

THE PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING THE DEVELOPMENTAL ASSISTANCE MACHINERY OF THE U. N. FAMILY

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A. The Rising Cost of Aid, and the Expansion of Aid Machinery

Approximately 85 per cent of the funds received by the United Nations Organization and its specialized agencies are currently devoted to the assistance of developing countries. Of the 20,000 people working directly or indirectly for the U. N., 17,000 are engaged in assistance¹. Over 5000 of these are active in more than 90 areas of aid. In addition, students from over 100 different countries are learning within the U. N. aid framework, and almost all U. N. members are participating in this program in one way or another².

These continually expanding activities constitute a rather sudden development in contrast to the U. N.'s initial involvement in international economic and technical co-operation. Their weight did not begin to be felt until fifteen years after the establishment of the U.N.; they entered their current phase in 1965, the International Co-operation Year commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations.

On the basis of the resolution, which proclaimed 1965 as the International-Co-operation Year, a committee was formed to prepare and co-ordinate programs³. This committee considerably influenced the increase of activities in developing countries; it finalized the 1966 United Nations Development Programm (UNDP) and prepared for the United Nations Development Decade. This Decade was decided upon at the fifteenth Assembly session in 1961; its goal was to increase national incomes by a minimum of 5 % annually between 1961 and 1970. This was designed to exceed the population increase (3.5 % annually)⁴.

Initially, aid to developing countries was a unilateral affair — based on decisions and activities of general and regional organizations. Soon, however, bilateral agreements arose between the organizations and the countries concerned, or between the countries themselves. All aid in Development Decade projects was based on agreements within the framework of short and long-term loans from public and private sources, or as grants of money, equipment, foodstuffs or technical assistance⁵. These developments called for increased activity in executing aid and in improving instruction, supervision, reporting, etc. Therefore, the aid machinery, too, had to expand. Yet all U.N.-family assistance has been slight in the past, and has not risen appreciably even recently. Funds are raised for this purpose through voluntary contributions by countries. Originally the money was channeled through the U.N. Expanded Program of Technical Assistance Fund and the U.N. Special Fund; this function is now filled by the United Nations

1 R. Coomaraswamy, "U. N. Technical Assistance in the Development Decade", Annual Review of U.N. Affairs 1962—1963, p. 36.

2 F. Y. Tickner, Technical Co-operation, pp. 7 and 22 (London, 1965).

3 International Problems, pp. XLV—XLVI (1965).

4 U.N. Development Decade: A Program for International Economic Co-operation, General Assembly, 1710 (XVI) (November 19, 1961).

5 M. Mushkat, Co-operation and International Agencies, 2nd ed., p. 28 (Tel Aviv, 1967) (in Hebrew).

Development Program, as well as by the share of U.N. specialized agencies' budgets devoted to technical assistance. Yet these activities are not increasing in proportion to developmental needs in general, and to Africa's needs in particular. In 1960, all such U.N.-family aid did not exceed 10 0/0 of the aid given directly through bilateral agreements between countries⁶.

Long-term loans and grants of funds and supplies are considered to be assistance for developmental needs. Between 1955 and 1959, 90 0/0 of this aid was based on bilateral agreements between various countries; 2 0/0 was due to their influence on regional and special organizations of a political nature (the Common Market, the Organization of African States, the Colombo Plan, etc.); 6 0/0 came from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; and only 2 0/0 came from the U.N. and its specialized agencies⁷. Nevertheless, U.N.-family aid is of primary importance due to its independent nature, its international and non-partisan orientation, and its emphasis on the technical and educational development of local populations. The value of this activity is not lessened by the U.N.'s lack of success in closing the gap between rich and poor peoples, or even by its inability to prevent additional deterioration in the latter's general economic situation.

The resolution of November 19, 1965, established a Governing Council of the U.N. Development Program, a unified body which replaced the Special Fund Administrative Council and the Technical Assistance Board. The Governing Council consists of 36 members, of which 19 are representatives of developing countries⁸ and 17 are representatives of more developed states⁹. All serve for three years¹⁰, and are eligible for re-election.

