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Brandt Commission - Correspondence 11

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Folder 11

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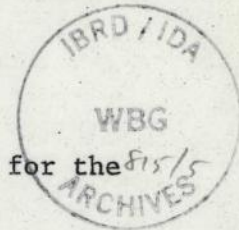
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## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

815/5/37

TO: President's Council  
 FROM: William Clark *ml.*  
 SUBJECT: Brandt Commission

DATE: December 28, 1977



I have been asked to bring the record up to date for the <sup>815/5</sup> Brandt Commission.

The Independent Commission on International Development Issues met at Gymnich Castle, near Bonn on December 10 and 11. On the Friday the German President and Chancellor gave the Commission a public send-off (which I attended on behalf of Mr. McNamara) with excellent television and press coverage. Willy Brandt's opening address is attached.

The list of Commissioners (attached); all except Pierre Mendes France (who had 'flu) attended.

The first meeting adopted revised terms of reference attached.

The second meeting will be held in Geneva on March 17-19 (there will be no Bank representation). Plans call for three more meetings in 1978.

The Secretariat has offices in Geneva (donated by the Swiss Government) in the same building as the International Monetary Fund. The address is 58 Rue de Moillebeau, 1209 Geneva, Switzerland.

The Executive Secretary is Goran Ohlin (Professor of Economics at Uppsala University) and he will be joined next month as an equal partner and ex-officio member of the Commission by Drag Avramovic.

The finances are assured by voluntary contributions from Governments and Foundations. Jan Pronk, on ceasing to be Minister of Economic Cooperation of the Netherlands Government, was appointed Hon. Treasurer, and an ex-officio member of the Commission.

WDClark:sf

Attachments:

1. Brandt's Opening Address
2. List of Commissioners
3. Revised Terms of Reference

RMN. 8/15/10/9  
This is the revised  
Terms of Reference  
vme

Terms of Reference  
of the Independent Commission on  
International Development Issues

(Adopted December 11, 1977)



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R/Ro

The task of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues is to study the grave global issues arising from the economic and social disparities of the world community and to suggest ways of promoting adequate solutions to the problems involved in development and in attacking absolute poverty. As an independent commission it is free to raise any aspects of the world situation which the Commission considers pertinent and to recommend any measures it finds in the interest of the world economy.

The Commission should pay careful attention to the UN resolutions on development problems and other issues explored in international fora in recent years. It should seek to identify desirable and realistic directions for international development policy in the next decade, giving attention to what in their mutual interest both the developed and the developing countries should do.

In pursuit of those objectives the Commission's work will encompass the following:

1. The Record of Development

The Commission will examine the record of development in the Third World and the influences on it of the international political and economic environment. It will review, firstly, the outcome of past economic growth and the widening dispar-

ities of per capita income; secondly, the results of that growth within developed and developing countries in terms of employment, inflation, international trade, and other important respects; thirdly, the effects of the recent recession in the industrialised countries on the world economy. Against this background it will examine international action to change the context for development: the record on international trade, including access to markets, terms of trade, and commodity policies, financial cooperation, other capital flows, debt, and the activities of multinational corporations. The need for a new international economic order will be at the centre of the Commission's concern.

2. Prospects for the world economy

The Commission will examine relevant trends in the world economy, particularly for the 1980's but also looking farther into the future. It will consider the various projections which have been made, concentrating on the likely prospects for the developing and developed countries under different assumptions about measures adopted by the international community. It will refer to a number of aspects of those prospects including: food and agriculture; industrialisation; population growth, development and transfer of technology; problems of exhaustible resources and energy; water supply; environmental and ecological problems. The Commission will pay attention to the question of expenditures on armaments and the political conditions which affect them.

