

**THE WORLD BANK GROUP ARCHIVES**

**PUBLIC DISCLOSURE AUTHORIZED**

Folder Title: Brandt Commission - Correspondence 07

Folder ID: 1771348

ISAD(G) Reference Code: WB IBRD/IDA 03 EXC-10-4539S

Series: Subject files

Sub-Fonds: Records of President Robert S. McNamara

Fonds: Records of the Office of the President

Digitized: January 4, 2013

To cite materials from this archival folder, please follow the following format:

[Descriptive name of item], [Folder Title], Folder ID [Folder ID], ISAD(G) Reference Code [Reference Code], [Each Level Label as applicable], World Bank Group Archives, Washington, D.C., United States.

The records in this folder were created or received by The World Bank in the course of its business.

The records that were created by the staff of The World Bank are subject to the Bank's copyright.

Please refer to <http://www.worldbank.org/terms-of-use-earchives> for full copyright terms of use and disclaimers.



THE WORLD BANK  
Washington, D.C.

© 2012 International Bank for Reconstruction and Development / International Development Association or  
The World Bank  
1818 H Street NW  
Washington DC 20433  
Telephone: 202-473-1000  
Internet: [www.worldbank.org](http://www.worldbank.org)

**PUBLIC DISCLOSURE AUTHORIZED**

Archives

1771348

A1995-256 Other #: 1

309657B

Brandt Commission - Correspondence 07

Folder No. 7  
Folder 7

**DECLASSIFIED**  
WBG Archives

RETURN TO ARCHIVES IN MC C3-120

ISN # 109385 ACC# A1995-256

BOX # 1

LOCATION M-101-2-01



815/7/15

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

DGIS/SA - 133807

THE HAGUE



The Hague, May 29 1977

Dear Robert,

./.

I am sending herewith copy of a letter which I have addressed to a number of government ministers in developing and developed countries mentioned in the annex about the Commission on development cooperation to be set up under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt.

The letter calls for support for the Commission and confirms that such support is being given by the Dutch Government.

Copy of the letter has been addressed to a number of others, mentioned in the annex, for their information and support.

I look forward to the inauguration of the Commission which I shall lend every further support.

Yours sincerely,

(J.P. Pronk)

Minister for Development Cooperation

Mr. Robert S. McNamara  
President of the World Bank  
1818 H Street, N.W.  
Washington D.C. 20433  
U.S.A.



# MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

## THE HAGUE

The Hague, May 27, 1977  
DGIS/SA-133807

In the confident hope that the CIEC will soon be concluded in a mutually satisfactory manner and with an agreement to move ahead in the dialogue, I take the liberty of writing to you on follow-up action to maintain and strengthen the political impetus for further North-South cooperation which CIEC will hopefully create.

In his address to the World Affairs Council in Boston (January 1977) Mr. Robert S. McNamara, President of the World Bank, suggested launching a high-level, but deliberately unofficial commission to identify and prepare concrete proposals to accelerate social and economic progress in the developing countries which would command both public and legislative support in rich and poor countries alike. This commission, of which Mr. Willy Brandt the former Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany has already accepted the chairmanship, would consist of a group of private persons, internationally recognized as eminent political and economic leaders, drawn equally from developed and developing countries. The composition has yet to be determined.

The Commission should be established after the conclusion of the Paris Conference on International Economic Cooperation (CIEC) and is expected to complete its work within 12 to 15 months.

It is the opinion of the Netherlands Government that in order to succeed in the arduous task of reshaping and restructuring the existing international order, there should be agreement on the substance of a new international economic order and more equitable structure of international economic relationships and the firm political will on both sides to implement the necessary policies in our common interest.

I am convinced that the proposed Commission can play a very important role in fostering the political will to carry forward the necessary policies already agreed upon in principle in the UN, UNCTAD, CIEC and elsewhere as well as those to be agreed upon.



The political stature and the balanced composition of the Commission as envisaged could have a decisive impact on political leaders and public opinion in particular in those countries that up till now are more or less hesitant to recognize the common interests of both developed and developing countries in accelerating the economic and social progress and the satisfaction of basic human needs of the Third World. Not replacing existing institutions and fora and in no way preempting the role of Governments, but indeed by feeding and fostering the ongoing process of negotiations, the Commission could greatly contribute to the establishment of more just and equitable relations between rich and poor countries.

It is on the basis of these considerations that I appeal for your support with regard to the proposed establishment of the Commission. As far as the Netherlands are concerned I have already pledged to Mr. McNamara and Mr. Brandt that we are prepared to contribute in a substantial manner to the financing of the Commission and its activities. I am sending a copy of the letter to Mr. Brandt.

J.P. Pronk  
Minister for Development Cooperation



Addressees:

Annex to the letter of Minister Pronk  
of May 29, 1972

---

His Excellency  
Mr. Thorvald Stoltenberg  
State Secretary  
Oslo

His Excellency  
Mr. Ola Ullsten  
Minister for International  
Development Cooperation  
Stockholm

Her Excellency  
Mrs. Lise Østergaard  
Minister without Portfolio  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Copenhagen

His Excellency  
Mr. Paavo Väyrynen  
Minister for Foreign Affairs and  
Foreign Trade  
Helsinki

His Excellency  
Dr. Ernst Eugen Veselski  
State Secretary  
Vienna

His Excellency  
R. van Elslande  
Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Brussels

The Right Honourable  
Mrs. Judith Hart M.P.  
Minister for Overseas Development  
of the United Kingdom of  
Great Britain and Northern Ireland  
London

His Excellency  
President M.J.K. Nyerere  
Dar es Salaam

His Excellency  
President K.D. Kaunda  
Lusaka

His Excellency  
Dr. A. Vratasa  
Vice-President of the Federal  
Executive Council of the SFR  
of Yugoslavia  
Beograd