In place of the Technical Assistance Board and the Special Fund Consultative Council, a single advisory body was established: the Inter-Agency Consultative Board of the U. N. Development Program. It was headed by one or even two administrators¹¹; participants included the Secretaries-General of the U.N. and its specialized agencies, or their delegates.

The U.S.S.R. and her Eastern Bloc partners initially viewed U.N. assistance programs (and especially the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance) with considerable reserve. They felt that the programs were intended merely to complete the Truman Point Four Plan. Although they changed their approach in 1953, socialist contributions even today are relatively small. Apart from a limited number of scholarships in socialist countries (difficult to use, since they are fixed in national currency), the bulk of the financing comes from the West — particularly the U.S.A. (40 0/0). Therefore, the international machinery directs most study scholarship recipients to the West, conscripts most of its experts from there, and draws its own membership (for a number of reasons) primarily

6 P. M. Henry, *Africa and World Order*, ed. by N. J. Padelford and R. Emerson, N. Y.-London 1963, p. 98. At the 1967 Pledging Conference for the U.N. Development Program, 111 nations pledged \$182,674,066 for 1968. This sum included a pledge of \$26.7 million for technical assistance and approximately \$ 50.6 million for the Special Fund. The Pledging Conference for the Capital Development Fund raised only \$ 1.3 million for 1968. See U.N. Monthly Chronicle, No. 10, pp. 42—43 (1967).

7 U.N.: *The Capital Development Needs of the Less Developed Countries*. Report of the Secretary General, p. 62 (February 8, 1962).

8 Seven from Africa, six from Asia, and six from South America — it being mutually agreed to designate one of these seats for Yugoslavia.

9 Fourteen from Western Europe and other countries, and three from Eastern Europe.

10 However, twelve of those elected at the outset were to serve for only one year, and twelve for two years.

11 The Fund administrators until the present have been Paul G. Hofman and David Owen.

from the West. This situation has encouraged criticism by the socialist delegates¹² as they became increasingly interested in U.N. assistance problems. This criticism, however, has not been accompanied by an increase in contributions of funds or of suitable personnel.

Nevertheless, alterations are taking place in this field following the decentralization of all U.N. economic activities¹³. The decision to transfer appropriate authority from the Secretariat to Regional Economic Committees¹⁴ guaranteed greater influence to local elements and strengthened the UNDP. The Development Program today constitutes the most important arm of the U.N. members, who operate it through voluntary contributions. In 1967, its budget was \$ 170 million. The program covered 3100 large and small projects which called for a total outlay of \$ 1.5 billion, half of which was provided by the countries receiving UNDP aid.

B. The Legal Foundations

The impressive number of U.N. bodies involved in aid to developing countries, and the wide scope and diversity of their activities, give special importance to the legal foundations of U.N. operations in this field.

In principle, the foundations were set forth in the Charter. Despite the imprecise nature of the Charter's references to social and economic co-operation¹⁵, the problem was considered in the preamble and in several provisions in the body, including the whole of Chapter IX (international economic and social co-operation). The tasks involved are authorized by the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, which are assisted by numerous commissions, committees and specialized agencies.

The Charter recognizes that conditions of stability and well-being are necessary for peaceful relations among nations (Article 55). Technical assistance is considered to be a means for attaining this goal. Economic backwardness, hunger, and scientific and intellectual deficiency are international problems because they affect many countries and influence international security¹⁶. Technical assistance is given on the basis of international commitments¹⁷, and stems from a specific international method of action related to all underdeveloped countries¹⁸. Therefore, technical assistance is in accordance with the U.N. objectives as presented in the Charter¹⁹, and with the functions of the Economic and Social Council authorized by the General Assembly (Article 66, pp. 1 and 2).

12 Geographical Distribution of the Staff of the Secretariat, Report of the Secretary General, U.N. Document A/5720, p. 11 (October 24, 1962).

13 General Assembly Resolution 1709 (XVI) (December 19, 1961).

14 U.N. Document A/4794 (June 30, 1961).

15 For example, Article 1, p. C and Article 55 refer to resolution of international economic and social problems. In Article 13, the General Assembly's authority is defined as including encouragement of international co-operation in this field also. Article 60 places responsibility on the Assembly for fulfilling U.N. tasks in this field, with the Economic and Social Council subordinate to it; Article 7, however, considers the Assembly and the Economic and Social Council to have equal status as principal components of the U.N. For a critical commentary on inaccuracies in the Charter, see H. Kelsen, *The Law of the United Nations*, pp. 20-27 (London, 1951).