3. Roads to a new international economic order

The Commission will strive above all to carry conviction with decision makers and with public opinion that profound

changes are required in international relations, particularly international economic relations. It will consider firstly, the restructuring of international trade, including improved commercial and industrial policies, access to markets, commodity policies and economic cooperation among developing countries; secondly, international finance, including private and public sources of credit, and financial cooperation especially in favour of the least developed countries, the international monetary system, debt problems, the role of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and regional Banks; thirdly, the regulation of the activities of multinational corporations; fourthly, the framework within which bilateral and multilateral economic negotiations are carried out, with special attention to North-South relations; and fifthly, the prospects for a greater involvement of all countries in international development efforts. The Commission will pay attention to the responsibilities of developing countries in their domestic policies, to match the effort for international economic and social justice with efforts to promote the same ends among their own populations. The Commission will devote particular attention to exploring the interdependence of all countries in the world economy and to the need for solutions of world employment problems. Finally the Commission will attempt to shift the framework of debate so that public opinion will be led to see the problem of international development not in terms of "the rich helping the poor" but of the developing countries achieving a just return for their own productive efforts, and the developed countries working in cooperation with them for the economic and social development of all nations.

815/15/13

Opening address by Willy B R A N D T,  
Chairman of the Independent Commission on International Development  
Issues at Gymnich Castle,  
December 9, 1977

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY AT DECEMBER 9, 1977, 3 p.m.

Herr Bundespräsident,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,



Let me start by extending a warm word of  
welcome to all of you -- and I include  
those members of our new Commission who  
have been unable to be with us already  
today.

We appreciate very much that the Federal  
President has been kind enough to parti-  
cipate at this opening session and that  
he will speak to us.

We will meet President Scheel again later  
today, and there will also be an exchange  
of views with the Federal Chancellor.  
Foreign Minister Genscher who has made  
this place available, would have liked to  
be with us -- he sends his best wishes.

Of course, we also appreciate the presence of the media. Though most of our discussions will be in private -- according to the particular character of this Commission -- we shall depend on these media to convey our message to those whom we seek to address in the richer and the poorer countries.

It will be of decisive importance that the world's press should realize and tell the world's public that the subject of our discussions -- the cooperation between North and South -- is critical for the future of world peace, and for the sort of world in which our children will have to live.



Let me add a word of caution: Do not set your expectations too high.

We should not expect that such a Commission independent of governments could solve all the problems that have troubled the international meetings of the past few years.

This Commission is not seeking to take the place of governments in the ongoing negotiations. But we may have some advantages: We are under no instructions. We do not carry the burden of national government's prestige. And we are not forced to try and win "victories" for our particular views. We can afford to seek the common interest and thus to make

a helpful contribution to a policy of peaceful but speedy change. Such change can be brought about within the remainder of this century if both rich and poor nations are convinced of the necessity to act.

We must also contribute to that public conviction and to the sense of urgency.

This Commission is anything but uniform. Its members not only have different backgrounds and experiences, but also have differing convictions. No one can be certain today whether we shall be able to arrive at fully agreed recommendations.

But it is certainly worth while to make such an attempt. I am looking forward to the intellectual adventure which we are engaging in here. And I do believe that we shall be in a position to make a constructive contribution.

If we do that, the Commission might be able to lessen the spirit of confrontation which exists between North and South today and replace it with a higher sense of mutual interest and cooperative endeavour.

One of our colleagues from the developing world in a letter to me used these words: At other places one has been pre-occupied with means. We should concentrate on ultimate ends, which

is to say: fulfilling first the basic needs of all in the Third World, within a framework of orderly growth in both developing and industrialised nations.

I do not have any unrealistic expectations, but I am not without hope that we have the required degree of optimism necessary to work collectively on a report that may make easier the difficult tasks of governments and international organizations.

Let me add that -- in my view -- our report should be concise and understandable to the ordinary informed citizen of the world.

It is customary on occasions as this to give participants some memento of the meeting. As it happens one of my fellow countrymen has produced a new map - a projection for the Planet Earth on which we all, rich and poor, must live.