His Excellency  
Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika  
Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Algiers

His Excellency  
Dr. Manuel Perez-Guerrero  
Minister of State for International  
Economic Affairs  
Caracas

His Excellency  
Mr. Santiago Roel  
Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Mexico

His Excellency  
Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee  
Minister of External Affairs  
New Delhi

His Excellency  
Mr. Aziz Ahmed  
Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Islamabad

The Honourable  
Mr. Donald Campbell Jamieson  
Secretary of State for External  
Affairs  
Ottawa

His excellency  
Mr. Bunroku Yoshino  
Vice-minister for Foreign Affairs  
Tokio

His Excellency  
Dr. Adam Malik  
Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Jakarta



Her Excellency  
Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike  
Minister for Foreign Affairs  
Colombo

His Excellency  
Mr. Mansour Khalid  
Minister for Foreign Affairs  
Khartoum

His Excellency  
Dr. Munyua Waiyaki  
Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Nairobi

Copies addressed to:

H.E. Mr. Kurt Waldheim  
Secretary-General of the  
United Nations  
New York

His Excellency  
Mr. Gamani Corea  
Secretary-General of  
UNCTAD  
Geneva

His Excellency  
Mr. E. van Lennep  
Secretary-General of  
OECD  
Paris

His Excellency  
Mr. Shridat S. Ramphal  
Secretary-General  
of Common Wealth Secretariat  
London

The Honourable  
Mr. Michael Manley  
Prime Minister  
Kingston

His Excellency  
Mr. A. Jamal  
Minister of Communications and Transport  
Dar es Salaam

The Honourable Mr. Abdul-Latif Al Hamad  
Director-General of the Kuwait Fund for  
Arab Economic Development  
Kuwait

His Excellency  
Mr. Fred Wills  
Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Georgetown



815 / 7/74

INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR  
RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
ASSOCIATION

INTERNATIONAL FINANCE  
CORPORATION

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

5/13/77



To Secretary Cooper

Dick, I fear we may  
never have presented to you  
the thoughts that lay behind  
the proposal for the formation  
of a "Brandt Commission".  
Attached is a copy of a letter I  
sent to you on this subject early  
in March. If you should  
ever wish to discuss it, I  
would be happy to do so.  
With best wishes,  
Bob



THE WORLD BANK  
Washington, D.C. 20433  
U.S.A.

Office of the President

March 2, 1977

The Honorable  
Cyrus R. Vance  
Secretary of State  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Cy:

Willy Brandt is coming to this country in the first week of March to lecture at M.I.T. and Princeton.

He is taking the opportunity on March 7 to come down to Washington and will be discussing with me the proposal to set up a Commission on Development under his chairmanship. Since he may speak to you about this, among other things, I thought it would be helpful if I set down briefly the rationale for the proposal.

The debates in the past three years in the 6th and 7th Special U. N. General Assemblies, at UNCTAD in Nairobi, and in the CIEC in Paris, have shown very clearly the immense complexity of the development problem, and the great difficulty which the governments of both rich and poor nations are having in finding common ground for agreement on economic programs for the developing countries and on new economic relationships among nations.

This led me to believe that it would be useful to try a supplementary approach, to bring together a group of private and internationally eminent persons, drawn from both the developed and the developing countries, who, being free from detailed governmental instruction, could concentrate their attention on this question of development. They would first survey the nature and magnitude of the problem; the action required to address it; and the costs and benefits to rich and poor of taking such action. In the light of this analysis, they would formulate proposals for action by governments of both developed and developing countries, proposals on which governmental agreement, in the Commission's judgment, would be feasible. By "feasible" I mean those which could and would find broad political support -- public and legislative -- in both rich and poor countries.

Several governments and institutions in the developed world have said they are prepared to finance such a Commission because they believe it would assist in finding a way out of the impasse into which the inter-governmental talks have led. Also, a number of developing countries (Tanzania, India, Peru, for instance, as well as the Secretary General of



the Commonwealth) have expressed strong support for this initiative. But some of the LDC negotiators in the CIEC are afraid that the organization of this Commission could interfere with their ongoing negotiations, if it were to occur prior to the May CIEC Ministerial meeting.

For this reason, Mr. Brandt (who is definitely interested in the proposal and in the chairmanship of the Commission) and I have agreed that no announcement of the formation of the group would be made until after May. If Brandt raises this matter with you, I hope you will encourage him to go ahead at the appropriate time. I know he will be deeply concerned to learn your views on this matter, since American support for the concept is vital to its success.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'RSM' or similar, written in a cursive style.

Robert S. McNamara

815 / 7/13  
5/13/77



1. Executive Secretary.

The preferred choices are:

Sir Kenneth Berrill	U.K.
David Bell	U.S.
Al Fishlow	U.S.
Andrew Shonfield	U.K.
Ray Vernon	U.S.

Fallback choices.

Isaiah Frank	U.S.
Les Gordon	U.S.
G.K. Helleiner	Canadian

Third World possible deputies.

Lal Jayawardene	Sri Lanka
Rodrigo Botero	Colombia



## 2. Secretariat and Location

Most of the names on the lists for Executive Secretary should at least be considered for the Secretariat.

Further names to put before the Executive Secretary when appointed:

Robert Cassen	(U.K.)
Ferdinand van Dam	(Dutch)
David Morawetz	(Australian)
T.N. Srinivasan	(Indian - IBRD)
Michael Faber	(U.K.)
Arthur Hazlewood	(U.K.)
Goran Ohlin	(Swedish - Pearson)
Carlos Diaz	(Cuban/U.S. - Pearson)
Just Faldan	(Norwegian)
D.C. Rao	(Indian - IBRD)
Shankar Acharya	(Indian - IBRD)

*Sedgwick?*

We should also consult with friends at Development Institutes for the names of bright young but less well known candidates (e.g. OECD Development Centre; O.D.I., Unctad, Deutsche Stiftung etc.). We also need to get hold of the best LDC experts preferably with practical governmental experience, rather than U.N. negotiating experience.