16 Compare, among others, R. E. Asher's position in the collective work *The United Nations and the Promotion of General Welfare*, p. 19 and p. 582 (Washington, 1957).

17 H. Lauterpacht, *International Law and Human Rights*, p. 174 (London, 1950).

18 R. Reuter, *Institutions Internationales*, p. 393 (Paris, 1955).

19 G. Feuer, *Les Aspects Juridiques de L'Assistance Technique*, p. 19 (Paris, 1957).

Although such assistance is not explicitly mentioned in the Charter, it is sufficiently supported from the legal standpoint. Constitutions of international organizations are usually framed in general terms, since it is impossible to detail all possible activities²⁰. Technical aid in the form of educational and technical experience began to expand after the U.N.'s establishment²¹. This type of assistance is based on various interpretations of the Charter; the parts of the Charter involved deal with U.N. objectives and tasks²². In some cases, resolutions have been carried out without reference to the Charter — such as the Economic and Social Council's decision on the U.N. Expanded Program of Technical Assistance. It takes for granted that the legal foundations of the program are obvious; in view of Article 66, p. 2, this assumption appears to be justified. Incidentally, this article serves as the basis for all assistance projects conducted by the U.N. in Africa.

C. U.N. Family Aid Objectives: Their Financing and Limitations

International technical assistance is a new field that is continually expanding. It no longer consists solely of gratis aid; it now includes other means for improving underdeveloped countries. It involves raising productivity and standards of living — by discovering and exploiting natural resources, and by organizing industrial, agricultural and utility output. The U.N.'s annual report for 1951 described the U.N.'s role: to provide assistance to governments in order to initiate or improve a variety of activities. This definition does not prohibit co-operation with highly developed states seeking international co-operation to overcome shortcomings in various services or industries. Yet, quite obviously, the primary intention is to provide assistance by these highly developed countries to less-developed nations.

A less-developed country is usually considered to be one with a per capita income of less than \$ 500. On the basis of this standard, the underdeveloped area of the world is enormous. It includes (with the exception of Japan, South Africa and Israel) three entire continents — South America, Asia and Africa. Geographically, they constitute the southern half of the globe; demographically, they are primarily the world's colored population. Although they total more than three-quarters of humanity, they control less than a quarter of world productivity. While the rest of the world enjoys prosperity, their living conditions are extremely poor; they suffer from malnutrition and even starvation.

This tremendous gap is dramatized by data on per capita national income in developed countries. In 1965, it averaged ten times as high (and, in some extreme cases, fifty-five times as high) as in underdeveloped countries. The following are characteristic statistics: Ethiopia, \$ 50 annually per-capita; Tanzania, \$ 60; Burma, \$ 70; India, \$ 75; Kenya, \$ 85; Bolivia, \$ 90; Morocco, \$ 150. On the other hand, in France it is \$ 1300; West Germany, \$ 1700;

20 See G. Langrod, *The International Civil Service: Its Origins, Its Nature, Its Evolution*, p. 62 (Leyden, 1963).

21 See the definition of technical aid in *Dictionnaire de la Terminologie de Droit International*, p. 70, Paris (1960), and General Assembly Resolution No. 200 (III), in which technical aid is first explicitly mentioned. Previously, it had been mentioned only in the FAO Charter of 1945 — although similar activities had been carried out by the League of Nations as well. See Economic and Social Council's Document E/328/323c.

22 Data are according to official German and American publications, and are cited among other places in B. Bogavac, "Technical Aid and its Significance Today", *Review of International Affairs*, Belgrade No. 399, p. 7 (1966).

Canada, \$ 2200; U.S.A., \$ 2800. Furthermore, while growth reaches an average of \$ 60 per-capita in developed countries, the corresponding rate in underdeveloped countries is \$ 2. The gap will continue to grow.

