This is how the situation presents itself:

□ About three quarters of all the states of the world are developing countries. Of 139 sovereign and independent states, no fewer than 103 are considered to be developing countries.

□ The world today is inhabited by about 3,400 mn people, and in 2000, this number will have grown to roundabout 6,000 mn. Of all the people who will be born between now and the year 2000, 80 p.c. will be members of the developing nations. Basing our examination of the problems on the observed facts of 1960, the population totals of the Latin American developing countries will have doubled by 1984, those of Asia in 1985, and in the African ones by 1988. A population explosion of such dimensions transcends the bounds of many responsible politicians' imagination. People too fondly fall for the belief that everything may after all turn out only half as bad as it seems now. (However, it is not a form of selfish optimism to state that there are many opportunities today for increasing the output of food by leaps and bounds).

□ During the last five years, the population of the world has grown by 12 p.c. Food production, though it expanded by 6 p.c. during the past year alone, is not yet sufficient for giving mankind only its daily bread and no more. There are millions of human beings who are sentenced to death from starvation every and any year in a world in

which other people do not know what to do with their surplus production.

□ Of all the material wealth of the world, only 20 p.c. are owned by 80 p.c. of the world population—which are the people living in developing countries. The balance of 80 p.c. of all material possessions is at the disposal of the remaining 20 p.c. among whom we find ourselves, and this minority might be suspected of squandering such enormous wealth.

### **The Conflict between North and South**

This is reality, a reality which many of us have not been able to discern because we were blinded by the conflict between East and West. In order to avoid the disaster of a third world war, determined efforts have to be continued, but we must never overlook the fact that the wide gap between rich and poor countries has become a new source of worldwide tensions.

There are many who believe that the conflict between North and South will replace that between East and West. It seems that things are being oversimplified in this way, and that such a view is over-optimistic. It may, however, be stated with some degree of justice that the confrontation between the North and the South has started to overlay, in part, the continuing tensions between the East and the West, and in some cases, it transforms and may even make more acute the older East-West tug-of-war, because especially where opposition between the North and South interpenetrates that between the East and the West, the risk of a political powder keg suddenly blowing up is worst, e.g. in Vietnam, in Nigeria and Biafra, and in the Arab world.

\* From a speech made during a conference of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation on "The Second Development Decade—Chances and Obligations for Germany" at Bad Godesberg on June 26, 1969.

Such a situation will lead even superficial observers to the following conclusion: should we, meaning the industrialised nations, continue simply to apply the methods which we have been using in the past, thus neglecting to work with great determination for meeting the needs of the Third World, mankind on this earth will lose the race against hunger, and the avalanche which has started sliding down the slippery slope may bury all of us.

To ward off such a fate, we must mount a new big effort for planning the struggle against hunger and misery in the world and for winning this fight. The conflict which sends out its tentacles from the southern half of the world would certainly not pass us by. The blast and the debris of a tremendous explosion caused by a clash between the poor and the rich nations would affect us, too, very forcibly.

Whatever we do in foreign politics will progressively have a decisive influence on what might be described as home policies of the world. Helping the nations of the Third World in building up their economies and social fabric, we at the same time assist in dismantling and reducing tensions which are beginning to reach over the horizon, or which are already bursting into explosions. In other words, giving development aid is work for peaceful understanding among nations.

### **A Contribution towards Peace Policies**

In order to make our development policies understandable in terms of our home policies, so as to attract support for them, it will be of the utmost importance to increase the numbers of those who are aware of the need for comprehensive development aid. There are still elements among ourselves who advocate a reduction or even the dismantling of development aid. However, the reasoning of those who see development aid as an indispensable contribution to worldwide peace policies is growing progressively more convincing. The proofs they adduce for the correctness of their assertion that development policies are needed for establishing our own security gradually become more and more unassailable.

In the context under discussion, development equals:

- ☐ providing the basis required for building sound economic growth in the developing countries, with the implication of a fair distribution of the fruits of joint work;
- ☐ setting up social structures within which human beings have the chance for evolving their personalities;
- ☐ forming the relations between persons and peoples towards strengthening the will to living

together in peace, under conditions of social justice, imbued by respect for individual freedom;

☐ acting in the interest of the common good. Development has as its aim the disappearance of every kind of discrimination; it requires and expects solidarity. Solidarity—that is the pledge to work for one's own family, one's own nation, and this must be extended over all the members of the family of nations. Development is an essential part of policies for peace.