Instead of the conventional map with Europe at the centre and giving two thirds of the space to the Northern Hemisphere, this map pays attention to the area where two thirds of the world's population lives. It is the problems of this Third World, (or should I say Two Thirds World?) which concern us on this Commission and which will dominate political and economic events at least for the rest of this century.

I am convinced that we in this country and in Europe have more to contribute than just a new map; many of us have learned through harsh experience how to look at the world and our little region in a new way.

The example of what has been called Ostpolitik has shown that it is possible to change the character of a conflict and find within it those elements of mutual interest which can produce acceptable common solutions. Basic differences remain, but new areas of cooperation, if properly exploited, even influence the ideological scene.

In any case, I am prepared to engage myself for a "Südpolitik" in order to reconcile at least parts of the North-South economic confrontation.

We may have some additional experience to draw on. The evolution of our industrialised societies since the 19th Century has generally been in the direction of greater political and material participation by wider and longer sections of society -- as I believe -- to the benefit of the whole national community.

The lesson that more equal distribution of growth and rights was in the interest of all -- had to be learned by the more conservative elements of the society.

Now this principle in a number of countries is widely accepted and its stabilizing functions for society are generally appreciated.

Perhaps we can see here one of the paths forward for the greater involvement of more and more of the poorer nations in an increasingly co-responsible global society?

Even on our new world map it will not be easy to find this path forward nor to guide peoples or Governments along it. In the present economic situation of the industrialised countries, with rather high figures of unemployment, far-reaching structural changes, protection of the national economy at whatever cost to the



international economy is very tempting. But that is the way Europe and North America went almost 50 years ago; it bankrupted the colonial world, it ruined North America and it brought Europe down in flames.

This time we dare not make similar, but much more dangerous mistakes.

We must seek out the mutual interests within our own industrial communities, and with the non-industrialised developing world.

Those mutual interests may be hard to find, the necessary cooperation will be difficult to achieve, but this Commission

can hold up a torch and could give a  
lead.

It is with this hope in mind that again  
I welcome you here for our first meeting.

---



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PROVISIONAL AGENDA

for the First Meeting of

Independent Commission on International Development Issues  
in Gymnich Castle near Bonn / Federal Republic of Germany

9 - 11 December 1977

1. Introductory Remarks by the Chairman
2. Adoption of the Provisional Agenda
3. Adoption of the Statutes of the Commission
4. Survey of International Conferences on the Restructuring of World Economy
5. Adoption of the Terms of Reference
6. Future Organisation of the Work
  - Timetable for next meetings
  - Possibility of associating eminent persons
  - Financial questions
  - Secretariat
  - Other business
7. Miscellaneous

11/30

DRAFT

Terms of Reference  
of the Independent Commission on  
International Development Issues

The task of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues is to study the grave global issues arising from the economic and social disparities of the world community and to suggest ways of promoting development and attacking absolute poverty. As an independent commission it is free to raise any aspects of the world situation which the Commission considers pertinent and to recommend any measures it finds in the interest of the world community.

The Commission should pay careful attention to the UN resolutions on development problems and other issues explored in international fora in recent years. It should seek to identify realistic directions for international development policy in the next decade, giving equal attention to what the richer and the poorer countries can do.

In pursuit of those objectives the Commission will examine the following issues:

1. Past achievements and conflicts in international development.

1.1 The historical experience of the last decades. Political and economic problems of new nations. The record of growth and stagnation. Bilateral and multilateral relations between richer and poorer countries. Role of the international environment.

1.2 The concept of development. Issues of growth and equity in richer countries and in global community.

1.3 Bilateral and multilateral aid. International trade access to markets. Commodity policies. Demands for a new international economic order.

2. Prospects for the world economy in the eighties.

2.1 Slower growth in industrialized countries. Continued stagnation in much of Africa and South Asia possible. Trends of rapid growth in East Asia and Latin America. Great rise of export potential.

2.2 Population growth. Prospects for fertility decline.

2.3 Resource and energy problems. Survey of supply situations and demand conditions. Water supply. Environmental problems.