**Location.** There is a preference for Europe, either Geneva or London. Presumably Washington or Cambridge (U.S.) should not be ruled out if the Executive Secretary were to be an American.

In any case we need to create a technical link between the Secretariat and IBRD/IMF information core.



3. Commissioners

Attached are the lists of possibles for Commissioners.

The problems for discussion are:

- (i) How to strengthen the development expertise amongst the Commissioners, e.g. if Arthur Lewis were unavailable who could replace him.
- (ii) How to strengthen the Third World team.
- (iii) If Kissinger is not available which American? Ditto in U.K. if Heath not available.



COMMISSIONER CANDIDATES -- DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Australia

Sir John Crawford

Belgium

Jean Rey

Canada

Mitchell Sharp  
Maurice Strong  
John N. Turner

Denmark

Poul Nyboe Andersen  
Kresten Helveg Petersen

France

Pierre-Paul Schweitzer  
Francois Bloch-Laine  
Claude Cheysson  
Olivier Giscard d'Estaing  
Pierre Moussa

Italy

Giovanni Agnelli  
Guido Carli

Japan

Sauburo Okita  
Yusuke Kashiwagi  
Kiichi Miyazawa

Netherlands

Jelle Sijlstra  
Edmund Wellenstein

Sweden

Olof Palme

United Kingdom

Edward Heath  
Harold Wilson  
Barbara Ward  
Edward Boyle

United States

Henry Kissinger  
Robert Roosa  
George Schultz  
A.S. Clausen  
Father Hesburgh  
William Scranton  
Walter Heller  
David Bell



COMMISSIONER CANDIDATES -- DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Brazil

Roberto Campos  
Delfim Netto

Caribbean

Sir Arthur Lewis

Chile

President A. Frei

Colombia

Rodrigo Botero Montoya  
Carlos Lleras Restrepo

Ghana

Alex Kwabong

Guyana

Sir Shridath S. Ramphal

India

L.K. Jha  
C. Subramaniam

Indonesia

Soedjatmoko

Ivory Coast

Mohamed Diawara

Kenya

Moy Kibaki

Kuwait

Abdlatif Y. Al-Hamad

Mexico

Ernesto Fernandez Hurtado  
Victor Urquidi

Nigeria

Allison Ayida

Tanzania

Amir H. Jamal

Thailand

Puey Ungphakorn

Uruguay

Enrique Iglesias

Venezuela

Antonio Mayobre

Yugoslavia

Janko Smole



DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT

Herr Willy Brandt has accepted the Chairmanship of an International Commission on Development. [In the light of the outcome of the recent North/South dialogue in Paris, he is now proceeding to establish this Commission. *to build upon the results of the discussion*]

The "Brandt Commission" will consist of a group of private persons, approximately 12 in number, drawn equally from the developed and developing countries, under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt.

The members of the Commission will be selected by the Chairman. They will be persons internationally recognized as eminent political and economic leaders, and as open-minded and free from government instruction.

It will be the task of the Commission, under its Chairman, to formulate recommendations for action by developed and developing country governments which would lead to an acceleration of social and economic progress in the developing countries, and which would find broad political support among the public and in the legislatures of both the developed and developing countries. The Commission will be an independent body, and its members, as a group, will have sole and complete responsibility for their recommendations.

The structure and machinery of the Commission will be both simple and flexible. There will be a full-time, international Secretariat of highly-qualified development economists, headed by an Executive Secretary. The Executive Secretary will be chosen by, and



be responsible to, the Chairman of the Commission.

The program of work of the Commission will be determined by the Chairman and members of the Commission, in consultation with the Executive Secretary. The Commission will meet at such times and places, and for such periods, as the Chairman determines. The work of the Commission is expected to be completed within 12 to 18 months from the date when the Commission formally begins operations, and the Commission's recommendation will be embodied in a published report.

The costs of the Commission have been guaranteed by a consortium of Governments and Institutions including the Governments of the Netherlands, Norway, United Kingdom ..... the International Development Research Center (Headquarters in Ottawa), the German Marshall Fund (Headquarters in Washington)

Mark  
char A  
with cash  
named  
source



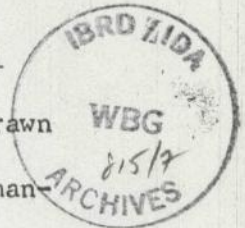
815/7/90  
DRAFT

April 2, 1977

+14 copies to Proke + Van Z  
+12 copies to Brandt + Bahr  
+17 copy to H. J. P. ...  
4/27 " " at Brandt

# ORGANIZATIONAL AND FINANCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE BRANDT COMMISSION

The Commission on Development (the "Brandt Commission") will consist of a group of private persons, approximately 12 in number, drawn equally from the developed and developing countries, under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt.



The members of the Commission will be selected by the Chairman. They will be persons internationally recognized as eminent political and economic leaders, and as open-minded and free from government instruction.

It will be the task of the Commission, under its Chairman, to formulate recommendations for action by developed and developing country governments which would lead to an acceleration of social and economic progress in the developing countries, and which would find broad political support among the public and in the legislatures of both the developed and developing countries. The Commission will be an independent body, and its members, as a group, will have sole and complete responsibility for their recommendations.

The structure and machinery of the Commission will be both simple and flexible. There will be a full-time, international Secretariat of highly qualified development economists, headed by an Executive Secretary. The Executive Secretary will be chosen by, and be responsible to, the Chairman of the Commission.