Despite some achievements, the underdeveloped states' share of world trade continues to drop unabated (to 15 0/0 in 1965); rising debts, including those from assistance (a total of \$ 38 billion in 1963) neutralize the real value of aid. The gap is further widened by the struggle to reduce the number of hungry people (1.5 billion out of the 2 billion inhabitants of underdeveloped lands) in the face of a natural annual growth of 40 million people. Their life expectancy is 30 years, in contrast to WHO's estimate of 63 years in developed countries.

With the proclamation of the Development Decade in 1961, developed countries were called upon to divert at least 1 0/0 of their national income to assistance for underdeveloped areas. Most governments, particularly the Socialist bloc, ignored this plea; moreover, a considerable portion of the aid provided by the powers was devoted to military purposes. Even if aid had not been reduced (from 0.85 0/0 in 1961 to 0.61 0/0 in 1965) — or even if it had been doubled — it still would not have been sufficient to fulfill its purpose²³.

The effectiveness of aid depends on its continued increase and employment in accordance with the conditions in each state. Thus it requires planning, a deep knowledge of the problem, and the international ethical and human implications²⁴. It is also related to the world economic mechanism and to the network of international relations, which are governing factors for the dimensions of U.N. activities and aid financing. These have never been purely technical and budgetary decisions, but are inseparable aspects of world politics²⁵. However, the multilateral financing involved in aid through international organizations has helped to place developmental needs ahead of commercial needs and profits.

The World Bank, which takes care to maintain commercial viability in its transactions, provided Africa with \$ 1,036 million up to 1965, or 13 0/0 of all its loans. Africa is also becoming an increasingly more appreciated client of the International Development Agency and the Special U.N. Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED). The latter offers extremely reasonable terms on 50-year loans: no payments during the first decade, service commissions of 0.75 to 1 0/0 during the second decade, and payments at 3 0/0 interest for the next 30 years²⁶.

These conditions cannot alter the fact that the total of international assistance is too modest²⁷. Furthermore, it cannot be increased rapidly; the developed countries prefer to give aid through bilateral channels in order to exercise control over who gets what. In international organizations, the developed countries are obligated to accept compromises and to relinquish their control²⁸.

23 Ibid, p. 8. The ratio has improved since 1965, but the U.S.S.R.'s share in 1966 did not exceed \$ 3 million (far less than Norway's); the largest single share was provided by the U.S.A. (\$ 67 million out of \$ 150 million). See U.N. Secretary-General's Report for 1966.

24 G. Kayibanda, "La Coopération Entre les Nations," Chron. Politique Etrangère No. 3, pp. 226—229 (1966).

25 A. Broches, "Le Financement du Développement Economique", Chron. Politique Etrangère No. 4, p. 402 (1967).

26 N. Blagojevic, "Foreign Financing of Development in Africa, Methods and Forms", Review of International Affairs, Belgrade No. 384, pp. 9—10 (1966).

27 From 1960 to 1964, the first half of the Development Decade, the total of U.N. family aid (including the Special Fund and the Development Plan) did not exceed \$ 1.6 billion; in 1961 alone, bilateral aid reached \$ 9 billion. See also U. Kovda, "The Search for an International Science Policy within the United Nations System of Organization", UNESCO, R04, 144 (1967).

28 V. Garcia, "The Decade of Indignation", Review of International Affairs, Belgrade No. 422, p. 17 (1967).

For this reason (and not because of bureaucratic complications or unrealistic approaches), the U.N. family's share in advancing underdeveloped countries remains small. Yet, despite all the difficulties and all the limitations, this effort is not wasted; the amount of money is not always the major factor in the success of an aid project. The developing countries themselves have borne and continue to bear the lion's share of financing their own investments (up to 80 %). In another 10 to 15 years, several more developing countries will be liberated from the need for outside assistance — to a considerable extent, through the activities of the U.N.²⁹.

The importance of the U.N. in combatting underdevelopment is reflected in its efforts to formulate generally binding principles for social progress, to improve its machinery, to enlarge the roles of science and technology, and to crystallize an efficient plan for the Second Development Decade. The purpose of this plan is to prevent the oversights of the First Decade, and to release the developing countries from dependence on outside aid by the end of the century. The documents prepared in 1970 on the 25th anniversary of the U.N. express these hopes of ending the division of the world into rich and poor.