2.4 Armaments expenditure. Unsettled political conditions.

3. Joint and conflicting interests of countries in world community.

3.1 National interest and international social justice as bases for political action. The political foundations of development aid.

3.2 The framework of negotiations. Bilateral and multi-lateral relations. The effectiveness of the UN system as negotiating forum. The North/South constellation. East/West relations and their bearing on international development.

4. Roads to a new international economic order.

4.1 The transitional nature of the international economic system in recent decades. From disorder to equitable arrangements.

4.2 The restructuring of the world economy. Commercial and industrial policies. Maintaining and improving access to rich country markets. Trade among developing countries. Commodity policies.

4.3 International finance. Private and public sources of credit. The international monetary system. Debt problems. Direct investment. Role of the World Bank.

4.4 Prospects of shifting international aid towards the poorest countries.

4.5 Costs and benefits of proposals for change.

4.6 Joint interest in containing conflict and exploring common benefits from international cooperation. New international order through action on many fronts.

THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSION



11/28  
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The following is a sketch of a final report. A fuller outline along such lines might be submitted to the Commissioners at the first meeting and serve as a guide to the organization of the work program both of the Commission and the Secretariat. On the other hand it is possible that Commissioners would become resentful if they think this is an attempt to anticipate their own deliberations. In that case, they should perhaps be presented with a less structured list of issues. An outline of the report as well as a work program could then be prepared after the first meeting, drawing on the discussion and the views presented at that occasion.

The objectives I have had in mind in formulating the following suggestions have been:

(1) To break away from the jargon of the present international aid system which only too often serves to obscure the situation, e.g. by its dichotomy between developed and developing countries. I should like the background chapters to be written in the style of a historian or a very good journalist writing for a popular audience about the changes in the world system that have taken place in the last few decades and led up to the present situation. This would, among other things, mean talking less about "developing countries," except when they act as a block, and more about continents, regions, and individual countries.

(2) In line with this, there would be considerable emphasis on the heterogeneity and diversity of Third World countries, on the graduation of some of them into a situation where they need no aid

and may become capital exporters to poorer countries while remaining capital importers from richer ones, and on the remaining problems of economic stagnation and political paralysis in other countries.

(3) The focus is on the 1980s, for two reasons. In the first place it makes good sense to focus on the long or medium term, if the Commission wishes to point to trends that require basic changes in orientation and attitudes. Secondly, one might hope to mitigate some of the opposition in official circles by emphasizing that one is not talking about present negotiations--as we have been at pains to make clear--but about a future that lies beyond current claims and deadlocked controversies.

(4) I have come to the conclusion that we absolutely cannot avoid the issue of the New International Economic Order. In my view, the Commission must seize the bull by the horns and try to suggest that its interpretation of that order is a valid and respectable one. It will not be easy, but it is simplified by making the analysis a long-term one, because so far the aggressive statements on this subject have on the whole contained only demands for immediate changes.

(5) In the perspective of the 1980s, trade problems seem bigger than ever, and that is where the worst problems will arise, because it will be difficult for the Commission or its staff to produce a magic recipe to help governments in rich countries to cope with problems of industrial contraction and structural unemployment.

(6) Aid will be concentrated to Africa and the subcontinent, apart from the multilateral component which is locked in a rigid pattern that should be looked into. I see little purpose in formulating yet another "aid target." In the past they may have



swayed a few countries (Canada, Holland, the Scandinavians), but they have obviously not influenced any of the major powers at all. In spite of the great influence of U.S. and French civil servants in formulating such targets, the contributions from these countries have declined ever since the target setting began in the early 1960s. I think it might not be out of place for the Commission to have a discussion of the uses of targetry which so often honoured only in the breach.