The program of work of the Commission will be determined by the Chairman and members of the Commission, in consultation with the Executive Secretary. The Commission will meet at such times and places, and for such periods, as the Chairman determines. The work of the Commission is expected



to be completed within 12 to 18 months from the date when the Commission formally begins operations, and the Commission's recommendation will be embodied in a published report.

The projected staffing, administrative and operational requirements of the Commission (including compensation, travel expenses, publications and translation costs, etc.) are estimated at \$2 million - \$2.5 million. These will be met out of a Trust Fund, comprised of voluntary contributions by governments, international public and private institutions and public and private national organizations. All contributions received will be deposited in a bank account in the name of the Trust Fund, which will be established and administered by the Chairman and used only for the purposes of the Commission. The Chairman shall have authority to enter into commitments and to draw against the Trust Fund. The Chairman shall render an accounting of contributions to, receipts of and disbursements from the Fund to all donors at the close of the Commission's work.

To assist in meeting the cost of carrying out the work of the Commission as described above, the ~~Government of~~ agrees to make a total contribution to the Trust Fund of U.S. \$ equivalent. Payment of the Government's contribution shall be made, in proportion to the payment of other contributors, at such times as the Chairman of the Commission shall designate. Any funds remaining in the Trust Fund, upon completion of the work of the Commission, shall be returned to the donors in proportion to their contributions.



815/7/11



Al-Hamad 4/27/77 The World Bank

With Faisal, his yes or no was final & all power  
Present King not interested but only want to  
keep the family together -

Faisal makes decisions but is sensitive to the

King -

Country had large no. of qualified people but  
underutilized because had no access to  
books -

Faisal under pressure from royal goss: Shalhan  
& Yamani - Yamani <sup>dislikes</sup> trying to understand  
Shalhan -

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 - Shalhan  
has deeper roots in his power position than  
Shalhan does -

You have to be patient with the Saudis: what is  
problem with us is totally foreign with them -  
Can't plan a long-term program - ask for a decision  
for now -

Asked for an answer on 12/24/77 by 5/15



815/7/12

April 29, 1977



His Excellency  
Willy Brandt  
President  
Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands  
Ollenhauerstrasse 1  
5300 Bonn  
Federal Republic of Germany

Dear Herr Brandt:

I am sending you the full text of a speech I gave last night on population which I hope will interest you as much in reading as it did me in preparing it. This is one of the biggest problems your Commission will have to face, and I hope that we can be helpful in suggesting persons (perhaps for the Secretariat) who can cope with the intricacies of the subject.

I understand that Sir Kenneth Berrill will not be available as Executive Secretary. I have been inquiring about alternatives for this key post, and can tell you that I have received very favorable reports on Andrew Shonfield, who is about to change from directing the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London to being a Professor at the European University at Florence. There is one new name to add to the list, an American, Ray Vernon. He is currently Professor of International Business Management at Harvard, and in the past has been intimately involved with the Harvard Advisory Group which has been instrumental in devising and managing development plans for such countries as Pakistan and Ghana. He has an excellent academic and practical knowledge of development, and is a good team manager.

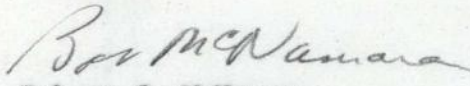
I have had a talk with Jan Pronk this week while he was in Washington, and he has told me of his conversation with you. He stressed particularly the need to ensure Third World Support for the Commission, with which I am in full agreement. However, I would hesitate to suggest making the terms of reference more specific or more adapted to the terminology of the New International Economic Order (or for that matter to the terminology of Market Economy). It seems to me that the Commission would not want to appear to prejudge the issue of the means by which social and economic progress is to be accelerated in the developing countries. Indeed I believe the greatest contribution of your Commission will be to find a development policy that can obtain the genuine support of both the industrialized donors and the developing recipients.



But I do agree that gaining the support of the Third World (and of the major industrialized countries) is very important. I hope you may find it possible to consult with Perez Guarrero and Gamani Corea as well as van Lennep and perhaps Cheysson and Haferkamp at the E.E.C. Their suggestions on names for the Commissioners and the Secretariat could be very useful, but I am sure you will wish to retain the choice in your own hands.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

  
Robert S. McNamara

Enclosure

WDClark:RMcn:mss





MINISTERIE VAN BUITENLANDSE ZAKEN

DE MINISTER VOOR ONTWIKKELINGSSAMENWERKING

The Hague, 22nd April 1977

Dear Bob,

Thank you very much for your kind letter of April 6. Let me assure you that it was my pleasure and privilege to see you on the 4th in Amsterdam.

I wish to confirm our understanding on the organisation and financing of the "Brandt Commission" as set out in your letter, subject however to some considerations, which I discussed with Willie Brandt on April 17 in Amsterdam and which I expressed to you on earlier occasions.

So far as the financing of the Commission is concerned, I confirm herewith that the Netherlands Government is prepared to pay 50% of the cost of the Commission, and would indeed, on the understanding that the matter would be held in confidence, be ready to guarantee the availability of funds sufficient to finance the entire cost, if necessary.

I shall shortly write to a number of friendly governments, in order to seek both the political and financial support for the Brandt Commission.

Coming back to the terms of reference of the Commission I would just wish to repeat that, in my view, it is essential that the developing countries will recognize in the terms of reference some of the basic elements of their economic and political aspirations, as embodied in the resolutions of the 6th and 7th Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

- 2 -

Mr McNamara  
President of the World Bank  
1818 High Street, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20433



815/7/9





MINISTERIE VAN BUITENLANDSE ZAKEN

DE MINISTER VOOR ONTWIKKELINGSAMENWERKING

The Hague, 22nd April 1977

Dear Bob,

Thank you very much for your kind letter of April 6. Let me assure you that it was my pleasure and privilege to see you on the 4th in Amsterdam.

