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IRDC Board, before financing, would want to be assured:

1. Commission members are, while sympathetic to LDC's, hard-headed.
2. That in first iteration Commission will try to find solutions within framework of existing institutions or at least a reasonable evolution of them.*
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Pronk in speech to SID congratulated OPEC on oil price increase - "Of course he has the Third World confidence, but he (Hopper) is not certain how far"

There needs to be substantial dialoging of the Commission with the OECD nations and the moderates of the Third World if results are to be achieved.

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Question: Is there enough interest to warrant setting up the Commission?

Apparently yes. Some indication of interest of other governments -- IRDC -- Minister Pronk -- remain interested in financing.

Several expressions of skepticism regarding value of a commission. And some LDC concern regarding potential interference with North-South dialogue. But suggestion of Co-Ch** that its work be deferred to 6/1 has received support of Canadian Government (refer to cables) and overcomes fears of others. Commission has received support of such diverse parties as: Waldheim, Kissinger, Nyerere, Humphrey. Whether it will be possible to obtain agreement of competent person to chair and if so to obtain appropriate men and staff, I don't know. If that seems likely, whether Board will wish to participate in the financing is probably too early to decide.

Page 4 (1/7/77)

Ryrie - would like to give thought to terms of reference -
Drake - hopes he doesn't misunderstand Ryrie. Commission would be entirely separate from Bank.
Ryrie - didn't wish to imply Board should settle the terms of reference.
Sen - Government of India welcomes the commission - agreed with Drake.
Khelif - would deferral eliminate the doubts of Third World? Some countries have expressed doubts.
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*If Huq or Jim Grant were proposed, there would be difficulty -
** I am not certain to what this refers. BMM
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(Harlan) Cleveland 1/13/77

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We need McDonald's support for IDA.

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Huq re Perez Guerrero 1/22
1. In favor of the initiative - only the timing concerns him.
   Wants to make sure no conflict. Consulted Iranians, Peruvians, Algerians. If Commission starts in June (after Preparatory Phase) he would be supportive.
2. Would be useful if Brandt could talk to Perez Guerrero, Corea, Aklund in mid-February. Could discuss the basis on which they would fully support.
3. Support would depend on how it is set up.

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Drake - 1/24/77

"Canada has heard from Perez Guerrero a couple of times - he continues to express concern and asks they take concerted action. P.G. 'talked to several LDC's and they suggested continuing actions which he passed on to McN and he failed to take account of" —

Might be helpful if McN called McE - will let me know.
"Reaction in Canada is positive to formation of Commission."

* Perez Guerrero (?)
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Hopper - 1/25/77

Canadian Government agreed need a Commission - probably a Cabinet decision. No one questions IDRC financing. Welcomes suggestion to defer start of work to 6/1, so as not to prolong North-South*. Can use period to 6/1 to organize and build staff. He will put financing to his Board in Nigeria after our 3/15 meeting.

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Brandt signed a letter accepting. Wishes McN and Clark to discuss organization, etc., with Bahr mid-February and with himself in early March. Pronk would like to associate like-minded states (meeting 2/5) with the financing. McN: inclined to have Bank finance a share as large as largest participant.

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Ambassador of Lesotho - 2/7/77. Lesotho supports Brandt Commission.

* They want to conclude with a communiqué.
Looijen and Drake 2/11/77

Brandt Commission

What lies ahead
   possible meeting 2/16
   Egon Bahr, representing Brandt, here 2/22.
Views of parties
   Third World negotiations cautious - fear CIEC interference
   Some skepticism among First World re value.
But my own First World contacts show cupboard bare of constructive
   proposals to deal with North-South problem.
And both sides intellectually naked.
Thoughtful observers on both sides (e.g., Nural Islam, Brookings
   department director) see this and continue to believe a properly
   coordinated effort would be valuable.
Therefore, I propose to carry out the meetings and then reappraise
   the situation.
Possibly, at that time, would be wise to discuss with our Board.

Future of the Bank - approach?
Hopper 2/15/77 (in answer to my question: what should the Bank do in research?)
Hollis couldn't find his way out of a paper bag, although he is one of the ablest mathematical economists.
Bank needs a focused research program (*at present Hollis lets everyone do his own thing) in economics to sort their development problems of individual middle-income countries (the Mexicos, etc.). (Add him to the O/S Research Review Panel).