D. The U.N. Declaration for Social Progress and Development

This declaration (2542/XX) was adopted by the General Assembly on December 11, 1969, after three years of deliberation. A companion resolution (2543/XX) proposed that the Declaration serve as a basis for the strategy of the Second Development Decade.

The preamble to the Declaration mentions the Charter's articles regarding co-operation for economic and social progress. It reaffirms the Charter's articles dealing with basic human rights, social justice, and the maintenance of peace; the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the Rights of the Child; the granting of independence to colonial peoples; the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination; the promotion among youth of peaceful ideas, mutual respect and understanding of all peoples; and the elimination of discrimination against women. It calls for co-operation between all states, irrespective of political orientation, to close the gap between the developed and developing countries.

The basic principles of the Declaration are that all peoples have the right to enjoy social progress, and the responsibility to contribute to it. This progress is to be founded on social justice — through the prevention of discrimination, exploitation, colonialism, racism and nazism, and the effective implementation of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. The Declaration emphasizes the principles of national independence and self determination; non-intervention in internal affairs; respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity; the permanent sovereignty of each nation over its natural wealth and resources; and the right of each state to freely determine its own developmental objectives.

²⁹ A. Broches, "Le Financement du Développement Economique", *Chron. Politique Etrangère* No. 4, 1967, p. 403 and p. 405.

The Declaration received 119 votes, with no opposition and 2 abstentions — although it goes beyond developmental goals and deals with world political issues. This political aspect will undoubtedly make implementation of the principles much more difficult³⁰.

E. The Second Development Decade

Since 1966 there have been continued deliberations on the formulation of a plan which would advance the development of the third world in the coming decade. In the Western countries there are 600 million people with a good standard of living, and 380 million people with fairly good economic prospects; but the 1.95 billions in Africa, Asia and South America have minimal chances for a better life.

The fight against backwardness has many political, economic and humanitarian aspects. It was the latter which enabled the multifunctional U.N. Family to work collectively toward a feasible solution. A partnership evolved between the developed and developing worlds in response to the needs of international security as well as the unbearable socio-economic gap between the two worlds³¹.

The deliberations started in ECOSOC, which formed a committee to prepare for the second decade. In March, 1970, the committee adopted a plan that formulated the goals and the means for achieving them. ECOSOC also formed a development planning committee headed by Professor J. Tinbergen³² to clarify the technical factors in the new strategy. The basic outlines of the strategy were drawn in the report of the Pearson Committee (established by the World Bank). Details were added by the UNCTAD, the OECD, specialized U.N. agencies, and various governmental bodies dealing with the matter. The final formulation of the new strategy was influenced by the Jackson Report, which analyzed the operation of the U.N. program of technical assistance.

The plan for the first decade had not clearly defined the situation or specified the means for implementing basic goals. For example, it aimed for a 5% yearly growth in the G.N.P. of the developing countries and for the allocation of 1% of the income of developed nations for aid; but it did not specify whether 5% was to be the average for all countries or the rate for each country, and whether 1% relates to the net or gross income (the difference is about 25%). The work done in preparation for the second decade, however, considers these and other problems — and is very impressive³³.

The new strategy emphasizes the need to consider the problems of each country separately³⁴. Although the developed and the developing worlds have rates of economic growth which are not too dissimilar, the latter's income is 20 times less than the former's because of its population growth. The new strategy also recognizes that economic growth is impossible in some countries because of the lack of means for savings and investments. The thorough examination of the problems showed that aid did not reach 1%; that total support from the com-

30 U.N. Monthly Chronicle No. 1/1970, p. 132—142.

31 M. Timmler, *An der Schwelle zur zweiten Entwicklungsdekade*, Außenpolitik, No. 12/1969, p. 748.

32 See this document (U.N. Report, The Committee for Development Planning) in the *International Development Review*, No. 1/1970, p. 37.

33 E. Kroeller, *Second Development Decade*, *Intereconomics* No. 11/1969, p. 352.

34 The U.N. classification of developing countries does not include a number of European states, like Spain, Greece and Yugoslavia, taken into consideration by the OECD.

munist bloc did not exceed 3% of Western aid; that credit was expensive; that international terms of trade were hard; that agriculture was neglected; and that industrialization was often a failure. Consequently, the planners of the second decade tried not only to properly formulate the goals, but also to stipulate the means for carrying them out — and to receive clear commitments from all concerned parties.

