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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The 1981 International Development Conference

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THE U.S. STAKE IN WORLD DEVELOPMENT

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NS International
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Conference

Honorary Chair
The Honorable Clement J. Zablocki

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May 12, 13, 14
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INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

This executive summary presents the highlights of a conference on "The U.S. Stake in World Development" held at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D.C., on May 12-14, 1981. The meeting, whose Honorary Chairman was Congressman Clement J. Zablocki, Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, was sponsored by the International Development Conference, an association of individuals most of whom hold leadership positions in national citizen organizations. A brief history of the IDC -- now in its 29th year -- and lists of its current officers, committees and staff appear as appendices of this report.

Over 700 people took part in the conference. A majority of them were connected with national groups representative of farm, business, labor, religious, women, educational, youth and cooperative organizations with broad interests together with experts from 17 countries. Other participants came from the government and private organizations engaged in development work, from academic institutions and from the media. The conference was largely supported by the registration fees of its participants, with contributions from foundations, organizations, businesses and individuals.

The 1981 conference was the latest in a series of such meetings held every two or three years since 1952. The call for the conference was made on November 4, 1980, in a memorandum which set up a planning group and stated:

"The concern of the IDC for raising living standards and fostering international development has been given a serious blow by the congressional budget process in a setting where the need to control inflation and to increase defense and jobs are given the highest priority and development assistance is given the lowest priority. The election results have confirmed this sense of priorities."

"It is important to raise the consciousness and the conscience of the public, the media, the Executive and the Congress about the urgency for increasing effective development assistance in support of long-range U.S. goals. For this purpose, we propose holding an IDC Conference in May 1981."

"The critical issues that affect U.S. development goals for the eighties arise from the constraints of funding that are likely to exist for the next five years because of budget, security, inflation and job priorities. It is essential therefore to relate development assistance to these U.S. priorities and to allocate

whatever funding assistance can be raised to the successful development models in a few strategic areas and to strengthen supportive actions for the private sector. The few strategic areas could be food, population and energy."

The conference did not adopt resolutions or make policy recommendations; rather it was designed to provide an opportunity for full and open discussion of the issues. In this spirit, there were 29 plenary and working group sessions in which over 100 speakers and panelists took part. The detailed program of the conference appears as another appendix to this report.

To select from this rich program -- which covered about 50 hours of speeches and discussion -- the salient points to include in this summary report has proven a painfully difficult task. Many major participants have necessarily hardly been referred to, despite the excellent summaries of their remarks provided by session chairmen and rapporteurs. The principal guideline in selecting material has been to give preference to information and views most immediately useful to those, in both the public and private sectors, who influence or make policy decisions.

Even though no policy recommendations were adopted, we, as convenors of the conference, feel that certain common views emerged. We believe that this brief summary of conclusions constitutes an informal consensus based on the presentations and discussions at the conference.

1. The sustained growth of the U.S. economy is a most critical contribution to Third World development. But efforts to strengthen the U.S. economy and thereby to provide more jobs and to combat inflation, must recognize our growing interdependence with the growth of the Third World. U.S. exports to developing countries constitute about 40 percent of, and are the most dramatic growth factor in, total exports. About 6 percent of American jobs in manufacturing produce goods, and about 25 percent of our farms produce food, for the Third World. LDC imports are estimated to be 16 percent cheaper than domestic competitive output, thus adding to the control of inflation. We need increasing imports of raw materials from the developing world to sustain the growth of the U.S. economy.

2. In an unstable world of traditional international conflicts, of political extremism and of militant fanaticism, the supreme national interest of the United States is to reduce the risk of nuclear war. But national security does not depend on military defense alone. Failure to make acceptable progress in ameliorating conditions of poverty can lead to domestic instability and increases frustration on the part of Third World governments over the workings of the international system as it is now constituted. Although equitable economic development cannot guarantee a stable and peaceful world, it is surely a necessary pre-condition. Development

cooperation -- through aid, trade, investment and other means -- will not eliminate Third World political crises. But it will be far more effective than military aid in increasing the chances for the U.S. to exert its leadership in promoting a peaceful and prospering world.

3. The economic problems facing the Third World are very serious. Hunger, population growth, energy gaps, financing needs and environmental degradations have reached crisis proportions. But in many countries, food production has increased, the population growth rate has declined, energy resources are being developed, financing has been made available, and natural resources are being better protected. The opportunities for individual human beings to realize their potential are greater in scores of countries than ever before. And we have learned that each of these economic problems can be dealt with if there is a political will to cope with them persistently over time.

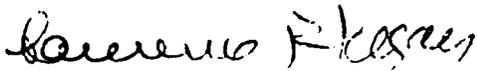
4. U.S. economic assistance, in accord with our tangible economic and security interests in developing countries, must continue to make important contributions to the solution of key development problems. Historically our aid has been extended both as direct bilateral assistance and through multilateral institutions. Our bilateral assistance can draw on sectors where the U.S. has strong comparative advantages, as in food and agriculture, family planning and primary health care. But we must also firmly support the multilateral institutions, such as The World Bank, the United Nations Development Agencies and the International Monetary Fund, all of which mobilize resources on a global basis. We recognize that the overall magnitude of our aid contribution will be affected by the drive to reduce federal budget expenditures; but despite budgetary pressures, the commitment of the Reagan Administration to continued development aid programs seems firm.

5. While government aid is an important contribution which must be continued to many of the poorer countries, we must pay greater attention to the role of the private sector in the development process. If the oft-expressed determination of the Reagan Administration to involve the private sector more fully is in fact realized, then the total flow of development-oriented resources could well increase. Toward this end, we need policies to create a favorable climate for direct investment, for access to capital markets and for expanding trade. These also include policies to expand the role of the private voluntary organizations.

6. At the international level, there is to be -- for the first time -- a meeting of the summit of the leaders of industrialized and developing countries to face the major issues dividing them. The decision of President Reagan to take part in this summit conference in Mexico next October was welcomed by the conference

as a tangible sign that the new Administration is aware of the United States' stake in world development.

7. Political leadership in a free society must ultimately be based on public understanding if it is long to survive. The evidence from the 1981 International Development Conference is that, among citizens actively involved in development education, there is a consensus that the American people's knowledge and understanding of the U.S. stake in world development is inadequate and must be greatly increased. This summary of the conference, it is hoped, will be a contribution to that end.



