

You cannot continue to cry 'Crisis' without providing an adequate answer. The habit of crisis breeds the habit of apathy. We must lift people to a new level out of the fogs of fear and the bogs of bitterness where today humanity founders. Until we deal with human nature thoroughly and drastically on a national scale, nations must still follow their historic road to violence and destruction. Cabinets and diplomats with this force will be totally effective for they will have the power to turn their enemies into friends.

FRANK BUCHMAN, speaking in 1947

**NEW
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NEWS**
FOR MORAL RE-ARMAMENT



Hope for the poor nations — Real progress at the UN

by A R K Mackenzie

SEE INSIDE

Socrates and others

by Rajmohan Gandhi



Rajmohan Gandhi

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BEFORE I had quite deposited my long frame on the taxi's back seat the driver was off the mark — with the tongue as well as the accelerator. He was indignant, he said, over something he had seen on a cinema screen the previous night: it was, he felt, untrue and one-sided.

His demeanour suggested more than a sense of injury. The man was confident. He lectured time to right things, and my mind reflected on the influence of time as a cleansing force, a detergent.

Across 2,300 years we see the ungainly face of Socrates — 'a bald head, a great round face ... a broad and flowery nose ... rather the head of a porter than that of the most famous of philosophers', as Will Durant put it.

Gifted youth gathered around this figure clad in rumpled tunic, but he was disliked by the establishment and reviled by mobs. Even Xanthippe, his wife, thought that Socrates brought notoriety rather than bread to his family. But she did love him, and 'could not contentedly see him die'.

He died cheerfully drinking the hemlock that his persecutors decreed for him. The prison official handing the cup to Socrates said: 'To you, whom I know to be the noblest and gentlest and best of all who ever came to this place, I will not impute the angry feelings of other men, who rage and swear at

me when, in obedience to the authorities, I bid them drink the poison — indeed I am sure that you will not be angry with me; for others, as you are aware, and not I, are the guilty cause.' So saying the official burst into tears and turned away.

Philosophy's first martyr, Socrates was punished for proclaiming the rights and necessity of free thought. Through the prism of time his guilt emerged as virtue and bravery. Unassuming but fearless, the dissenting, questioning Socrates became a hero to successive centuries.

Removing the masks

If, aided by the hard-to-conquer conscience of man, time restored to a maltreated man the respect which was his due, it also removed the masks of greatness with which, in our century, the tyrant Hitler concealed his aims.

In the early '30s Herr Hitler was highly regarded by millions of Germans; men of insight such as Lloyd George and Winston Churchill paid tribute to Hitler's success in stabilising and strengthening Germany. The drive of Germany was contrasted with the drift of the democracies — and was described to their countries by the thousands of admiring visitors who flocked to the 1936

Berlin Olympics. Before he set out openly to capture nation after nation he had captured a large number of hearts and minds.

Fleeting fame

And when a fresh European country became his, all the Germans and the occupied land's inhabitants were told of the wide acclaim accorded to occupation. Till it reached its end, Herr Hitler's life was, by some standards, highly successful.

But fame proved fleeting (apart from being accompanied by unequalled horror), and if a decade or two of history could be erased from records and people's minds, most Germans and outsiders would not mind.

A dedicated opponent of slavery, the American literary figure James Russell Lowell has left memorable lines:

*Though the cause of evil prosper,
Yet 'tis truth alone is strong:*

*Though her portion be the scaffold
And upon the throne be wrong —*

*Yet that scaffold sways the future,
And, behind the dim unknown,*

*Standeth God within the shadow,
Keeping watch above His own.'*



'A greater say in the decision-making process of the world'

Photos: UNITED NATIONS

'BRITAIN'S RELATIONS with the Third World' is a very important subject.

However, one has to start with the question that I have been asked on both sides of the Atlantic: 'Why get so excited about the Third World? We've got lots of problems of our own, haven't we?'

I have three answers to that. There are moral, political and economic considerations for giving this theme top priority.

Morally, the enormous discrepancies between the affluent minorities of the world, and the impoverished majorities are wrong. The ratio between the one tenth of the world's population who live in the rich countries and the other nine tenths, in terms of per capita income, is thirteen-to-one — and that's just the average. Between individual countries, the ratio may be fifty-to-one and more. In fact, there are over 33 countries where the per capita income is still under £100 per year, and that includes countries like India, Pakistan, Tanzania and Bangladesh. Mr Macnamara, President of the World Bank, has said that there are still eight hundred million of the 'absolute poor', i.e. people who have no prospect of economic advancement. A prominent member of the British Labour Party said to me at the United Nations: 'I begin to feel there is less difference between a British miner and the Duke of Westminster than between a British miner and a worker in Calcutta.' Thus there is a powerful moral reason for focussing on this subject.