This sets a new, additional, and comprehensive task for German foreign policy. Its overreaching common denominator is peace; it has to be a determined, unswerving, and constructive peace policy. I see vast and highly varied tasks to be tackled by our development policy:

☐ Development policy is able and compelled to make a contribution to the worldwide endeavour to dismantle tensions;

☐ development policy must try to improve the economic situation and the social structure in developing countries to an extent that will enable them to catch up with the industrialised nations through their own efforts;

☐ development policy will affect the image of Germany which is growing in the outside world. Our behaviour as a partner will mould the notions of Germany which both young nations and other countries harbour;

☐ naturally, development policies will also help us to gain new trading partners. The countries of the Third World are tomorrow's partners for ourselves. It is therefore a truism that our own economic stability and security of our employment is dependent on a successful long-term development policy.

### **Efforts are Needed**

All human beings and all the nations who want to make progress in development can do so only along the way of peace. They must not deviate from this path, they can reach their objectives only on this road. Each step in a different direction acts as an obstacle, as a brake, of progress along the way on which the gap between the northern and southern hemispheres could be bridged. We must seek methods to reduce tension in the worldwide fields of conflict which exist. German development policy has to be practised as a policy of safeguarding peace. This is one of the great tasks for the younger generation in the Federal Republic, which is one of its marvellous chances.

Many people in many countries must join their efforts to this end:

☐ The citizens of developing countries must be prepared and willing to overcome old forms for the sake of indispensable reforms, and to over-

haul the foundations of seemingly firmly-built but actually out-of-date and inefficient structures;

□ the citizens of industrialised countries must learn that they are jointly responsible for the development of countries that are economically and socially weaker.

In view of the present situation that prevails in our world, in view of the sources of an endemic crisis in Europe and in other continents, in view of the fighting in the Middle East and in South East Asia, nothing seems to be more urgent than an increased effort to secure world peace. Development policy will be one of the most effective and most credible contributions which the German people can make to this end during the coming years and decades.

### **Economic Cooperation**

Economic cooperation between the industrialised nations and the nations of the southern hemisphere of the world can be of lasting benefit only on condition that the work will be coordinated worldwide. A number of years ago, the western industrialised nations formed OECD, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. If we wish to strengthen the effect of development aid still further, cooperation between the eastern and western states must not be omitted. Such cooperation would release additional energies for mobilising development aid. A political détente in Europe, which would set the old continent on the road towards cooperation, might naturally bring to bear Europe's technological and research capacities on development tasks much more strongly than hitherto.

During the years and decades of the immediate future, the industrialised nations must not shy away from novel and bold steps forward, which could fill world peace efforts with a new impetus. Those nations which are not prepared to meet the imperative needs of the next development decade may be compelled to such steps by the political pressure emanating from the gap between the northern and southern hemisphere. For example: one might look for a possibility on the international level of western and eastern countries transferring, in the first instance, 1 p.c. of their defence budgets to the credit of development aid. Nobody could blame this first possible step for leading to a disregard of military security requirements.

At the present time, the world is spending on armaments about fifteen times the amount devoted to development aid—the annual totals are about DM 600,000 mn, against DM 40,000 mn, respectively. Numerous developing countries also show an exaggerated interest in the military forms of their security. Yet it could be convincingly shown that the funds released by reduced armaments would improve the economic and social

structures of such countries decisively within a comparatively brief delay. Both the industrialised and the developing nations will have to reassess the relative long-term importance of their spending on armaments and development tasks. Only in this way may it be possible to avoid catastrophes in time.

### **A Challenge and a Pledge**

The overall effectiveness of development aid measures launched by the industrialised nations is still too limited. This is largely due to the fact that the Third World is being misused as a cockpit of ideological and power struggles. It is our duty to hope and work for the vast undertaking of filling the gap in the standards of living between the north and the south being carried on in a world where tensions are gradually made to disappear. We hope that development aid given by ourselves in the years to come and the further improvement of our relations with the less developed nations will do their part towards this end. For the Germans, development policies are an essential part and parcel of their overall policies. The aim of our policy is the consolidation of peace and the reduction of tensions in the world.

Erhard Eppler, Federal Minister for Economic Cooperation, has hammered out a general formula on development policy, which enshrines this aim. It is based on the knowledge that the economic and social gap between the industrialised regions and the developing areas of the world leads to the permanence of the dependence of nations upon other nations and creates conflicts. Development aid is designed to assist other nations to help themselves, so that they can draw level with the advanced nations socially and economically in modernising their social fabric along self-chosen lines. This will enable them to share in the making of decisions on the common future of mankind.

Minister Eppler continues his statement: „Development policy recruits political forces, economic interests, and helps through solidarity for creating social and political equity, applying them to this work in optimal fashion. Development policy requires that our society is able to learn, it sets a challenge to its willingness to share the worries of other nations, and to take their decisions seriously. Development policy is the threshold across which we shall enter the field of a new 'home policy' for the entire world. It tackles the problems that are closest to us in a revolutionary situation of the world.“ In agreement with our Minister for Development Policy, I conclude with the words: the aim of all development policies is peace. They are proof of our hope, and they mobilise new hopes. This is our great challenge, our big chance, and our vast pledge.