Lawrence R. Kegan, Chairman



B. Tarrt Bell, President



Andrew E. Rice, Vice President

July 1, 1981

I. MAJOR ELEMENTS OF THE U.S. STAKE IN WORLD DEVELOPMENT

What is the U.S. stake in world development? This question -- the overall theme of the conference -- was discussed by almost all speakers, but was summarized most effectively by Robert D. Hormats, Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs. In his address, he presented three major elements of our stake:

1) Economic Interests: The Reagan Administration, said Hormats, "came to office with the primary goal of restoring stable economic growth... The Administration's commitment to growth at home implies a strong interest in growth in the rest of the world, including the developing countries. Growth in their economies....strengthens the world economy -- and thus our own...."

The interdependence of the U.S. economy with the economies of the developing countries is illustrated by these facts:

- about 35 percent of U.S. exports go to developing countries;
- about 45 percent of U.S. imports come from developing countries, including 57 percent of our imported energy and 25 percent of our imports of manufactures. Reliable supplies at reasonable prices are important to our efforts to restore economic growth and control inflation;
- near 25 percent of U.S. investment abroad is in developing countries;
- U.S. banks have played a major role in intermediating financial flows from oil-exporting countries to oil-importing developing countries;
- developing countries are playing an increasing role in the institutions -- such as the IMF, the IBRD, and GATT -- which are basic to the Western economic open trading system.

2) Security interests: The developing countries are not only a basic source of our U.S. energy requirements, but also an important source of strategic minerals, including 87 percent of our tin, 86 percent of our bauxite, and 90 percent of our cobalt.

Economic growth in developing countries reduces the potential for internal disorder, strengthens their ability to resist outside aggression and cuts down the chances that they will engage in aggression as an external distraction from internal failures. Their growth will give them more in common with the U.S. and thus an increasing interest in the integrity and stability of the international institutions of the Western economic open trading system.

3) Humanitarian concerns: Dire poverty of course inhibits growth, by leading to the overexploitation of natural resources, political instability, and inadequate human capital. And in a broader sense it lowers the potential of humanity as a whole. Hormats posed this question: How many potential Grandis, Salks, Mozarts or Luthulis have never lived past childhood because of starvation or have been denied the basic education needed to develop their brilliance?

The human problems of poverty in developing countries cry out to decent people for relief. But our approach must be balanced, aimed both at relieving the most acute problems of poverty and at establishing the basis for long-term growth.

Bradford Morse, Administrator of the U.M. Development Program, also emphasized these themes. He said that even as the United States is making a renewed effort to resolve its own economic problems, "it would be devastating if we failed to take into account our enormous state of interdependence with developing countries." He ran through the usual list of practical reasons why the United States needs the Third World -- such as jobs, strategic minerals, national security. But developing countries seek the same stability and security America seeks for itself, and it is in the United States' interest to promote this. Morse said he is aware of the austerity of the times, but wondered about the wisdom of going too far. He said one of the lessons learned by development experts is that "trained human infrastructures and the enhancement of technical, managerial and administrative skills are essential to development."

At the closing session of the conference, an even broader look into the U.S. security stake in world development was taken by Thomas Wilson, former Advisor to the U.S. Secretary of State and the U.N. Secretary General. He argued that the political, social and strategic realities of the 1980s are such that national security now requires, in addition to military protection, the security of strategic systems in the biosphere to overcome the deterioration of croplands, pasture lands, forests and fisheries; reliable critical services in the technosphere to protect international communications by mail, telegram, telephone, radio and television; and law and order in the global commons to regulate the uses of Antarctica, the oceans, the moon and outer space.

But most important of all, Wilson believes that national security requires the political will to cope with the most pressing contemporary problems. For national security is imperiled by a narrow military concern and by the threat of political paralysis -- a general failure to cope with contemporary problems through institutional breakdown. When the capacity to make political decisions becomes paralyzed, political polarization results and with it the potential for conflict resolution or management is all but destroyed.

"Development -- modernization -- is now the top priority on the global agenda for a large majority of the world's nations. Since modernization is inherently destabilizing, the management of modernization can be seen as the central political task of our time. The United States must therefore engage in positive political action for international development since such positive action alone will guard against the dangers of stagnation leading to polarization in world affairs."

II. GOALS OF DEVELOPMENT POLICY

If a smoothly evolving world economy and a stable world political order require increasing close relationships between us and the developing nations, what should be the goals of U.S. foreign policy in such North-South relationships?

Restoration of the U.S. economy is the most critical contribution the United States can make to Third World development, the State Department's Myer Rashish said at the opening session. The Undersecretary for Economic Affairs outlined difficulties faced by the developing countries -- increasing debt, higher oil prices and slower economic growth -- concluding that the 80s will be a very difficult decade for them. He said Third World development is a key to creating regional stability, integrating developing countries into the world economy and, by stabilizing those countries economically and politically, making them less susceptible to "outside threats."

Responding to a question about the Administration's position on the North-South dialogue, Rashish said the Administration feels that the issues involved are too serious to be discussed within "ideological frames of reference." The Administration is "turning its back on the sterile dialogue," Rashish said, and he announced publicly for the first time, that the President is expected to attend the North-South Summit in Mexico in October, hopeful that a new and positive framework for discussion can result.

For the immediate future, most modest but nonetheless significant goals are likely. Rashish saw three major elements in the Administration's approach to Third World development:

1) restoration of a healthy, rapidly growing U.S. economy which would lead to an openness to imports from the developing countries and to an increase in U.S. funding available to the Third World;

2) helping the developing countries to help themselves. He foresaw increased bilateral official assistance, but also greater private sector participation in providing capital and technical assistance;

3) at the same time support to those multilateral institutions, such as The World Bank, the regional development banks, and the IMF, which help create the climate for an open international economy. No "massive shift" away from these institutions was likely, Rashish maintained, although other speakers at the conference held that a number of issues -- such as the role of these institutions in fostering or hampering private investment, the decision-making process of their governance, and the working conditions of their staffs -- were causing the new Administration to examine closely its position towards them.