Contracting world

But there is also a political one. A world situation like that cannot be safe. With a world contracting in size, with population exploding, and with information flowing back and forth ever more rapidly, this is inherently an unstable and dangerous situation, because these known inequalities breed desperation and envy.

In addition, you now have one nuclear power posing as the all-out champion of the poor of the world, China. And there has come into existence in the last two years a new front, which has already endured far longer than the pundits of the Western governments expected, between the oil-producers with their enormous new wealth and the non oil-producing developing countries, who suffered far more from oil price rises than we did and yet who still make common cause with the oil-producers against the industrialised countries. This is inherent-

ly an unstable situation. Adam Smith in *The Wealth of Nations*, published 200 years ago, saw this: 'No society can surely be flourishing and happy of which the far greater part of the members are poor and miserable.' The Canadian Prime Minister, Pierre Trudeau, made the same point last year: 'In this global village, we are all accountable.'

Needed dialogue

Economically also there are reasons for giving this subject priority. That applies especially to Britain. Obviously, we have to trade to survive and we are probably more dependent on imported industrial raw materials than any other Western country apart from Japan. Therefore we desperately need a dialogue with the areas of the world from which our raw materials come. Even America, which is not nearly so vulnerable as we are, has reviewed her policy drastically. I saw a report in the United States which showed that out of 75 essential industrial raw materials, the United States already depends on importing 28 of them. So America is also stepping up the priority she gives to this question of the rich versus the poor nations of the world.

How has the United Nations tried to deal with this problem? The UN has lived through three chapters of its existence in the last 30 years. The first chapter was the East-West struggle, the Cold War, which dominated the '50s. The second chapter was the decolonisation chapter which dominated the '60s. And the third chapter is the rich-poor struggle, the development struggle, which is dominating the '70s and will dominate the '80s too.

And then, of course, at the end of 1973 came that dramatic change when oil prices were suddenly multiplied by four, resulting in a more abrupt shift of the wealth of the world than ever before in history, and suddenly, we in the UN found ourselves, as the Americans say, in a new ball game.

Since then, we've tried twice in emergency sessions of the General Assembly to deal with this problem. In 30 years there have only been seven emergency sessions of the General Assembly, and two of them are the ones I am going to talk about now. The Sixth Special Session was called very hurriedly, following the dramatic oil price rise, in the



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Real progress

by A R K Mackenzie

Mr Mackenzie has recently retired after three years as British Minister for Economic and Social Affairs at the United Nations. Before that he was Ambassador in Tunisia, and has also served in Yugoslavia, Cyprus, Burma, Thailand, Paris and Washington. He has known the United Nations since its inception at Dumbarton Oaks. We print here a talk given in London earlier this month.

spring of 1974. And I am afraid it was abortive. The West was not prepared; the oil producers wanted to talk about everything except oil (which they said was their own affair); and the West wanted to talk about nothing but oil. So the meeting of minds was negligible.

We did agree on a piece of paper called a 'Declaration on a New International Economic Order' (now shortened to NIEO), but, in fact, it was a hollow result. As soon as the resolution was passed, the industrialised countries began making reservations; then came recriminations from the other side; and a very ugly confrontation started growing between the rich and the poor countries of the world.

Interdependence

We in the British delegation at the UN felt that this situation was very serious, because we already knew at that point, May '74, that we were due to have a Seventh Special Session to continue the discussion in September '75. So we sent back to Whitehall a despatch where we put the issue as squarely and honestly as we could. We said: there has been a shift of power in the world. We need to take this seriously. It is not just a question of a little more aid or charity. These countries want a greater say in the decision-making process of the world. We have to be ready to re-think fundamental policies and see how we can establish interdependence and teamwork with them.

Without giving away any official secrets, I can say that this despatch from New York was not received with much enthusiasm in

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'25 tons of rubber would buy 15 British tractors in 1960...only 2 tractors today'

in January 1975 to begin discussions on this with Mr Trudeau. There he found that Mr Trudeau was just as concerned as he was, and on the aeroplane back, just exactly a year ago, he and Mr Callaghan gave the green light to their top officials to make all possible speed in developing a new British policy towards the Third World.

Into high gear

On 9 February last year, the Prime Minister unexpectedly made a speech at Leeds where he said that the British Government was going to get in touch with other governments on this vitally urgent question and intended to develop new ideas. Well, that gave me my cue in New York. So when the first preparatory meeting of the Seventh Special Session came along, I was able to take the lead, and in the light of what the Prime Minister had said, made practical suggestions as to how we could make the Seventh Special Session different from what had happened at the Sixth.