I wish to confirm our understanding on the organization and financing of the "Brandt Commission" as set out in your letter, subject however to some considerations, which I discussed with Willem Brandt on April 17 in Amsterdam and which I expressed to you on earlier occasions.

So far as the financing of the Commission is concerned, I confirm herewith that the Netherlands Government is prepared to pay 50% of the cost of the Commission, and would indeed, on the understanding that the matter would be held in confidence, be ready to guarantee the availability of funds sufficient to finance the entire cost, if necessary.

I shall shortly write to a number of friendly governments, in order to seek both the political and financial support for the Brandt Commission.

Coming back to the terms of reference of the Commission I would just wish to repeat that, in my view, it is essential that the developing countries will recognize in the terms of reference some of the basic elements of their economic and political systems, as embodied in the resolutions of the 6th and 7th Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

RECEIVED  
 1977 MAY -2 PM 3:49  
 INCOMING MAIL UNIT  
 of the World Bank  
 22nd Street, N.W.  
 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20433



Even though the proposal for the Brandt Commission has gradually gained support among leaders of the Third World, I still observe a great deal of distrust, as recently as during my visit to Belgrade last week in the discussions with Deputy Prime Minister Vratuša. I have, I believe, convinced him of the vital importance of the Brandt Commission but he declined to include a reference to it in our joint communiqué, as being premature pending the outcome of the CIEC. I believe that we must make it clear in the terms of reference in the Commission that one of its points of departure is the Third World's basic stand on development contained in the above mentioned resolutions and that one of its purposes must be implementation of these resolutions.

Willie Brandt said that he understood my point of view and I hope that it will be possible in the next few weeks to agree on language, which would meet the views of the developing countries and at the same time would not antagonize political and opinion leaders in the industrialized world.

I also stressed to Willie Brandt that we must duly and fully consult the principal leaders of the Third World both on the terms of reference and on the composition of the Commission. He agreed with me on that point and we also agreed that he and I would approach shortly a number of those leaders. I also suggested to him that he would get in touch with Gamani Corea and in particular with the President of Algeria Boumedienne personally in order to convince them of the importance of the Commission.

I understood from Willie Brandt that the British are not willing to make Sir Kenneth Barrill available as head of the secretariat. We must urgently look for other suitable persons and I wonder whether you would not be willing to make the Mahbub Ul Haq available.

Willie Brandt informed me on the manner in which, through the secretariat of the Commission, he would wish to get the Eastern European countries involved in the activities of the Commission. I fully agree with him on that point.

We did not discuss at length or in detail the persons to be invited as members of the Commission. I was, however, delighted to learn that Henry Kissinger, in all probability, accepts membership.



I suggested to Willie Brandt, that he may consider as members of the Commission the former Japanese Foreign Minister Miyazawa and the former Minister of Finance of India, Subramaniam.

I confirmed to Willie Brandt my Government's readiness to finance half of the cost and to guarantee the full amount. He felt that it would perhaps be better, in order to preserve his own independence, if the Federal Government of Germany would not as such contribute to the financing. He saw, however, possibilities for financing from private German sources. I stated, that, apart from the bi-lateral approaches to a number of Governments, I would use the occasion of the Development Committee for promoting amongst its members the idea of the Brandt Commission.

As to timing, we felt that the invitations for membership should be sent out at the latest in June, in order to have a first meeting of the Commission in September.

I hope to see you next week for a moment in Washington to discuss the matter further.

With warm regards,

*Jan P.*  
Jan P. Pronk



# OFFICE MEMORANDUM

DATE: April 20, 1977

TO: Mr. Robert S. McNamara

FROM: William Clark *WCL*

SUBJECT: Membership of the Brandt Commission

I have some anxieties about the way the membership of the Commission is shaping up:

a. The North is almost too distinguished politically, too last generation and out of office, too weak in development expertise. It is in danger of being too radical for the U.S. etc., too old fashioned for the new protagonists of development (e.g. Judith and Jan).

b. The South is too weak to give the organised Third World the feeling that it is fielding its best team. This could give the Southern militants the chance to denounce the Commission ab initio which would greatly weaken its final impact.

c. The only real development expert is Arthur Lewis and he lacks new ideas and flexibility. There is a real danger of the whole Commission being labelled "Yesterday's Men".

2. How do we remedy this? Let me be clear it is not by putting in young militants from Third World Forum, nor devotees of the N.I.E.O. But we do need to keep the moderates (from Pronk to Botero) on our side, and this means showing open mindedness to the Third World's case for its strategies.

3. In terms of Commissioners I feel we should try to get Maurice Strong on board. He is innovative, has a very good reputation with the organised Third World, but is clearly open-minded.

Also I would hope we could get Ramphal, the Commonwealth Secretary-General as a Commissioner. He is young and has influence on and the trust of the whole developing Commonwealth, without forfeiting the particular regard of Canada and most of the old Commonwealth. In some ways he might be a better choice than Amir Jamal for holding Commonwealth Africa (they are both Indian racially).

If Pronk is by any chance out of Government (less likely than it used to be) would he not be a good Commissioner - for instance instead of Palme?

4. In the Secretariat I believe we could be quite bold in using Third Worlders well known and trusted in their own community.



If they are not idealogues it does not matter if they are "difficult"; the task of persuading them to accept a development strategy acceptable to major donors is only a microcosm of the task in the real world. Persons with a considerable reputation are:

Angus McIntyre. Secretary-General of Caricom and  
Secretary of the Commonwealth Committee on Development.  
(Trinidadian)

AlHsonAyida, Permanent Secretary Ministry of Finance,  
Nigeria (just retired, age 46)

Rodrigo Botero, if he would serve on the Secretariat,  
perhaps as Deputy Executive Secretary.