Mahbub ul Haq, Director, Policy Planning and Program Review at The World Bank, also spoke on the North-South development issue in a personal capacity, from the viewpoint of what might be the agenda for the North-South Summit meeting to be held in Mexico in October. To this end, the global community should aim to reach agreement, in time, on:

1) an internationally accepted floor for absolute poverty all over the globe and a concrete framework through which this objective can be reached over the next two decades;

2) a system of international food security;

3) a new international energy security system;

4) a relatively open trading system, with mechanisms to resist and roll back the creeping protectionism of recent years;

5) a global responsibility to create adequate recycling mechanisms;

6) the principle of ensuring greater automaticity in the mobilization of resources, through graduated steps and primarily through international institutions;

7) the principle that any international reserve currency should be created over the long run only under international jurisdiction and for the benefit of all nations;

8) recognition of the contradictions between the present level of armaments spending, global population increase and global environmental deterioration and the goal of a stable and harmonious global order.

Also speaking on the global North-South development issue at the final session, Orville L. Freeman, President of Business International Corporation and former U.S. Secretary of Agriculture, saw an opportunity to break the stalemate between North and South in a way that would bring together OPEC funds, multi-national expertise and developing country leadership to mount a global Marshall Plan with an "estimated \$1 trillion of capital looking for investment in the North to meet the soaring needs of the South."

III. KEY SECTORS OF DEVELOPMENT

In looking for global development, three sectors stand out as of paramount importance: energy, food and population. The conference gave special attention to these three broad development sectors.

1) Energy: The energy problem, as far as development planning was concerned, did not exist 10 years ago, noted Moeen Qureshi, World Bank Senior Vice President. But the era of cheap energy is gone and oil prices in real terms may be expected to rise 2 percent to 3 percent per year during the 1980s. Already the oil importing less-developed countries face a staggering bill for oil imports (\$74 billion in 1980) which for some countries, such as Brazil and India, amounted to over 50 percent of their export earnings.

Now, urgent global and national economic adjustments to cope with increasing energy costs dictate a major reorientation of development strategy. Future development strategies must be predicated on ways of keeping energy costs down; on this point, there was unanimity of opinion between Qureshi and Philip Palmedo, Chairman of Energy/Development International and a leading private authority on world energy problems. Energy development must therefore be a part of the developing countries' overall development plans. At the same time, major conservation efforts are a must, Qureshi said, as well as a massive investment -- \$40 billion over the next five years -- in energy development in the Third World. The goal is to double Third World oil production by 2000.

These efforts, Qureshi added, will benefit developed and developing countries. Besides the political and military implications of a stable Third World, "the linkage of economic health of developing and developed countries is becoming closer day by day." The World Bank is playing a critical role in global adjustments,

according to the bank official. Besides accelerating Third World energy development, its mere presence in a country attracts private investment, he maintained.

2) Food: We need to produce more food. This was the message sounded by all the conference speakers on this subject. We need to do so, said Abdelmusin M. Al-Sudeary, President of the International Fund for Agricultural Development, partly to build up a secure reserve against future emergencies. This year, he noted, cereal stocks are expected to drop a little more than a month's supply.

We need to produce more food in order to provide better nutrition which in turn makes people more productive, said Julia F. Anderson, Associate Dean of the College of Home Economics of Iowa State University. Today it is estimated that 75% of the people in sub-Sahara Africa are eating less than the recommended dietary allowance, added Fred Sai, Consultant to the United Nations University.

Increasing population, rising affluence, the use of agricultural products for energy (e.g. ethanol) all call for increased food production, said Lawrence McQuade, Senior Vice President of the W.R. Grace Company. Yet there is evidence that both increasing costs and soil exhaustion will put a brake on expanded production in the United States.

It is to the developing countries therefore that we must look for expanded food production, even though, as Nicolas Ardito Barletta, Vice President of The World Bank for Latin America and the Caribbean, pointed out, per capita food production in these countries rose only 0.3 percent annually during the 1970s and actually declined seriously in Africa. Al-Sudeary pointed out several reasons for optimism. He cited evidence that small farmers could be efficient producers. Governments' increasing recognition of rural needs is also encouraging. But most important, according to Al-Sudeary, there is proof that "the rural poor can be reached with effective development assistance."

Al-Sudeary and Barletta, like Qureshi, called for increased international financial support. "While the main responsibility for increasing food production clearly lies with the developing countries, their efforts to meet this responsibility cannot succeed without substantial external support." He recommended doubling concessional funds for agricultural development during the 1980s as a possible target. To reach this scale, Al-Sudeary emphasized, both bilateral and multilateral channels would be extremely important.

Thomas Wilson, in his call for political action, maintained that the food problem is one place that seems to offer the most practical handle on the present predicament of political paralysis by mounting a serious, systematic world action program to contain, reduce and ultimately eliminate chronic malnutrition among

children, men and women in the world at large. "The moral, humanitarian and ethical foundations are universally approved; ideologically the case is unassailable; technically the task is feasible; governments already are committed to the goal in principle; and the key institutions already are in place. Of course, the subject is incredibly complex, but three major studies in the past year -- the Brandt Commission, the World Development Report by The World Bank, and the Interfutures study by the OECD -- all made very similar recommendations on what to do about it. There is no need for action to defer to further study." We must now turn from talk to deeds.

Population: There are 4.4 billion people on earth now. In 2000 there will be, by optimistic projection, 5.9 billion. For 2050, the optimistically estimated figure is 8.4 billion. These estimates were presented by William Hubbard, President of The Upjohn Company, who noted that if the present rate of population increases remained unchanged, the year 2000 figure would be 6.5 billion and the year 2050 figure would be 12.4 billion.

Already of course there has been a marked decline in the global population growth rate -- from about 2 percent annually in the mid-60s to about 1.7 percent now -- and this is at a time when in one generation (1950-1980) there has been a gain of more than 10 years in life expectancy due to declining mortality rates. These figures were given by Rafael Salas, Executive Director of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities, who attributed the decline to three factors:

- 1) the perceptions of the governments of developing countries have altered dramatically in the past 15 or 20 years; population is now seen as an area amenable to programming in overall development strategies;
- 2) population programs have increasingly been implemented in conjunction with other areas of development activity;
- 3) through communications and population education, various inhibitions against family planning programs have been overcome and more and more local institutions have been involved in population programs.

Luis de la Macora, Secretary-General of Mexico's Profam program, and Pouru Bhiwandiwalla, Deputy Director, International Projects, of the International Fertility Research Program, emphasized the importance of relating family planning to overall community health services and to other development sectors.