The Preparatory Committee recommended that the developing countries' rate of G.N.P. growth be an average of 6% annually during the decade, and that the per-capita income should rise by 3.5% annually. It proposed 20-year programs to double the per-capita incomes of countries with very low incomes. It recommended that all countries try to keep population growth from exceeding 2.5% per year.

The final figures should, according to the Committee, be set individually in each country according to her special situation. The Committee made general recommendations about raising the agricultural output by 4% annually, industrial output by 8% and gross savings by 0.5% (to reach 20% of the gross product by 1980). It proposed an expansion of "somewhat less than 7% in imports and somewhat higher than 7% in exports"³⁵.

The Tinbergen Report of January, 1970, emphasized the need for basic changes in the social and economic structures — since such indicators as productivity and income are dependent on social and administrative reforms. This new approach to development goes beyond concepts based solely on economic analysis. Major importance is assigned to upgrading living conditions — including nutrition, health and employment — and to raising income levels and expanding education. The report expresses the strong relationship between political changes and the ability of society to develop by absorbing the findings of science and technology³⁶.

On the other hand, the report also corresponds to the conclusions of Professor Gunnar Myrdal in his basic study about the poverty of Asia³⁷. In this study, Myrdal opposes the aggregative-Keynesian approach to development — which attempts to solve the problem by directing consumption and investments alone, while rejecting actions to improve living conditions until enough capital is accumulated. Myrdal's conclusions, in a roundabout way, point out the irrelevance to the third world of the development systems in the West and the East. An imitation of Western urbanization or preference for industrialization over agriculture, or of the elitarian structures of communist regimes, will only retard the growth of the underdeveloped states.

The U.N.'s developmental activities transcend political concerns. This makes it harder for politicians to hinder the necessary steps. Another contribution of the U.N. is its mobilization of public opinion for developmental goals.

F. Recommendations for Improving the Capacity of the U.N. System of Development

The U.N. Secretary General first used the term "development decade" in 1961, following a suggestion by President Kennedy of the United States for world-

³⁵ U.N. Monthly Chronicle, No. 41/1970, p. 61—63.

³⁶ W. Morehouse, "The Role of Science and Technology in Development", *International Development Review*, No. 1/1970, p. 21.

³⁷ Gunnar Myrdal, *Asian Drama, An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations*, 20th Century Fund (New York, 1968).

wide action against backwardness³⁸. A relatively long period elapsed until the U.N. and later the UNCTAD held practical discussions on goals and means³⁹. It was not until October 1, 1969, that the comprehensive report of the Pearson Committee⁴⁰ was completed — followed two months later by the Jackson Study⁴¹. The Pearson Report dealt with developmental efficiency, principles and financing; the Jackson Study analyzed the capacity of the United Nations development aid system and ways of improving it.

The attention of the Pearson Committee was focused on the means by which the developing countries could quickly and efficiently move down the road paved by the West 400 years earlier⁴². The new states must do this in order to complete the revolution that brought them their sovereignty.

To the Committee's report, which includes recommendations for forming a new development strategy, two appendixes were attached. One deals with the existing conditions in South America, Africa and Asia. The second comprises 28 statistical tables which supplement the theoretical material of the report. Among the report's most impressive statements is that developmental efforts during the years 1961—1969 were successful — bringing a 5% growth of the G.N.P. (a rate 0.2% higher than in the developed world). They prepared the green revolution for ending hunger, and laid the basis for modernized transportation and industrialization. All this was accomplished in spite of the fact that the total foreign aid during the years 1961—1968 did not exceed \$ 12.8 billion, and the developing world's share of raw produce greatly decreased (from 1% to 0.7%). After analyzing the results of the first decade, the report gave recommendations regarding world trade conditions, private investments, private aid, multilateral aid, and the alleviation of debts. The implementation of these recommendations also requires an improved U.N. development system.