Philip Ndegwa, ex-Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Finance  
Kenya, now with UNEP.

All of this depends on a good solid Executive Secretary  
who could manage such people.

WDClark:sf



## OFFICE MEMORANDUM



TO: Mr. Robert S. McNamara

DATE: April 18, 1977

FROM: William Clark *me*SUBJECT: Payments towards Brandt

As soon as we hear from Pronk we should consider actually setting up the Trust Fund, though it will presumably not open its doors till Brandt establishes the Commission. I would hope this would be planned in advance for the first week of June. The location of the Fund should be either Bonn, or the site of the Secretariat.

4/18  
As we begin to solicit funds we should consider how we deal with Governments not on our list, e.g. France, the U.S., or even other OPEC countries. Should we not unofficially let them know that the lists are open if they wish to subscribe? Could this be done discreetly at Development Committee time? By you, or by others who are subscribing?

WDClark:sf



OFFICE MEMORANDUM



TO: Mr. Robert S. McNamara

DATE: April 15, 1977

FROM: William Clark *WCL*

SUBJECT: Potential Subscribers to the Brandt Commission

1. Guarantor of last resort - Netherlands.

Status: letter of request sent by R. McNamara from Paris on April 7 confirming conversation with Pronk of April 4. Await reply. (Van Gorkom will be staying with me on April 24).

2. Norway. To be approached by Pronk.

Status: Believed to have agreed to subscribe but sum not known or decided.

3. U.K. Judith Hart to be approached by Pronk and R. McNamara (April 19).

Suggested sum \$250,000 or £150,000.

4. Swedes. Approach by Pronk.



5. Belgium. Approach by Pronk. (R. McNamara or WDC might speak to de Groote).
6. Austria. Approach by Pronk. (Brandt has mentioned this to Kreiske).
7. Canada. (I.D.R.C.) Approach made to Hopper by R. McNamara. Reply expected April 15, or early May. Sum expected \$500,000 of which \$100,000 is already provisionally available.
8. E.E.C. Discussed informally by R. McNamara at Brussels with Haferkamp etc. on April 4. Further approach should be made by R. McNamara to Cheysson at time of Development Committee meeting. Sum suggested: 500,000 U.A. (or roughly same sum as IBRD would appropriate).



9. Germany.

Approach by R. McNamara.

Status: Bahr at breakfast February 22 said he assumed Germany would not be a subscriber; but I think the German Government attitude has changed since then, e.g. Minister Schlei's loan of Fischer to Brandt, and Moltrecht's obviously favourable interest in the Commission. Again this could be raised informally with Moltrecht at time of Development Committee. He might prefer to pick up some expenses in Bonn (e.g. Fisher's salary etc.) or he might be a regular subscriber of \$250,000. In Pearson's case Canada (CIDA) bore virtually all his Ottawa expenses.

10. Kuwait.

Approach by R. McNamara

Status: Abdlatif spoke to Sir R. King suggesting he might subscribe if we wanted. King told him there was interest. R. McNamara might raise this at time of Development Committee with Kuwait. Suggest sum of \$250,000.

11. German Marshall Fund.

Status: a letter has been sent to Brandt saying that \$100,000 will be available as soon as a legal entity exists.

*Obtain a copy*



TELEX

APRIL 7, 1977  
2001

815/7/5



INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH CENTER

OTTAWA, CANADA

MR. DAVID HOPPER, PRESIDENT AAA REPEATED BELOW IS THE STATEMENT I READ TO YOU OVER THE TELEPHONE RELATING TO THE ORGANIZATIONAL AND FINANCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE BRANDT COMMISSION QUOTE BBB THE COMMISSION ON DEVELOPMENT (THE QUOTE BRANDT COMMISSION UNQUOTE) WILL CONSIST OF A GROUP OF PRIVATE PERSONS, APPROXIMATELY 12 IN NUMBER, DRAWN EQUALLY FROM THE DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF WILLY BRANDT CCC THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION WILL BE SELECTED BY THE CHAIRMAN. THEY WILL BE PERSONS INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED AS EMINENT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LEADERS, AND AS OPENMINDED AND FREE FROM GOVERNMENT INSTRUCTION. DDD IT WILL BE THE TASK OF THE COMMISSION, UNDER ITS CHAIRMAN, TO FORMULATE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION BY DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRY GOVERNMENTS WHICH WOULD LEAD TO AN ACCELERATION OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, AND WHICH WOULD FIND BROAD POLITICAL SUPPORT AMONG THE PUBLIC AND IN THE LEGISLATURES OF BOTH THE DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. THE COMMISSION WILL BE AN INDEPENDENT BODY, AND ITS MEMBERS, AS A GROUP, WILL HAVE SOLE AND COMPLETE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEIR RECOMMENDATIONS. EEE THE STRUCTURE AND