Sharon Camp, Director of Education and Public Policy of the Population Crisis Committee, pointed out that:

- 1) population pressures have become critical and now threaten the future

economic and political viability of a large number of developing countries vital to U.S. economic and security interests;

2) despite the urgency of population, U.S. funding for population assistance increased by less than 3 percent since 1979 and now represents in real purchasing power only 66 percent of the funds made available in 1972;

3) recent policy changes in developing countries have meant a sky-rocketing demand for assistance in population programs, resulting in substantial current shortfalls;

4) most of the infrastructure is now in place to support a major push in the population area.

Clearly, the big problem, said Salas, is the shortage of resources. The current \$1 billion spent annually in developing countries needs to be increased to \$3 billion if population and family planning needs are to be met. And as Hubbard declared, "the future is now"; actions taken, or not taken, in the next few years can have enormous implications for succeeding generations. For individual developing countries, already faced with destabilizing shortages of food, health care, education, housing, jobs and other essentials, the difference between a population doubling time of 25 years and a doubling time of 75 years may mean the difference between steady economic progress and economic or political collapse.

IV. KEY ELEMENTS OF DEVELOPMENT

Development moves forward on a wide variety of fronts simultaneously. Some of the key elements for progress were examined in conference working groups. They included:

1) Education and Development: When people are illiterate and scientifically ignorant or unaware of the wider world, they remain essentially "untapped" and therefore unable to contribute fully to national development. Aklilu Habte, Director of Education of The World Bank, saw education as a basic need which must be met; it is a means of meeting other basic needs; and it is an activity that sustains and accelerates overall development. He made a particularly strong case for primary education on which the returns on investment are high in terms of improved health and nutrition, reduced fertility, increased productivity behavioral and attitudinal changes.

Yet despite great progress in recent years -- the overall illiteracy rate in developing countries dropped from 44 percent in 1960 to 32 percent in 1975 -- vast numbers of children still do not go to school, and schools themselves are

still far too often inefficiently run. For the 1980s, each country must set its educational priorities and must involve its citizenry in the formation and implementation of its plans.

2) The Role of Women in Development: Aziza Hussein, President of the International Planned Parenthood Federation, noted that for the first time the International Development Strategy adopted by the United Nations for the Third Development Decade (the 1980s) makes specific reference to women in setting goals for the next ten years. Indeed these goals cannot be reached without addressing the problems and needs of women, said Hussein, and thus "women's development in relation to population and family planning should be the number one priority in any national development plan....There is a natural relationship between the reproductive and the productive function of women."

Although UN resolutions do not necessarily lead to implementation, they can serve as rallying points for feminist groups worldwide, she added, emphasizing the importance of the voluntary sector in taking action to make resolutions come to life.

3) Rural Development: Successful rural development, said Uma Lele of The World Bank, means both improving the living standards of the masses of people and self-sustaining growth. The 1970s had been characterized, she felt, by too much emphasis on projects, hoping thereby to achieve quick results. It was more important to tie rural development into overall country development plans and work for long-run goals.

Ted Owens, of Appropriate Technology International, emphasized the need for more decentralized and participatory planning if permanent change is to be achieved.

4) "People Power" for Development: This same theme was sounded in discussing "people power" for development. If knowledge is the most important key to development, then, it was argued in this session, it is lateral, rather than top-down communication that is most effective in transmitting ideas. Peer pressure -- or "what will my neighbor think?" -- can really work.

Other working sessions dealt with health and development, state-owned enterprises in development, and employment creation in developing countries. Carmen Delgado Votaw, U.S. Delegate to the Inter-American Commission on Women, spoke at the employment session, but what she said has relevance to the U.S. role vis-a-vis all the elements of development. She declared: "The United States can play a decisive role in the dialogue necessary among nations to develop just and equitable employment-creation policies without endangering

production goals. It can be a leader in technological transfers and exchanges it can be an explorer of new and novel entrepreneurship options to assist in employment generation. It can share the wealth of accumulated experience we have in working creatively toward problem-solving and bringing together business people, labor, government and non-governmental organizations to harness their collective creativity in the quest for solutions to existing problems."

V. INSTRUMENTS OF DEVELOPMENT

A pluralistic society like the United States has many channels through which it can implement its involvement in world development. The conference looked at a number of these:

1) Foreign aid: Peter McPherson, Administrator of the Agency for International Development, set out four factors which he said would be emphasized in his approach to foreign assistance:

a) aid must be used to "create a policy climate for development" within the developing countries. "I believe strongly that the success or failure of the development process in a given country depends primarily on the policy framework and determination of the country itself," he elaborated, pointing out that no amount of project activity in the field of agriculture will bring forth more food production unless the government permits farmers to be adequately paid. Similarly, he said population programs need a strong government which puts health outreach ahead of hospitals.

b) a major objective of aid must be to transfer technology and build institutions so that they will respond effectively to future problems. Where AID provides financing for the transfer of goods and services, "such programs should be supportive of institutional development or putting into place of policies or programs that will significantly increase a country's human and physical productive capacity."

c) economic growth potential is a third criterion which must be applied in making decisions on aid priorities. "The case must be reasonably made that the project will achieve results in terms of increased productivity and incomes." He likened testing proposed projects to the business community's consideration of investments on the basis of percentage return. Of course, he added, in the case of a development agency, proper equity consideration should be made. But "we need to work harder to find the lowest-cost solutions practicable, so our projects are replicable and sustainable and can point the way toward bringing

the greatest benefit to the most people at the least cost."

d) greater involvement of the private sector, both profit and non-profit, is needed so that government and private resources can work together as partners. Toward this end, he elaborated, he plans to give increased attention to the role of U.S. private business, mainly through making more use of the Trade and Development Program as well as regular AID programs.

The greatest challenge in the next few decades, he said, is overcoming hunger and malnutrition. The agriculture, rural development, nutrition and population programs "should remain the centerpiece of development assistance."

An issue which surfaced several times during the conference was how much the United States would rely on multilateral agencies to achieve its policy goals. The Administration spokesmen all denied that there would be a major shift away from the international finance and development institutions, pointing to the success of the foreign policy leadership in the early days of the Administration in resisting major cuts in funding proposed by the OMB. Undersecretary Rashish said plans were being formulated to link World Bank activities more closely to the private sector. Al-Sudeary argued that multilateral institutions play a vital role, promoting development policies or actions by recipient governments that in many cases would be difficult for bilateral donors to promote, and gathering the necessary international skills, experience and materials. Most importantly, Al-Sudeary stressed, multilaterals can mobilize financial resources: "For every dollar provided by the United States, almost four dollars are contributed by others."