Then Whitehall went into high gear, and all during last spring and last summer we pursued new ideas about how the relations between the developed and the developing countries can be changed. We pursued them in all the organisations of which we are a part — in the OECD, in the EEC in Brussels, at the Commonwealth Conference in Jamaica, and in all the preparatory work at the UN.

It was hard work but it did begin to produce results, and at the Commonwealth meeting in Jamaica there was a meeting of minds, for the first time I would say, between leaders of the developing world and our own government on how these problems should be tackled.

Simultaneously we were holding private discussions with the Americans because we realised that there was no chance of bringing these ideas to fruition unless we could carry the Americans with us. In the Sixth Special Session the Americans had been so negative that they hadn't even been willing to attend some of the meetings. And when we got to Washington last spring they surprised us by saying: 'You are well ahead of us in your planning; we are going to wait for the Commonwealth.' Many people had written off the Commonwealth as defunct years ago; yet here was Washington saying, 'We are

going to wait for the Commonwealth.' When they saw the response of the Commonwealth countries, then they did go into high gear.

Of course, we had doubters in our own ranks right up to the very last minute. It happened that there was to be a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of all the Non-Aligned countries in Lima, in the last three days of August, and the Seventh Special Session was due to begin in New York on the first day of September. And so the doubters said: 'Look, don't be stupid; you'll see what will happen; they'll pocket all our concessions down at Lima; and then they'll come back and ask for more; and the Seventh Special Session will just be a repetition of the Sixth.'

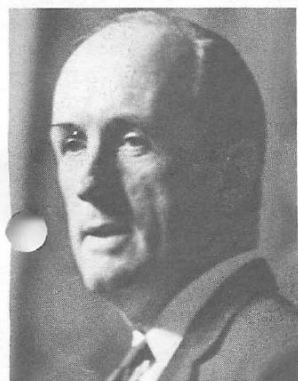
In fact, it did not work out that way at all. Everyone agrees that the Seventh Special Session was one of the most unexpectedly constructive United Nations conferences in the last 30 years. When the developing countries saw that the developed countries this time had done their homework, they responded. The moderates came towards us and left their own extremists, and we began to be able to build a bridge between the two groups.

The system works

Mr Pronk of the Netherlands, who was chairman of the key committee, said, 'This time we have talked *with* each other, not *at* each other.' The whole atmosphere had changed. And the then United States Ambassador, Mr Moynihan, who is not always positive about the UN, summed up the Seventh Special Session by saying, 'The system works.' And I must make very clear that the British and Common Market efforts could not have been brought to fruition if it had not been for the striking advance on the American side as well. When the key moment came in September, Mr Moynihan, speaking on behalf of Dr Kissinger who was detained in the Middle East, made a speech that was in my estimation the most far-reaching and generous statement of American economic policy towards the outside world since General Marshall made his famous speech at Harvard in 1947.

On that basis, therefore, we did reach a real consensus. We drew up a new framework of how international trade, international finance, the transfer of technology, agricultural development and other subjects should be handled. As a result of the meeting

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Whitehall. In fact, when I got back a month later to discuss it, the word 'nightmare' was thrown at me. But it did at least start the wheels turning. Special committees were set up to conduct the most fundamental re-examinations for decades on our dependence on raw materials coming from abroad, and on what this New International Economic Order would involve for us.

Real innovation

Then in the autumn of '74 came a breakthrough. Unexpectedly the Lomé Convention was concluded. This Convention is between 46 ACP (African, Caribbean and Pacific countries) and the nine Common Market countries. The negotiations had been largely stalled for 18 months, but suddenly things began to fall into place.

In the Convention was a new principle, now called Stabex, whereby the European countries undertook to make up the shortfall in the earnings of the 46 developing countries in relation to certain vital raw materials if the prices of these raw materials went below agreed levels. Two thirds of all the earnings of the developing countries come from selling raw materials to industrialised countries. So this was a real innovation.

Next it was realised in Whitehall that we had a Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference coming up in the spring of 1975, and that we did not have a chance of having a successful Commonwealth Conference unless we had positive proposals covering this vital issue of the rich-poor gap in the world.

So the Prime Minister flew over to Ottawa



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of minds in the big auditorium in New York, discussions of these proposals are now advancing in smaller technical groups all round the world.

You probably noticed in the newspapers recently the news of the meeting of Finance Ministers in Jamaica where there was agreement to give the developing countries a larger say in monetary matters and to sell a certain percentage of the gold of the World Bank and use it to help the poor.

Again, in Paris on 11 February there started a crucially important dialogue be-



and wife who get more and more self-absorbed are likely to end up in a divorce court. I am equally sure that this is true between nations; look at Cyprus and Ulster today. I pray that Britain avoids that pit of self-absorption and keeps looking out to the world.