/c

*Robert S. McNamara per P. Moore*  
ROBERT S. McNAMARA-bm

ROBERT S. McNAMARA

PRESIDENT



MACHINERY OF THE COMMISSION WILL BE BOTH SIMPLE AND FLEXIBLE. THERE WILL BE A FULL TIME, INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF HIGHLY QUALIFIED DEVELOPMENT ECONOMISTS, HEADED BY AN EXECUTIVE SECRETARY. THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY WILL BE CHOSEN BY, AND BE RESPONSIBLE TO, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMISSION. FFF THE PROGRAM OF WORK OF THE COMMISSION WILL BE DETERMINED BY THE CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION, IN CONSULTATION WITH THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY. THE COMMISSION WILL MEET AT SUCH TIMES AND PLACES, AND FOR SUCH PERIODS, AS THE CHAIRMAN DETERMINES. THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION IS EXPECTED TO BE COMPLETED WITHIN 12 TO 18 MONTHS FROM THE DATE WHEN THE COMMISSION FORMALLY BEGINS OPERATIONS, AND THE COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATION WILL BE EMBODIED IN A PUBLISHED REPORT. GGG THE PROJECTED STAFFING, ADMINISTRATIVE AND OPERATIONAL REQUIREMENTS OF THE COMMISSION (INCLUDING COMPENSATION, TRAVEL EXPENSES, PUBLICATIONS AND TRANSLATION COSTS, ETC.) ARE ESTIMATED AT DOLLARS 2 MILLION TO DOLLARS 2.5 MILLION. THESE WILL BE MET OUT OF A TRUST FUND, COMPRISED OF VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS BY GOVERNMENTS, INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS AND PUBLIC AND PRIVATE NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. ALL CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED WILL BE DEPOSITED IN A BANK ACCOUNT IN THE NAME OF THE TRUST FUND, WHICH WILL BE

/c



TELEX

APRIL 7, 1977 2001

ESTABLISHED AND ADMINISTERED BY THE CHAIRMAN AND USED ONLY FOR THE PURPOSES OF THE COMMISSION. THE CHAIRMAN SHALL HAVE AUTHORITY TO ENTER INTO COMMITMENTS AND TO DRAW AGAINST THE TRUST FUND. THE CHAIRMAN SHALL RENDER AN ACCOUNTING OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO, RECEIPTS OF AND DISBURSEMENTS FROM THE FUND TO ALL DONORS AT THE CLOSE OF THE COMMISSION'S WORK. IN ORDER TO ASSIST IN MEETING THE COST OF CARRYING OUT THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION AS DESCRIBED ABOVE, THE (BLANK SPACE) AGREES TO MAKE A TOTAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE TRUST FUND OF U.S. DOLLARS (BLANK SPACE) EQUIVALENT. PAYMENT OF THE (BLANK SPACE) CONTRIBUTION SHALL BE MADE, IN PROPORTION TO THE PAYMENT OF OTHER CONTRIBUTORS, AT SUCH TIMES AS THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMISSION SHALL DESIGNATE. ANY FUNDS REMAINING IN THE TRUST FUND, UPON COMPLETION OF THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION, SHALL BE RETURNED TO THE DONORS IN PROPORTION TO THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS UNQUOTE III I AM HAPPY YOU FEEL THE PROJECT IS MOVING ALONG WELL AND I AM EVEN MORE PLEASED TO KNOW THAT YOU WILL TRY TO BE BACK WITH THE FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND COMMITMENT BY APRIL 15 AND IF NOT BY THAT DATE THEN EARLY IN MAY. WITH BEST WISHES, ROBERT S. MCNAMARA INTBAFRAD



815/7/14

INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR  
RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
ASSOCIATION

INTERNATIONAL FINANCE  
CORPORATION

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT



WJH - 4/7/77

Mr. V's report would be acceptable to his Bd -

But he still has questions:

1) Terms of reference

2) Staff

"I would be reporting to the appropriate members  
of his Bd that it is working along"

"I need a formal written commitment"

If he can he will be back with a Board commitment  
by 4/15 + if not by then, then nearly  
any





Memorandum of conversation between Herr Brandt  
and Mr. McNamara. Bonn. April 6.

---

1. There was a general discussion of the names of possible Commissioners, though Herr Brandt made it clear that he had invited no-one so far, and would not invite anyone till the pattern of likely acceptances was clear. It was agreed that political and geographic balance was essential.
2. Mr. McNamara reported on finance. He said that in a short time he hoped he would get guarantees of the whole amount likely to be necessary. There would remain the task of obtaining subscriptions from a wide selection of donors.
3. Herr Brandt reported that he was taking steps to find a suitable Executive Secretary General, but had not yet succeeded. Mr. McNamara promised to do some further investigation of possible candidates for the top two posts in the Secretariat.
4. As to timing it was agreed that the best moment to announce the Commission would be early June after the CIEC meeting.

William D. Clark  
April 7, 1977



Done 4/6/77 ?



Confidential Notes on Brandt/McNamara Conversation

1. Willy Brandt had spoken to Jim Callaghan about Sir Kenneth Berrill as Executive Secretary. The Prime Minister had said he could not second him but he might get him to work part time. R. McNamara said O.K. if we could get something like half his time; then we must get a very good number two - possibly from the Third World. He would look into other possibilities. (Botero was mentioned).
2. Willy Brandt said that London rather than Geneva might be a better H.Q. if Berrill was taking part. (Later Bahr said he thought the political reasons for Geneva were considerable).
3. Willy Brandt raised the matter of the importance of getting not only a good technical draftsman but a good "journalistic" writer. I mentioned Barbara Ward and the idea was warmly received.
4. Kissinger had been quite favourable to being a member, said Willy Brandt; R. McNamara applauded.
5. In Canada the names of Mitchell Sharp, John Turner and Maurice Strong were all considered, but Willy Brandt added the name of Joe Morris, a Trade Union leader who might balance someone like Agnelli, an industrialist. No decisions, except that Willy Brandt favoured having one Canadian.
6. Willy Brandt said Bahr spoke of Inowye for Japan; R. McNamara said he thought Kashiwaga might be better. (No mention of Okita).
7. Europe: Willy Brandt said that Heath and Palme would make a well balanced pair. R. McNamara especially backed Heath as someone interested in development since Unctad I. Questions about the electoral chances in U.K. What other Conservatives did we have?
8. R. McNamara said that someone in Brussels (Cheysson?) had recommended Pierre Mendes France; Willy Brandt said he had just met him recently and admired him. He was old but alert. Question if there should be three Europeans; but could one have no Frenchman?