2) Trade: The importance of an open and growing market trading system was emphasized by all speakers. World trade expanded fivefold between 1970 and 1980, with the most rapid expansion occurring among the developing countries and U.S. trade, in particular, with the LDCs taking on increasing importance. "The United States sells more than one-third of its exports to LDCs and since 1970 U.S. trade with LDCs has grown considerably faster than trade with developed countries. As this trade increases, the shared interests of the United States and LDCs in improving the international trading system grows," said Don deKeiffer, General Counsel of the U.S. Trade Representative.

But the prospects for 1981 are that, as in 1980, there will be a real increase in world trade of less than 2 percent. "Trade will not be an engine of growth for the developing countries in the 1980s," predicted Steve Lande, Assistant U.S. Special Trade Representative. While trade will be important, Lande continued, it won't be the key to development, given the "current

absorptive capacity" of the Third World. Charles Levy, an international lawyer, commented that quite a few developing countries do not have the proper export infrastructure even if they have products to export.

William Cline of the Brookings Institution noted that 2 million U.S. jobs depend on exports to the Third World and concluded the United States should strongly advocate an open trade system. Cline suggested that the international trade system should be allowed to "go as it may," letting production locate where it is naturally best, rather than creating artificial frameworks through tariffs and regulations. The United States should prepare for future competition from the developing world in such products as footwear, television sets, automotive parts, clocks and furniture, Cline said, citing a survey that found imported goods from the developing countries to be 16 percent cheaper than domestically produced goods. An open trade policy benefits the consumer, he maintained.

The adjustment to the oil shocks of the mid 1970s demonstrated that successful structural adjustment and a return to acceptable economic growth rates in developing countries depend, among other things, on substantial expansion and diversification of their exports. William Dale, Deputy Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, described how the IMF is helping developing countries with balance of payment difficulties to sustain their imports and not to resort to destructive protectionist measures. But the cost is high; the IMF will need approximately \$7-8 billion each year for several years. Saudi Arabia, the member state with the largest payments surplus, has agreed to lend about \$9 billion over the next two years with the possibility of a further amount in the third year.

Bryan Turner, Director of the International Department of the AFL/CIO, indicated that "labor has always supported expanding trade -- but fair trade rather than free trade." He hoped that we will press hard for agreement to significantly reduce and hopefully eliminate the subsidy arrangement in government export credits since this competes unfairly with U.S. production and constitutes a waste of resources. He also stressed the need for "graduation" from the General System of Preferences (GSP), an international agreement providing preferential treatment to developing countries. As of now, he indicated that three countries get 50 percent of the benefits. deKeiffer agreed that it becomes increasingly difficult to justify GSP preferential treatment as individual countries develop a level as close to that of an industrial country and that its continuation would have adverse consequences for both developed and developing countries, "To the extent the graduation results in the liberalization of the trading regions of developing countries which manufactured exports have been

growing rapidly, it facilitates resistance to mounting protectionist pressures in industrialized countries and it also affords the least developed countries increased opportunities to export to developing countries."

3) Private investment: The conference did not explore in depth the problems and possibilities connected with direct corporate investment in developing countries. Three representatives of multinationals involved in energy, food and population presented their views of these areas in the LDCs. In addition, Orville Freeman, President of Business International, in his concluding address to the conference indicated a significant change in the LDC attitude to multinationals over the last ten years.

"They/the LDCs/ have become more confident in their own ability, increasingly sophisticated, and now realize that the technology they desperately need resided within the province of international companies. Multinational companies, on the other hand, have become much more flexible, recognizing that they must contribute to the real needs of the countries where they invest. This means that the foundations are in place for a major forward thrust of the private sector front."

One session examined the experience of U.S. private banks whose loans to Third World countries have expanded dramatically in recent years. Lawrence Fox, Vice President for International Economic Affairs of the National Association of Manufacturers, pointed out that from 1970 to 1980, commercial medium and long-term claims in developing countries had increased from about \$32 billion to \$280 billion; during the same period only 30 percent of the financial flows to developing countries was official aid from industrialized countries, compared to 44 percent a decade ago.

But the general growth of LDC debt to private banks has not been evenly distributed. Five countries in fact accounted for almost 50 percent of the debt, and 20 countries for 84 percent. The great majority of the developing countries were thus little aided by private funds. Moreover, beginning in the late 70s, U.S. private banks began to show reluctance to increasing their investments; between 1975 and 1979 their share in new annual net lending fell from 40 percent to 15 percent.

The question, therefore, said Fox, was how to draw more private capital into productive lending in countries needing resources. He proposed two approaches: 1) co-financing, where an official institution joins with a private institution in extending loans, thus mobilizing more resources at less risk.

In fact, from 1975 through 1980 there were 50 World Bank co-financings, but they were only in a few countries and generally those with good access to private sources. The effort must be made to expand the system to less favored countries; and 2) an international loan insurance fund set up under The World Bank or IMF auspices.

4) Private voluntary organizations: At a time when the new Administration is declaring its belief in a growing role for the private sector in the U.S. development effort, U.S.-based private voluntary organizations (PVOs) are themselves becoming better organized and more "professional." This was the general thrust of the conference examination of the activities of the more than 500 such organizations who together spend over \$1 billion annually.

The panelists suggested that, in the years ahead, mergers and operating consortia would reduce the number of major groups. They foresaw also more collaboration in the field, particularly with indigenous groups, and better communication among donor groups at the international level.

Stronger linkages among American PVOs (as epitomized by the recent formation of PAID -- Private Agencies in International Development -- a consortium of over 100 agencies) with greater emphasis on relations with Congress and the private sector and on development education were also seen as aspects of the new trend.

VI. THE POLITICAL PROCESS

A constantly recurring topic at the conference was how the U.S. stake in world development could be reflected in the political process. How is policy determined? And how can the general public be better informed on development issues and exert influence on development policy?

Spokesmen at the conference emphasized that the Reagan Administration's commitment to rebuilding a strong U.S. economy is the first priority on its legislative agenda. Spending and tax cuts are essential to achieving these goals, they believed, and this means cuts in foreign aid spending as well. In addition, the Administration is reviewing its attitude towards multilateral development institutions.