(7) The world has changed profoundly in the 1970s and this must be reflected in the report. The concern about exhaustible resources, about energy, about environment and the global biosphere have added new and complicating elements to all forecasts, plans, and hopes. So far, there has been a separation between those concerned primarily with economic growth, who have not worried about those things, and the alarmists who have often been taken to be some lunatic fringe. They should not, however, be dismissed out of hand. The recent Leontief report to the U.N. is actually fairly reassuring on this point. The Commission should go into the matter quite seriously, which would make its report the first one to combine an awareness of the resource problem with a concern for the alleviation of poverty. It would also mean that the secretariat would have to contract the services, at least for some time, of some pretty good people with a competence in the resource field, including of course energy.

(8) It is, I think, extremely important, that the Commission takes advantage of its private and independent character and does not refrain from comment on subjects which official delegates would be unable to touch. A particular sensitive subject is the political

situation in a number of developing countries. In some countries, "human rights" are repressed by right or left, in many the political system is not strong enough to deliver what is expected from it.

It is out of the question for the Commission to deliver any high-handed criticism in this respect--and I must confess I am rather tired of the simple-minded search for goodies and baddies--but I do think it would be salutary to include some reflections on the difficulties of building a workable political system. One might run into trouble with Third World Commissioners, but that would have to be argued out--and I remember your readiness to have minority views. It is obviously true that this is a major problem, and I think it is important to have it reflected in the report, mostly because I think truthfulness adds to persuasiveness.

(9) In line with this I would also like to have the Commission raise the subject of armaments. That too is a tricky subject. It may be that the Commission cannot get beyond a regret that the major powers arm their friends with the latest weaponry and use them as a testing ground, but this is one of the big issues, and I cannot see how the Commission can avoid it without a rather artificial limitation of its mandate.

(10) Perhaps the most important question is why a decade of negotiations in the present international systems has produced so little. At least that is the way many of my friends in the developing countries see the problem. The question is sensitive because the present system of international organizations and forums for negotiations has created very powerful vested interests. Here too I see a great opportunity for a small Commission of serious men to speak the truth, which would be welcome by many and strengthen their

hand. What I have called the "framework of negotiation" has become an obstruction to progress, and this Commission is one of the bodies in which the matter can be raised.

So much by way of explanation. Here follows the outline I suggest in the light of what I have said earlier:

#### CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND

Emergence of Third World, decolonization.

Political problems, experience of Latin America, weakness.

The aid system, the U.N., UNCTAD.

Growing divergence, OPEC, world recession.

CIEC frustration.

Real and imaginary interests, national and particular.

#### CHAPTER 2: PROSPECTS FOR THE EIGHTIES

Continued but slower growth in rich countries.

Rapid growth in East Asia, Latin America. Graduation of the most successful.

Persistent poverty and stagnation in Africa, South Asia.

Problems raised by absorption of rapidly growing exports.

Resource scarcity, energy and environmental concerns.

Prospects for population.

### CHAPTER 3: RESTRUCTURING THE WORLD ECONOMY

An increasing number of countries able to use their comparative advantage in exporting manufactures.

Commercial policies in industrialized world. Likelihood of new protectionist pressures.

Adjustment policies, capacity of absorption of imports.

Trade among developing countries.

Commodity policies and problems.

MNCs in world trade.

### CHAPTER 4: THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AID

Declining trend likely to continue.

Some countries are becoming independent of aid, but not likely to result in shift to poorer countries in the case of bilateral aid, although multilateral aid will probably be so shifted.

The political foundations of development aid.

### CHAPTER 5: INTERNATIONAL FINANCE

Aid, debt, direct investment.

The success of borrowing from private sources.

Debt problems. Moratoria and forgiveness as aid forms.

The monetary system and the IMF.

### CHAPTER 6: POPULATION GROWTH

Some fertility decline likely in coming decade, though not in all countries.

Planning problems: employment creation, basic social services.

## CHAPTER 7: ARE GLOBAL RESOURCES ADEQUATE?

The concern about non-renewable resources?

Survey of supply situation.

Demand conditions, including sensitivity to price and incomes.