The Jackson Committee did not limit itself to examining the activities of the U.N. institutions. It also used the reports of more than 100 governments, banks and other bodies. The aim was to achieve a synthesis of data, opinions and evaluations. The Committee's view was that the U.N. systems, despite their deficiencies, are still the most suitable means for advancing development. Among the deficiencies, the report mentions the lack of a central administrative body for the expanding network of aid institutions, and the absence of comprehensive data. These delay or prevent the proper utilization of resources. Often, years pass from the start of discussions about a particular project, and about 20% of the resources are wasted. Frequently a plan becomes unimportant to the countries concerned, or the preliminary groundwork becomes inadequate. Still, according to the Committee, these deficiencies cannot diminish the achievements of the U.N.'s 1,075 projects in about 100 countries during 1959—1968.

38 Report of the Secretary General, The U.N. Development Decade, 1710/XVI/12/1961.

39 R. Prebish, 'Towards a Global Strategy of Development', Doc. T.D/3/Rev. 1./1968.

40 For interesting observations on the Pearson Report, see in *Intereconomics* No. 11/1969, p. 351 (Mandate for Politicians to Act), and in "International Association" No. 13/March 1970, p. 150 (A.J.N. Judge, Report of the Commission on International Development — Pearson Report).

41 A Study of the Capacity of the United Nations Development System, Geneva 1969; see also M. Timmler, "Pearson-Bericht und Jackson-Studie für DD2", *Außenpolitik* No. 4/1970, p. 227.

42 For a comparison of development conditions today with those encountered by Western nations, cf. A. Philip, "For an International Development Right", *World Veteran*, No. 169/1969, p. 18.

Jackson recommends a planning system which would take into consideration both the activities of all U.N. instruments and the needs of the countries involved. He seeks greater efficiency in evaluating, initiating, reporting and controlling aid activities. He also recommends more coordination between the centers and the field, more centralization of control, and more de-centralization of work. Other recommendations include increasing the authority of local representatives; having the heads of the institutions directly responsible for the use of funds; modernization of the administration; limiting the tendencies toward bureaucratization; and constantly adjusting the activities to the changing conditions.

Jackson sees five stages of an aid program: (a) preparation of the plan by the local U.N. development program representative in coordination with the concerned government; (b) formulation of the details, and ratification by the director of the program; (c) initiating the project; (d) constant evaluation of the implementation by the program director and the government; and (e) rectification of the project's deficiencies.

According to Jackson, this system would enable both the aiding and aided to be aware of all phases of planning and operation, and to assist in their improvement. It would free the U.N. development program from the need to ratify each and every project. This will strengthen the program by allowing it to concentrate on long-range and overall plans. The program will become an efficient authority in the field of technical co-operation, achieving a stature similar to that of the World Bank in the field of investments. This can be accomplished without compromising the authority of the special agencies; in addition, it will make easier the work of the Social and Economic Council as the supreme quasi-parliamentarian authority for all development organs of the U.N. Family⁴³.

G. Mobilization of Public Opinion for Developmental Activities

Those at the U.N. who are responsible for preparing a new developmental strategy are aware that their work cannot gain the leverage needed for implementation without a change in public opinion. A report dealing with the matter was prepared on the basis of a decision of the preparatory committee for the Second Development Decade. The report refutes the conception of development as a simple and natural process; it is, in fact, one of the most complicated and difficult problems for both governments and international organizations. Another misconception is that development is purely an economic issue rather than one that is integrally related to social issues.

The report therefore emphasizes the need for multi-purpose information programs to increase public understanding of the development projects and to encourage a universal commitment to them. According to the report, a moral or philanthropic approach cannot succeed. Without such codified and publicized knowledge, the mobilization of public support for the developmental effort will fail. Thus, the report recommends symposia for leaders, tours for journalists,

⁴³ Timmler, *op. cit.* p. 237; see also A.J.N. Judge, "Planning for the 1960's in the 1970's", *International Associations*, No. 13, March, 1970, p. 135.

recruitment of youth for developmental work, and the use of all means of mass communication. The steps for winning public opinion were conceived as being similar to what is done by governments in times of war⁴⁴.