The path of foreign aid through Congress has never been an easy one, as the Honorary Conference Chairman, Congressman Zablocki, reminded the participants, and a number of speakers noted that the present Congress is seriously challenging the value of development assistance. But Congressman Zablocki recalled the saying of the late Senator Everett Dirksen "If you feel the heat, you see the light."

Applying the "heat" -- constituency pressure -- was clearly on the minds of the three speakers who closed the conference with a discussion on building a constituency for world development:

1) Frank Ballance described a broad-based organization in formation, Action for World Development, which would serve other organizations by keeping them up-to-date on current issues and decision points, so that they in turn could inform and mobilize their members;

2) Thomas Keehn reported on the organization of PAID, the coalition of over 100 PVOs who have united to better represent their views before Congress and to better educate Americans about development problems.

3) Speaking from the "grass roots" was Juliet Blanchard, the long-time World Affairs activist from Wooster, Ohio. She gave practical advice on development education, such as: Find people to work with who are not over-committed, such as the just retired; tie development education into programs or activities in which people are already interested; and use existing groups with "built-in" concern, such as foreign students and returned Peace Corps volunteers.

PROGRAM OF

THE 1981 INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE

THE U.S. STAKE IN WORLD DEVELOPMENT

Tuesday, May 12

Opening Plenary Session

Presiding: Lawrence R. Kegan, Chairman, International Development Conference

Speaker: The Honorable Myer Rashish, Under Secretary for Economic Affairs, Department of State

Plenary Session

U.S. DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS IN ENERGY, FOOD AND POPULATION

Presiding: B. Tartt Bell, President, International Development Conference

Speakers: Abdelmuhsin Al-Sudeary (Saudi Arabia), President, International Fund for Agricultural Development

Moeen A. Qureshi (Pakistan), Senior Vice President, World Bank
Rafael Salas (Philippines), Director, United Nations Fund for

Population Activities

Dinner

Honorary Chair: The Honorable Clement J. Zablocki

Presiding: Lawrence R. Kegan, Chairman, I.D.C.

Speaker: The Honorable M. Peter McPherson, Administrator, Agency for International Development

Wednesday, May 13

Plenary Session

PROGRAMS OF BUSINESS ENTERPRISE IN ENERGY, FOOD AND POPULATION

Presiding: The Honorable Dick Clark, Former U.S. Senator from Iowa

Speakers: Philip Palmedo, President, Energy/Development International
Lawrence McQuade, Senior Vice President, W.R. Grace Company

William Hubbard, President, The Upjohn Company

SPECIAL SESSIONS ON SUCCESSFUL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

Session 1. FOOD PRODUCTION

Chair: John Mellor, Director, International Food Policy Research Institute

Speaker: Nicolas Ardito Barletta (Panama), Vice President, World Bank

Commentator: Tony Babb, Deputy Assistant Administrator for Food and Nutrition, Agency for International Development

Session 2. POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Chair: Ambassador Marshall Green, former Assistant Secretary of State for Asian and Pacific Affairs

Speaker: Luis de la Macora (Mexico), Secretary-General, Profam

Commentator: Richard Benedick, Coordinator of Population Affairs, Department of State

Session 3. ENERGY SOURCES IN THE THIRD WORLD

Chair: Samuel Bunker, Administrator, International Programs, National Rural Electric Cooperative Association

Speaker: Julio Heurtematte (Panama), Deputy Manager, Energy, Inter-American Development Bank

Commentators: John Foster, Senior Economic Advisor, Petro Canada

B.K. Wesley Copeland, President, International Science and Technology Institute

Session 4. RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Chair: Allie C. Felder, Jr., Executive Vice President, Cooperative League of the U.S.A.

Speaker: Uma Lele (India), World Bank

Commentators: Ted Owens, A-T International

Richard Critchfield, Journalist and Author of *Villages*

Session 5. WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

Chair: Kaval Gulhati (India), President, Centre for Population Activities

Speaker: Aziza Hussein (Egypt), President, International Planned Parenthood Federation

Commentators: Perdita Huston, former Associate Director, Development Education, Peace Corps

Page Wilson, Member of the Board, U.S. Committee for UNICEF

Session 6. STATE-OWNED ENTERPRISE IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Chair: Fred Stokeld, Director, International Programs, Chamber of Commerce of the United States

Speaker: Raymond Vernon, Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs, Harvard University

Commentator: Ronald Müller, Professor of International Finance, American University

Session 7. JOBS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Chair: Jacob Clayman, National Council of Senior Citizens

Speaker: Carmen Delgado Votaw, U.S. Delegate, Inter-American Commission on Women

Commentator: Ernest Lee, Director, Department of International Affairs, AFL/CIO

Lunch

TWO VIEWS OF THE U.S. POLITICAL-ECONOMICAL STAKE IN DEVELOPMENT

Presiding: Wallace Campbell, President, CARE

Speakers: The Honorable Paul Tsongas, Member, Senate Foreign Relations Committee

The Honorable Bradford Morse, Director, United Nations Development Program

Plenary Session

THE U.S. STAKE: TRADE, INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM AND DEVELOPMENT

Presiding: John Beyer, President, Robert R. Nathan Associates

Speakers: Donald deKieffer, General Counsel, U.S. Special Trade Representative

William Dale, Deputy Manager, International Monetary Fund

The Honorable Robert Hormats, Assistant Secretary, Economic and Business Affairs, Department of State

SPECIAL SESSIONS ON SUCCESSFUL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

Session 8. POPULATION SERVICES

Chair: Philander Claxton, President, World Population Society

Speaker: Pouru Bhiwandiwala (India), International Fertility Research Program

Commentators: Thomas Donnelly, Population Office, Agency for International Development, Mexico

Hira Malaney (India), Jan Mangal Samstha

Session 9. PEOPLE POWER FOR DEVELOPMENT

Chair: David Williams, Americans for Democratic Action

Speaker: Martha Stuart, Martha Stuart Communications, Inc.