WDClark:sf

4/14  
/over



2.

There was also discussion on the possible LDC representatives.  
At the moment the first choices were:

Frei	Chile
Arthur Lewis	Caribbean
L.K. Jha	India
Amir Jamal	Tanzania
Abdlatif Al-Hamad	Kuwait

Possibles:

R. Botero	Colombia
Mohamed Diawara	Ivory Coast.



815/712



The President

April 6, 1977

His Excellency  
Dr. Jan P. Pronk,  
Minister for Development  
Cooperation,  
Lange Houtstraat 36,  
The Hague,  
Netherlands.

Dear Jan,

First let me thank you for giving up your time on Monday evening and for entertaining me so well. I will not soon forget Amsterdam on a spring night under a full moon.

I would like in this letter to summarize what I understand to be our approach to the organization and financing of the "Brandt Commission", if it is established, as we both hope, after the C.I.E.C. meeting in Paris in May.

The Commission on Development (the "Brandt Commission") will consist of a group of private persons, approximately 12 in number, drawn equally from the developed and developing countries, under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt.

The members of the Commission will be selected by the Chairman. They will be persons internationally recognized as eminent political and economic leaders, and as open-minded and free from government instruction.

It will be the task of the Commission, under its Chairman, to formulate recommendations for action by developed and developing country governments which would lead to an acceleration of social and economic progress in the developing countries, and which would find broad political support among the public and in the legislatures of both the developed and developing countries. The Commission will be an independent body, and its members, as a group, will have sole and complete responsibility for their recommendations.

./.



His Excellency  
Dr. Jan P. Pronk

- 2 -

April 6, 1977

The structure and machinery of the Commission will be both simple and flexible. There will be a full-time, international Secretariat of highly-qualified development economists, headed by an Executive Secretary. The Executive Secretary will be chosen by, and be responsible to, the Chairman of the Commission.

The program of work of the Commission will be determined by the Chairman and members of the Commission, in consultation with the Executive Secretary. The Commission will meet at such times and places, and for such periods, as the Chairman determines. The work of the Commission is expected to be completed within 12 to 18 months from the date when the Commission formally begins operations, and the Commission's recommendation will be embodied in a published report.

The projected staffing, administrative and operational requirements of the Commission (including compensation, travel expenses, publications and translation costs, etc.) are estimated at \$2 million - \$2.5 million. These will be met out of a Trust Fund, comprised of voluntary contributions by governments, international public and private institutions and public and private national organizations. All contributions received will be deposited in a bank account in the name of the Trust Fund, which will be established and administered by the Chairman and used only for the purposes of the Commission. The Chairman shall have authority to enter into commitments and to draw against the Trust Fund. The Chairman shall render an accounting of contributions to, receipts of and disbursements from the Fund to all donors at the close of the Commission's work.

We further discussed the practicalities of setting up the Trust Fund so as to ensure the maximum participation of sponsors and the minimum interference with the independence of the Commission. I asked you if your Government could act as guarantor of last resort, and very generously you said that:

- a. Your Government would be prepared to bear 50% of the cost of the Commission.
- b. On the understanding that the matter would be held in confidence, your Government would guarantee the availability of funds sufficient to finance the entire cost, if necessary.

./.



His Excellency  
Dr. Jan P. Pronk

- 3 -

April 6, 1977

You and I would, of course, use our best endeavours to obtain contributions from several suitable sources; this should finally permit your contribution to be reduced to one half of the total.

I would be grateful for your confirmation of the financing arrangements referred to in the paragraph above.

Again let me thank you for your generous cooperation in this as in so many other efforts to improve the world development effort.

Sincerely,

Robert S. McNamara

cc: for Mr. McNamara's Office (2)

WD Clark : RS McNamara : gb



875/7/7



Brant - Brant - 4/6/77

Collyer said difficult to let Brant go unless it could be on a part time basis - WB might ask him for 502-

med will get add LDC names (beyond Brant) for Brant to consider -

Paul Mac Henry - asked if they could be of help -

Kissinger told Brant he would be willing - Vance said as objection of only 2 for him: Heath & Poline - would like 1 lady -

Poline said he would serve -

WB would like Frei & Arthur Lewis -

Wants an OPEC man (Al - Hammond)

"People say Jha is better than Maltz" -

Frei, Lewis, Jha, Al - Hammond, Jha, Deaver

Kissinger, [Brant would like a <sup>ship?</sup> candidate], Kissinger or Deaver, Heath, Poline\*  
(Hammond and Jha he will ask Heath); Mendes - Peres;

\* Start with Heath & build around -





Frank - 4/4/77 Amsterdam (Clark + Van Gorkum)

He read the "agreement" + commented in it except he would have liked the "Deduction" A appended to include reference to furthering the VIED which I wanted.

He asked for a formal request for participation in the financing + that he would formally reply. He agreed to: a) formal SDG of the cost b) some as a guarantee of best result ("I understand you need a guarantee + be independent") but "it shouldn't be known too much"

He understands the numbers + stuff will be approved by Board but "I want to be consulted"

When asked for names for Staff Dir. he suggested Hong but said he would need to be provided with an OECD person.

Re further financing:

Frank will contact:

Hongkong (Van Gorkum said "I have them")

UK (Jadith)

Sweden

Belgium

Austria

Meat will contact:

Canada

EEC

UK (Jadith)

German Marshall Fund

FRG

Kanawast

IBRD

Frank will persuade Van Gorkum to support the loan [I did it during 4/5]