1. The debt problem and the current balance of payments problem.
   Otherwise the Bank will be pre-empted and we will be following instead of leading.
2. Bank Project Design Co-Efficients
   Have not been such as to lead to high output projects - e.g., irrigation designs he has seen: California in the 1930s.

Brandt Commission
McEachen would not object to movement forward on staff.
Would like to see much better analysis of trade potential of LDC's.
Re my four avenues of study: he puts emphasis on IBRD/IMF, an invaluable data basis.
An International Brookings would be stymied unless it had access to the data base (I said it could).
I put to him an end of March announcement. He said "he leaves public announcement to me, but go cautiously" - He is going to Board (3/15) with 500M request. Will ask Board concurrence to move forward subject to later Board approval. Wants to see it a hard-nosed analytical group.
"Despite the independence of IDRC, etc., etc., this is dependent on McEachen and Hopper's neck is on the line and he is not going to risk McE's support of his Institute."
Re Bank's "Future" "Can't the Bank break out" is the comment circulating in Canada.
Hopper would finance the investigation. If there is an objection, it is to the announcement.

Drake 2/22/77
Canadian Ambassador was told by Brandt "he had not yet given McN a firm reply, although McN was assuming a firm reply"; "had to speak to Schmidt".

Corea 3/4/77
The timing you have in mind (* i.e., an announcement after CIEC ministerial meeting) for the Commission would be quite positive and helpful - negotiations could benefit from it.
3/11/77 Argentina (via Conesa) supports Brandt Commission.

Hopper 3/18/77
Had an open 1 1/2 hour discussion of Commission idea - Third World members raised questions.
Authorized 100M and came back in June for 400M* - when they know Commission members and staff.
Want an objective staff
Want some government acceptance
(Perez Guerrero statement?) which he had not seen helps)
Work must be above suspicion on objectivity.

Hopper 4/7/77
McN's report would be acceptable to his Board.
But he still has questions re: a) terms of reference, and b( staff.
"I would be reporting to the appropriate members of his Board that it is moving along."
"I need a formal written commitment."
If he can he will be back with a $500 commitment by 4/15 and if not by then, then in early May.

Al-Hamad 4/27/77
With Faisal, his yes or no was final and all-powerful.
Present King not interested but only man who can keep the family together.
Fawd makes decisions but is sensitive to role of King.
Country had large number of qualified people but underutilized because had no access to power.
Fawd under pressure from rival groups: Abelkhail and Yamani. Yamani trying to undercut Abelkhail.
Can do very little at this stage to develop the relationship - it can take place only over a long period, but they do have a dedication to cause of development.
Don't show any interest in Yamani - Abedkhail has deeper roots in his power position than Abelkhail does.
You have to be slow with the Saudis: what is familiar with us is totally

* "The Board will stand advised by him" - "There are only 3 or 4 key members".
"This is the group we are going to try to draw from".
"A list of 40 names from which Commission will be chosen" - name for Secretary.
A date from which the commission will be created.
foreign with them.
Can't plan a long-term program - ask for a decision for now.
Asked for an answer re a 250M share by 5/15

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Hopper 5/11/77
Probability of $500M over 60%.
Checking with his ED's.
Crawford not very forthcoming but not too sticky either.
Maurice and Razminsky will support. Soejatmoko will support.
Haven't brought anything to vote.
Iranian against: Wilson uncertain.
He will be talking next week to Judith Hart and Al Hamad.
Can count on $100M for sure.
Will let me know by 5/19 re the other $400M.

Page 11 5/12/77
TO DO
1. 5/23 Clark will meet in Hague with Pronk, van Gorkum and Fisher to:
   Determine date to see Brandt (5/24?)
   To consider:
   a. When to announce
   b. What to say in announcement
   c. Membership of Commission
   d. Membership of Secretariat
   e. Financing from Norway, Austria, Belgium.

2. 5/16 (McN) + Clark possibly meet with Barrill, if he accepts plan
to come to US.
3. 5/24 (McN) + Clark see Brandt with Fisher re a, b, c, d.
4. 5/16 (McN) + Clark to check on UK financing.
5. 5/19 McN to check with Canada re financing.
   " " " Kuwait " 
6. 6/6 Clark to check last paragraph of announcement with financing sources.
7. 6/14 (?) Clark to go to Bonn to arrange announcement. (McN could see
Brandt if necessary 6/9 +).