Environment problems, erosion, desertification, etc.

## CHAPTER 8: ARMAMENTS AND THE THIRD WORLD

Unsettled political conditions.

Magnitude of armaments expenditure in relation to available resources.

Proposals to restrict arms shipments.

## CHAPTER 9: THE FRAMEWORK OF NEGOTIATION

Unwieldiness of present international system.

Interest articulation.

Alternatives to the North/South constellation.

The place of bilateralism and multilateralism.

The U.N. problem.

Third World regionalism.

## CHAPTER 10: A NEW INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

Joint interest in containing conflicts and exploiting common benefits.

New international economic order through reform, not overthrow.

815/10/6

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Robert S. McNamara

DATE: October 25, 1977

FROM: William Clark *WDC*SUBJECT: Brandt Commission

I had further conversations with Brandt and Fischer (on leave from the army for the weekend) and shall talk again to Brandt from Paris on Tuesday or Wednesday. If you wish to comment you can reach me in Paris by telex or phone.

(a) Brandt hopes to complete his list by the end of October and to have their agreement to attend the Bonn meeting. But he proposes to delay the public announcement till nearer the time of the meeting partly because we are both in Africa, partly because he feels it will be more immediate if he can announce shortly before the meeting. (I feel this does not matter much, so long as the list is firm).

10/25  
 (b) I said that I thought the announcement should be as succinct as possible and should not mention Mahbub (I added that this must be cleared with the Board in any case) or any other detail. W.B. agreed and said indeed he did not intend to put nationalities opposite names, but give out to the press an information sheet on all members.

(c) I discovered that the letter to Kay Graham had not yet gone, so I urged it to be sent soonest by telex through the Embassy or Janssen. I think that Joe Morris is back on the list, because the Canadians have ignored the request for names including women; K. Graham solves the woman problem; W.B. is determined to have an official representative of organised labour and would prefer it to be from the International Labour Organisation. He will not be listed as a Canadian representative (just as I hope Ramphal will not be listed as a Guyana representative though of course it will appear in his informational c.v.).

(d) W.B. has received warm letters from Sadat, the Shah and Carter.

(e) The office and financial arrangements should be finalised this week. It will almost certainly be Geneva, but W.B. wants to thank Kreisky personally for the offer of Vienna.

WDCClark:sf

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

815/10/5



TO: Mr. William Clark

DATE: October 4, 1977

FROM: Julian Grenfell *JG**Mr McPherson  
to see*SUBJECT: Willy Brandt's Visit to New York

Just for the record I have listed below the people Willy Brandt saw and talked with at the United Nations in New York on September 27 - 28.

Round-table Meeting with the Group of 77

10/7

Ambassador Akhund, Pakistan, Chairman of Group of 77  
" Mills, Jamaica, Chairman-designate  
Minister Perez Guerrero, Venezuela  
Ambassador Alzamora, Peru  
" Meguid, Egypt  
" Dadzie, Ghana  
" Sani, Indonesia  
" Medani, Sudan  
" Petric, Yugoslavia  
" Thiemele, Ivory Coast  
Minister (Deputy Permanent Representative) Oliveri-Lopez, Argentina

Bilateral Meetings

Prime Minister Ramgoolam, Mauritius

Foreign Ministers:

Simonet, Belgium  
Andersen, Denmark  
de Guiringaud, France  
Malik, Indonesia  
Khalatbari, Iran  
Hatoyama, Japan  
Roel, Mexico  
Van der Stoel, Netherlands  
Romulo, Philippines  
Macovescu, Romania  
Hameed, Sri Lanka  
Owen, United Kingdom  
Minic, Yugoslavia

Permanent Representatives:

Barton, Canada  
Young, United States

Secretary-General Waldheim

Mr. William Clark

- 2 -

October 4, 1977

Lunch Meeting

Foreign Minister Waiyaki, Kenya  
Commonwealth Secretary-General Ramphal  
Ambassador Dessande, Chad  
" Thiemele, Ivory Coast  
" Dadzie, Ghana  
Mr. Philippe de Seynes

JG:sb



815/10/14

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Robert S. McNamara

FROM: William Clark *wrc*

SUBJECT: Brandt Announcement

DATE: October 20, 1977

The attached list shows the state of play on Brandt Commissioners.