Commentators: Merle Goldberg, President, International Women's Health Coalition

Bruce Stokes, Author of *Helping Ourselves*

Session 10. HEALTH AND DEVELOPMENT

Chair: Peggy Curlin, Executive Director, Centre for Population Activities

Speaker: The Honorable Phoebe Asiyo (Kenya), Member of Parliament

Commentators: Alfred Gerald (Panama), International Programs, American Public Health Association

Douglas Huber, Johns Hopkins Program for International Education for Gynecologists and Obstetricians

Session 11. EDUCATION, TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT

Chair: James Cowan, National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges

Speaker: Aklilu Habte (Ethiopia), Director of Education, World Bank

Carol Wzorek, Acting Regional Director, Peace Corps

Session 12. FOOD AND NUTRITION

Chair: Robert Berg, Member, Governing Council, Society for International Development

Speakers: Fred Sai (Ghana), Consultant to the United Nations University

Julia Anderson, Associate Dean, College of Home Economics, Iowa State University

Commentator: Roberta van Haeften, Department of Agriculture

Session 13. U.S. PRIVATE BANKS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Chair: Lawrence A. Fox, Vice President, National Association of Manufacturers

Speaker: Jack Guenther, Vice President, Citibank

Commentators: Juan Carlos Iareza (Argentina), Executive Director, International Monetary Fund

Michael Moffitt, Institute for Policy Studies

Session 14. THE LAW OF THE SEAS: FOOD AND ENERGY

Chair: Frances Neely, Friends Committee on National Legislation

Speaker: Bernard Oxman, Member, The Law of the Seas Delegation

Commentator: Lee Kimball, Citizens for Ocean Law

Thursday, May 14

Plenary Session

A PROGRAM FOR DEVELOPMENT: THIRD WORLD VIEWS

Presiding: John Sewell, President, Overseas Development Council

Speakers: Adely Abdel-Meguid (Egypt), Director Liaison Office, United Nations Industrial Development Organization

Mahbub ul Haq (Pakistan), Director of Policy, World Bank

SPECIAL SESSIONS ON ISSUES IN U.S. DEVELOPMENT FINANCING

Session 15. THE BUDGET PROCESS

Chair: Frank Ballance, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Speaker: John McEvoy, former Staff Director, Senate Budget Committee

Commentators: Peter Storm, Staff, House Budget Committee

Alexander Shakow, former Assistant Administrator for Program and Policy, Agency for International Development

Session 16. POPULATION

Chair: Edwin Martin, former Assistant Secretary, Inter-American Affairs, Department of State

Speaker: Sharon Camp, Director, Education and Public Policy, Population Crisis Committee

Commentator: Margaret Goodman, Staff Consultant, House Foreign Affairs Committee

Session 17. FOOD

Chair: Martin McLaughlin, Overseas Development Council

Speaker: Larry Minear, Church World Services. Lutheran World Relief

Session 18. PRIVATE VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

Chair: David H. Scull, President-emeritus, Partnership for Productivity Foundation

Panelists: Ernest Grigg, Save the Children Federation

Anthony Kozlowski, International Council of Voluntary Agencies

Charles McCormack, Experiment in International Living

Elise Smith, Overseas Education Fund, League of Women Voters

John Sommer, Advisory Committee, Agency for International Development

Session 19. INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Chair: Peter Riddleberger, Public Affairs Advisor, World Bank

Speaker: Guy Erb, former Deputy Director, International Development Cooperation Agency

Commentator: Robert Russell, Staff Director, Subcommittee for International Economic Policy, Senate Foreign Affairs Committee

Session 20. U.S. TRADE: EXPORTS AND IMPORTS

Chair: Doreen Brown, President, Consumers for World Trade

Panelists: Steve Lande, Assistant Special Trade Representative

Charles Levy, Mayer, Brown & Platt

Brian Turner, International Department, AFL/CIO

William Cline, Brookings Institution

Lunch

A PROGRAM FOR WORLD DEVELOPMENT: U.S. VIEWS

Presiding: Lawrence R. Kegan, Chairman, I.D.C.

Speakers: Thomas Wilson, former Advisor to the U.S. Secretary of State and to the U.N. Secretary-General

The Honorable Orville Freeman, President, Business International Corporation

Commentator: Ronald Müller, Author, *Revitalizing America*

Open Meeting

Presiding: B. Tarrt Bell, President, I.D.C.

OVERVIEW OF CONFERENCE: Andrew E. Rice, Vice President, I.D.C.

BUILDING A CONSTITUENCY FOR DEVELOPMENT

Panelists: Frank Ballance, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Julist Blanchard: Trustee, Wooster College

Thomas Keein, Private Agencies in International Development

HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE--29 YEARS

The International Development Conference has served since 1952 as a vital platform for American organizations and individuals concerned with raising living standards and fostering economic growth among the developing regions of the world. The Conference is a forum for the exchange of experience, information, and ideas concerning international economic, technical, and social development among individuals in the United States Government, international agencies, business, universities, and, especially, non-governmental organizations.

Participants in the meetings organized by the Conference have represented a broad cross-section of American life including farm, business groups, labor, religious and women's organizations, cooperatives, youth groups, educational and civic interests. Conference participants have freely expressed the viewpoints of their organizations and in turn have benefitted from the practical experience, imaginative thinking, and attitudes of fellow conferees.

Looking back over the 29 years of the International Development Conference, these elements stand out:

First, the very durability of the Conference is remarkable. There must be few, if any, inter-organizational groupings which have survived so long in Washington.

Second, the large and constantly growing participation in the Conference is noteworthy. The Conference has from the beginning been based on the concept of involving a very wide range of organizations.

Third, the Conference has performed its functions with very modest means, relying primarily on its chief resource--the commitment of its members and their organizations.

Fourth, it has kept its members up-to-date on development issues.

Fifth, it has mobilized a constituency for the support of U.S. development programs.

Sixth, it has kept open channels through which ideas could flow up to and down from government policy-makers, thus helping to develop a consensus on critical issues.

Finally, the Conference has served as a platform for launching new ideas. It was in this forum that Paul Hoffman put forward the concepts which took shape in the U.N. Development Program, which he later headed. It was here that Senator Monroney made the first public presentation of the idea of the International Development Association; and that Victor Reuther and Orville Freeman, on the same day but independently, sketched out what later became the Peace Corps.

The first International Conference was held in Washington, D.C., April 7-9, 1952. Over 1200 people attended, representing some 270 organizations. The idea for this Conference originated in the Point Four Information Service, which drew its name from the fourth point of President Harry S. Truman's 1949 Inaugural Address, in which he

proposed that the United States initiate a program to help the peoples of the world to raise their standards of living and to achieve decent, satisfying lives. President Truman, then in his final year of office, accepted the invitation to be the principal speaker. When he was detained by a labor-management crisis, Secretary of State Dean Acheson read his speech for him. John A. Hannah, then President of Michigan State University, was the Chairman of the Conference. Among the other speakers were W. Averell Harriman, then Director for Mutual Security in the Truman Administration; Justice William O. Douglas; Nelson A. Rockefeller, not yet Governor of New York; Walter P. Reuther, President of the United Automobile Workers Union; and James G. Patten, President of the National Farmers Union. The Conference report, *World Neighbors: "Working Together for Peace and Plenty,"* was widely circulated.