Page 12 5/25/77
Hopper saw Corea and Barbara together - was browned off (Judith would agree)
re Heath. Corea said Brandt Commission shouldn't follow too closely on
CIEC because it might go on - (UK negotiator said CIEC would stop 6/1).
Some in UK have said that it is timely to go ahead with Brandt Commission -
Barbara thinks so.
(NOTE: "Barbara" is Barbara Ward, Lady Jackson. BMM).
Don't have votes for more than $100M but OK for that - won't know until Exec Com on 6/18 - does not want to be mentioned in the press release. The Board members don't have confidence they can leave it in Brandt's hands; wonder among Board members and others that Brandt Commission will be called for after CIEC - concern that it may be inappropriate at this time. Pronk may go after election.

Talked with Corea, Ward, Hart, Wilson, Michanek: they feel there is something to do that would be supportive of dialogues after CIEC but are not sure Brandt Commission will be supportive and will be an excuse to retard the dialogue (Barbara and Corea) - if it didn't retard the dialogue it means it has no standing.

"Corea does not feel the Brandt Commission will be useful at this time." - Judith Hart takes that position: not appropriate at this time.

"The rhetoric has outstripped the reality."

I said my objective therefore was to provide substance as a foundation for future rhetoric.

He wants to negotiate the membership of the Commission, staff assignments, and details of the work agenda. I thought that agreement on these matters between Brandt, potential financial supporters, and Third World spokesmen (Corea and Guerrero) would be impossible.

Brandt 6/7/77

Spoke to Ohlin - prepared to take an undogmatic view - will answer before end of month.

Hopes to receive encouragement before end of month from LDC's - from Pronk's letter.

Hopes to announce formation of Commission before summer break - start staff 8/1 and meeting in October - end of June or early July or August.

Heath is very positive and sent letter. Therefore, either Mendes France or Palme. Mikki has agreed to serve.

Of 2 Latins, he wants Frei.

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Brandt stressed to McN need for caution in going forward until people will be supportive; try to announce about beginning of July.

McN said, per Brandt, a) need to make sure the initiative didn't fade; b) need to make contact with Third World leaders (William (Clark) will try to get Commonwealth Ministers support).

Brandt's secretary would start in September, meeting of commission in October, and will ask Al Hamad to be a commissioner.
Clark will try to get hold of Corea. Bahr has talked to Perez Guerrero and was forthcoming in private and will try to get it in public.
Callaghan regards McN as leader (?) in same direction as himself and someone he wishes to support.
If Brandt Commission comes up Callaghan will support.
Ramphal will raise Brandt Commission with heads of delegations over the weekend.
Kaunda sent best wishes to McN - Clark believes he has sent a word to Brandt and will check.
Clark talked to Jamal: "We are interested in the Brandt Commission" - needs to be sure, re right members (those who know structural changes must be made in Third World).

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INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR
RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
ASSOCIATION
INTERNATIONAL FINANCE
CORPORATION

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February 21, 1977

Dear Sir,

The problem of the World Bank's research program is important. I suggest that the Bank needs a focused research program on economics and development, with a particular emphasis on middle-income countries. The research should be directed towards understanding the debt problem and the current balance of payments.

I support the idea of setting up a new office to supervise the research program. It will be important to have a strong leadership role in directing the projects.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Additional Notes:

- The debt problem and the current balance of payments should be a focus of the research program.
- The office will be responsible for directing the projects.
- The office should be directed by a strong leader.

[Signature]

[Date]

[Additional Notes]

- Reference to a previous discussion in July 1976.
INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Would be much better analysis to call potential J.D. or -

He may have seen the idea. He based it on 1987 IMF -

an available data basis.

In That - Banking would be -

expanded unless Foul cause to -

a data base.

J. put it down.

Leaves a further announcement -

and they are cautious. -

He is going 12 litigation.

[Redacted].

Subject to later. It would -

not. It will hardword analysis

Despite the independence.

It is dependent on the 1824. It also -

wants to be in support of Big Staff in.

The Big Future "can't the Bank back out.

The comment circulating in Canada."

He then would launch the investigation.
This is an objection to the announcement.