It would clearly be fairly easy to complete the list in a few days, and announce on time. But at this moment Fritz Fischer is called up for military service for two weeks (ending October 29). I still hope to get it all through while I am in Europe next week.

Brandt wants to mention in the announcement that Mahbub will be a link between the Secretariat and the parts of the Bank working on Development policy. I would hope you could agree to this, though I think the reasons for it are rather misguided.

We need also to discuss how much we keep a distance from the Commission. Brandt is not worried by the charge that he is "run by McNamara or the Bank". He would like to keep in touch with you throughout the 18 months because he says "you cannot study development today without knowing what the Bank knows and thinks".

He has, specifically, asked if you, or I, would attend the first meeting at least. Could we discuss.



*Don't mention  
or send note  
to our Brand  
in advance*

*Notes?*

WDClark:sf

10/20

O.E.C.D. Countries

Germany

W. Brandt - Chairman

1

United States

H. Kissinger

✓

Invited presumed accepted. *ck*

K. Graham

3

Invitation on way by telex.

Canada

Asked to supply list including women

John Turner )  
M. Strong )

Considered

*Return?*

Joe Morris.

United Kingdom

Ted Heath

4

Invited and accepted.

France

P. Mendes France

5

Invited and accepted

Sweden

Olof Palme

6

Spoken to by W.B.- accepted.

Japan

Nobuhiko Ushiba

7

suggested by Fukuda, W.B.'s investigation shows him to be a very powerful character indeed - and I have checked this - so inclination is to invite.

THIRD WORLD

Latin America

Eduardo Frei (Chile) 8 Accepted.  
Enrique Iglesias (Uruguay) 9 Invited and seeking permission

Caribbean

S. Ramphal (Guyana & Commonwealth Secretary) 10 Invited and seeking permission

Asia

L.K. Jha (India) 11 Accepted (?notified of December meeting?)  
Adam Malik (Indonesia) 12 Invited and accepted.

Africa

Amir Jamal (Tanzania) 13 Today accepted to Ramphal who so telegraphed from Tanzania.  
Yacé (Ivory Coast) Brandt seriously considering. Uncertain of status.  
Diawara (Ivory Coast) W.B. has considered Diawara but prefers Yace, but Cheysson strongly prefers D. My view is no Francophone, but invite Senghor to testify.  
Ken Dadzie (Ghana) W.B. impressed by him and if Jamal fails will invite him.

Arab World

Abdlatif Y. Al-Hamad (Kuwait) 14 Personally invited by W.B. Accepted.  
Algeria. W.B. is in touch with Boumedienne about cooperation.  
Fatma Mahmoud (Sudan) A possible women member from Third World. Not approached.

815/10/3

Willy Brandt

BONN, DEN October 6, 1977  
BUNDESHAUS  
TEL. 16-

Mr. Robert S. McNamara  
President  
World Bank  
1818 H. Street, N.W.  
  
Washington, D.C. 20433 / USA

*Flouche*  
*Place in*  
*Brandt*  
*low file*



Dear Mr. McNamara,

Thank you very much for your telegram of September 29, that you kindly sent me after the launching of "our" Commission.

10/14

In view of the current "plurality" on the expediency of such a body at this time of the international debates, my decision was certainly not an easy one to take. But the warm personal support I found in Washington and New York as well as certain auspices that this Commission might contribute to help change the character of conflicts and thus create a general atmosphere for realistic and necessary solutions, all this bore on my decision.

It is comforting to know that I can count on the full support of you and the Bank also in the future during the difficult period of our work. At present, I am particularly anxious that a number of administrative arrangements can be elaborated quickly amongst our associates.