It is not enough, however, to recruit support for the idea of development; also required is a knowledge of the price which must be paid to solve it. This demands a penetrating analysis of the problem; then the conclusions must be spread by non-governmental organizations and pressure groups on the national and international scenes⁴⁵.

This point of view was also expressed by the Committee for Scientific and Technological Information, founded in 1966 by the United States Academy of Sciences, which works closely with UNESCO. The Committee noted the mutual dependence among different organizations (some of which work solely for profit), especially in overlapping areas⁴⁶. As a result, they require coordination among themselves — and between them and governmental bodies — in order to create channels of greater efficiency. The steps already taken for disseminating technological and scientific information by different specialized U.N. agencies (especially UNESCO, WHO and the FAO) long ago proved their importance in carrying out the goals expressed in the Jackson and Pearson reports⁴⁷.

In evaluating the chances of the Second Development Decade, the above problems cannot be ignored. Progress is not determined by conditions laid down by the donors to the recipients (or vice versa), but by recognition of their common interest.

The foregoing suggestions do not form an economic plan, but a political tool of universal importance. The role of the developing countries implementing them is undoubtedly greater than that of the developed countries; after all, the programs are tied to reforms in all fields according to the conditions existing in each country⁴⁸.

The International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade, adopted by the General Assembly on October 24, 1970, is one of the most important documents commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations⁴⁹. It is an opportunity for the organization to overcome the serious developmental gap which threatens the future of all peoples of the world.

44 A.J.N. Judge, Report of the CES, International Associations, No. 4, April, 1970, p. 221. For the text of the document see A./AC 141/L. II, Aug. 14, 1969.

45 C. Roosevelt, "The Politics of Development: A Role for Interest and Pressure Groups", International Associations, No. 51, May 1970, p. 284 and A.J.N. Judge, there, p. 221.

46 A report of the Committee on Scientific and Technical Communication (SATCOM Report), Judge, *op. cit.* p. 224.

47 A. Aubrac, "L'Accès aux Informations Techniques", International Development Review, No. 1/1970, p. 41.

48 E. M. Martin, The Strategy for the Second Development Decade, Vienna Institute for Development, 1969, p. 4—7.

49 A/L 600, 24. 10. 1970.

Principles underlying the Developmental Assistance Machinery of the U.N. Family

By MARION MUSHKAT

Not before the 1960'ties did the U. N. really begin to deal with the problem of technical and financial assistance and aid to the developing countries. In 1965, the International Co-operation Year, the current phase was entered. The cost of aid is rising and the administrative machinery expanding rapidly. To achieve greater efficiency in 1965 the Governing Council of the United Nations Development Program was established. The legal foundations are set forth in the Charter, especially in Chapter IX. Article 66 p. 2 serves as the basis for all assistance projects conducted by the U.N. The gap between the rich and the poor nations is so tremendous that the total of international assistance is still far too modest. As the advanced nations prefer to give aid through bilateral channels in order to exercise control over who gets what, the U. N. share in the overall assistance remains small. Therefore, the importance of the U. N.'s activities lies in the formulation of general principles and of an efficient plan for the Second Development Decade. In this context the Declaration for Social Progress and Development and the Tinbergen Report of January 1970 are of greatest relevance. The Tinbergen report contains a new approach to development by emphasizing the need for basic changes in the social and economic structures, since such indicators as productivity and income are dependent on social and administrative reforms. The main problem at the moment is to increase the public understanding of the development programs. Without the mobilization of public support, it will be impossible that the nations recognize their common interest. It appears that the International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade gives an opportunity to overcome the serious developmental gap.

The New Egyptian Constitution

By GUNTER MULACK

The provisional constitution of 1964 has now been replaced by the Egyptian Constitution of November 9, 1971. The author surveys its contents and explores some of its characteristics. Traditional Islamic thought has exerted stronger influence on the new than on the older constitution while the socialist principles of the Charter of May 21, 1962 have been retained. At the same time, however, its elaborate system of fundamental laws and freedoms and the guarantee of their judicial protection place it near the liberal democratic model. The powers of the President have been expanded. More recently, however, one can observe that the political influence of Parliament, neglected by the constitution, has been increasing. All those steps toward liberalization which may be discernible in the constitution will still have to stand their test in peace time.