The informal body of representatives of 40 to 50 national organizations (business, farm, labor, religion, education, cooperatives, civic, and many more), which organized the first Conference, has provided the backbone of support ever since.

After 1952, conferences were held each year for several years, and in some years there were workshops on special subjects as well.

From 1955 through 1960, Orville Freeman, then Governor of Minnesota, and Charles P. Taft, then Mayor of Cincinnati, functioned as Co-Chairmen of the Annual Conferences. Among the speakers in those years were Senators Humphrey, Javits, Cooper, Monroney, and Sparkman; Paul G. Hoffman, then a member of the U.S. delegation to the UN; Justice William O. Douglas; and two successive Under Secretaries of State, Christian Herter and C. Douglas Dillon.

The 1959 Conference commemorated the 10th anniversary of President Truman's Point Four address. The former President attended and was honored in person. The tribute presented to him on that occasion read in part:

"The truly great ideas which transform history take such immediate hold of men's minds and hearts that it seems as if they must have been there always, only waiting to be awakened. All religions have summoned men to the aid of their fellow-men--and, above all, to help others to help themselves. In times of emergency or disaster, we Americans have long recognized that this obligation transcends all frontiers."

"It remained for you, Mr. President, to perceive that this duty is not an occasional but an enduring one--that our narrow world cannot survive half rich and half poor, any more than our own nation could endure half slave and half free."

The 1961 Conference marked the beginning of a new Administration and, appropriately, President John F. Kennedy was its principal speaker. Gaylord Nelson, then Governor of Wisconsin, joined Charles P. Taft as Co-Chairman. Other speakers were Senator Humphrey, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, two Under Secretaries of State, Chester Bowles and George W. Ball; Secretary of Agriculture Freeman; and Paul G. Hoffman, by then Director of the UN Special Fund. Some 210 organizations were represented, marking a distinct upsurge in outreach for the Conference.

In 1962 the first (and, so far, the only) Conference was held outside Washington--in Chicago, on the then timely theme of the Alliance for Progress. Messrs. Nelson and Taft continued as Co-Chairmen. The speakers included Orville L. Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture; W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor, Governor Gaylord Nelson; Ambassador Chester Bowles; and Bill D. Moyers, then associate Director of the Peace Corps.

Charles P. Taft and Matthew E. Welsh, then Governor of Indiana, were the Co-Chairmen for 1964. The next year Neil Staebler, then Congressman from Michigan, replaced Governor Welsh. For 1968, a new pair of Co-Chairmen took over-- Judge Frank M. Coffin and Senator John Sherman Cooper. Speakers during the Johnson years included Senators Humphrey and Javits; Secretary of Agriculture Freeman; Raoul Prebisch, UNCTAD Secretary-General; David E. Bell and William S. Gaud, successive AID Administrators; Ambassador Harriman; W. Michael Blumenthal, then President of Bendix International Corporation and later Secretary of the Treasury; and Gunnar Myrdal, internationally renowned Swedish economist.

"World Development in the Seventies: The Need for New Departures!" was the theme of the 1970 Conference. Daniel Parker, the President of the Parker Pen Company, and Mrs. Theodore Wedel, then President of the National Council of Churches, were co-chairs. Other speakers included John A. Hannah, AID Administrator; Senators Muskie, Pell, and Yarborough; Judith Hart, Britain's Minister for Overseas Development; and Congressmen E. Ross Adair, Jonathan Bingham, John Culver, Dante Fascell, Bradford Morse, and Henry Reuss. The highlight of the Conference, however, was the first appearance of Barbara Ward, who said:

"We operate in a single (world) system so interconnected that we can no longer cut off and isolate the results of what we do... If we don't start from the idea that our planetary economy is in desperate imbalance, and growing worse, we're not starting from reality."

Paul G. Hoffman, retired after more than a decade of distinguished service as Administrator of the UN Development Program, chaired the 1972 Conference. Barbara Ward again addressed the Conference. Other speakers included Senator Edward M. Kennedy; John A. Hannah, AID Administrator; Congressman Sam M. Gibbons; and Congressman Bradford Morse, Under Secretary-General of the United Nations (Designate).

The 1973 Conference was held October 23-25, shortly after the Yom Kippur war. Prophetically, since the year marked the beginning of effective action by the oil-producing countries to boost the price of oil, the theme of the Conference was "The Developing Nations in Tomorrow's World: Poverty and Power." Senator Humphrey and Theodore M. Hesburgh, President of the University of Notre Dame, co-chaired the gathering. The speakers included the Reverend Hesburgh; Senator Walter F. Mondale, Addeke H. Boerma, FAO Director General; Daniel Parker, who had become AID Administrator; Under Secretary of State William J. Casey, and the Ambassadors of India and Sri Lanka.

The 1979 Conference was held February 7-9, on the theme: "Meeting Basic Human Needs: The U.S. Stake in a New Development Strategy." What was originally planned as a celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Conference became also a memorial to Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, honorary co-chair of this Conference along with Senator Jacob K. Javits. The speakers included Senator Dick Clark, Congressmen Tom Harkin and Stephen Solarz, John Hannah, Executive Director of the World Food Council and Chairman of the 1952 Conference, and Ruth Hinnerfeld, President of the League of Women Voters. A notable first for the Conference was a session on "Women and Economic Development."

The 1981 Conference was held May 12-14, on the theme: "The U.S. Stake in World Development," with Congressman Clement J. Zablocki as the honorary chair. The speakers included Senator Paul Tsongas, Peter McPherson, the newly-appointed AID Administrator, Bradford Morse, Director of the

U.N. Development Program, and Orville Freeman, President, Business International Corporation. Stress was put on successful development programs and on the role of the private sector in development, including multinationals, the private banks and the private voluntary organizations.

From the beginning, the Conference has relied on the hard work and the organizational skills of dedicated volunteers. They are too numerous to list, but four deserve special mention as key figures of the International Development Conference--Rachael S. Bell, Wallace J. Campbell, Andrew E. Rice and Lawrence R. Kegan.

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