In concluding, let me underline how very helpful William Clark has been all the time and how much I appreciated Julian Grenfell's assistance in New York. I would be glad if you would be kind enough to forward the enclosed letters to them.

Hoping to see you again at an appropriate occasion I shall keep my fingers crossed for a successful start and completion of the Commission's endeavors to have the world community move closer together in a climate of mutual trust and improved cooperation.

Yours sincerely

*Willy Brandt*

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and the following cooperation.  
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hoping to see you again at an appropriate occasion I

letters to them.  
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appreciate it very much and you may wish to refer  
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be approached directly should any assistance  
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in view of the current "difficulties" on the expenditure

Commission.  
that you kindly send me with the transcript of "one",  
thank you very much for your continued support.

Best regards,



1818 N. Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20433

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Washington, D.C. 20433

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SPINNING  
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875/10/2

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Mr. Henderson  
 TO: Files  
 FROM: William Clark  
 SUBJECT: The Brandt Commission

DATE: October 4, 1977



He is anxious, as he always has been, to serve on the Brandt Commission but at present feels very lonely and worries about his credibility with the Third World (and LDC Commonwealth) if he serves as a Commissioner. He has written to the following Commonwealth Prime Ministers to ask their agreement to his serving in a personal capacity:

Trudeau  
 Callaghan  
 Fraser  
 Nyerere  
 Morarji  
 Kaunda  
 Manley

(I only have doubts about the last two; and Brandt has been in touch with both quite recently).

But Ramphal really fears a very adverse reaction amongst his Caribbean colleagues including Manley if his only colleague from the area is Frei. Also he fears a general Third World adverse reaction to Kissinger because of his remark: "the Old Economic Order has served us very well". Could we not, he asked, get Dr. Kissinger in his acceptance to say something really positive about the Third World, and the need for good relations, or the indivisibility of prosperity?

Also Ramphal suggested an extra 'seat' for a Latin American; his first choice was Echeverria, but he also accepted Rodrigo Botero's name.

I think (and said obliquely) that I agreed the problem of getting credibility with the Third World was very important, but that we should not pay too high a price for it in terms of producing a good sound Report. He agreed but warned that to lose the organised Third World at the outset would be a disaster. He thought some association of Mahbub ul Haq would reassure the U.N. Third World (and himself) very greatly. He also mentioned Ken Dadzie, the Ghanaian Chairman of the U.N. Restructuring Committee, as a very good point of contact with the same group.

WDClark:sf

815/1011

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Robert S. McNamara

FROM: William Clark

SUBJECT: Brandt Commission and White House

DATE: October 4, 1977

I had a long conversation with a White House aide about the Brandt Commission personnel. The W.H.A. wanted material with which to reply to Brandt's letter to President Carter about the Commission and the choice of Kissinger.

We talked very freely about the suggested names for Commissioners and Secretariat. He was very unhappy about the choice of Frei only for Latin America, and wondered whether one of these names might be added:

Cardinal Arns of Brazil  
Rodrigo Botero of Colombia.

He spoke about how important it was to have credibility with the Third World if the Commission were to succeed - this would involve some collaboration with Third World champions who might be fairly bogus. On Commissioners he thought Ken Dadzie would be very helpful in Africa; on the Secretariat he wanted some political as well as economic experts; e.g. Mahmohan Singh (Indian Government) or Diego Cordovez (Ecuador, Waldheim's office).

On women he suggested Elizabeth Reid of Australia, and Mme Chaquoct of Canada (whom I do not know).

W.H.A. said he was very concerned that the Brandt Commission should have immediate credibility with the Third World. If it got off to a bad start, being denounced as a front for the rich countries, it could not have its proper influence however good the final report was. It was for that reason he was worried about Kissinger, though he believed he would make a good Commissioner. In any case he was going to recommend that Carter's reply to Brandt should be positive about Kissinger.

WDClark:sf