I think what that process in 1975 shows is that we can still play a key role as catalysts and bridge-builders. Because we are members of so many interlocking groups, we can still play a positive role — provided we have the right ideas.

Finally, what is necessary to bring this dialogue to fruition in the years ahead?

I would like to mention four things. The first is education. There need to be really intensive efforts made to explain this world problem to influential groups, including trade union groups, business groups and professional groups. For example, Mr Harold Wilson said that we must never forget that 'one man's pay rise is another man's price increase'. But have we begun to think of the international implications of that principle? Is it also true that one nation's pay rises become another nation's price increases? And if it is true, as I believe it is, that 25 tons of rubber would buy Malaysia 15 British tractors in 1960 and 25 tons of rubber would buy Malaysia only two British tractors today, have we thought this problem through?

Secondly, we need more honesty and frankness on both sides. When Mr Moynihan resigned, I noticed that both *The Times* and *The Telegraph* said that we need more toughness and blunt talking. Personally, I am for more honesty rather than more toughness, because I think it will achieve far more. Honesty on both sides. The Western industrialised powers need to be more honest about their aid. We can do more than we have. We have not fulfilled our promises. We also need to be willing to re-examine basic policies on such issues as shipping and insurance, on redeployment of labour, on monetary policy and on debt conferences. It will be a painful business, but we should at least be willing to re-examine our stand honestly to see where (I don't say in every case) there are possibilities of stretching out a span to build this bridge towards the Third World.

You win, I lose

The Third World equally needs to be more honest. Take corruption. The problem of corruption is never discussed in the United Nations and yet everyone knows that it's an absolutely crucial element in this whole problem. Heaven knows we in the West cannot lecture anyone on corruption; we haven't a leg to stand on, but the problem has to be dealt with. A banker in Delhi told me that he calculated that 60% of the total international aid reaching India was being squandered because of corruption. It is just

not realistic to ignore that, and yet the UN has not faced it or found a cure.

Equally the developing countries need to be more honest about their efforts to feed themselves through increased agricultural production. The fact is that the 50% shortfall in the Western countries' promises of official aid to the developing countries is almost exactly balanced by the 50% shortfall in the developing countries' promise to grow food to feed themselves. Yet the latter point is evaded at the UN. Last summer it took us three weeks to get the developing countries even to agree to put an item on food onto the agenda of the Seventh Special Session. So there's need for more frankness and honesty on both sides.

Thirdly, we need to try to shift the perspective of this whole dialogue so that we don't go on thinking of it like a football match — you win, I lose. The Americans have a word for it. They say we need to treat this as a 'non-zero sum game'. A zero sum game is like a football match, 1—0, you win, I lose. A non-zero sum game is where you move all the pieces on the board so that everyone gains something. I refuse to believe that it is impossible for thoughts to come from the mind of God into the minds of men as to how the wealth and resources of the world can be harnessed for the benefit of all and the exploitation of none.

Vital equation

The fourth thing necessary, getting back to fundamentals, is change. Change in the sense in which Dr Frank Buchman talked about 'the full dimension of change — economic change, social change, national change and international change, all based on personal change'.

I am aware that there is a lot of scepticism about the possibilities of changing people. A Scottish financial pundit declared to me last week, 'I start from the assumption that human nature will never change.' There are two answers to that. One is that it's not true. Human nature does change. Just think of Solzhenitsyn. If people can change in the Gulag Archipelago, they can change anywhere. And secondly, if the assertion is true, it would be a very, very black outlook for the next generation. Dr Kissinger said recently that 'the possibilities for chaos are enormous in the coming decade' — not the possibilities of disturbance, but the possibilities for chaos. That applies unless we achieve a fundamental redirection of policies and of the way people live.

So if you believe in mnemonics, you can take this concept of a New International Economic Order (NIEO), and you can say that NIEO + NTM = REAL PROGRESS. But NTM is the vital factor. It stands for a New Type of Man.



'Talk with each other, not at each other'

Jan Pronk briefs journalists about the UN Seventh Special Session.

tween 27 carefully picked developed and developing countries on the energy problems of the world and all the related questions.

Further, in the World Food Council in Rome they are going to pursue the urgent food questions; and in 1978 there is to be a special world conference on the transfer of technology from the developed to the developing countries. Thus there is a whole network of action now unfolding to narrow progressively this very dangerous gap.

I have gone into some detail on these developments for two reasons. First, because I think it shows the difference between uttering colourful epithets about the United Nations and the sweat and the nuances necessary to produce real agreement on difficult subjects between 144 sovereign governments. And secondly, because I think that the process answers the question of what Britain's role should be in relation to the Third World today.

I am not one of those who feel that Britain's role in the world is at an end. I know we have got lots of problems but I don't believe we are going to solve these problems by turning our back on the outside world.

I have a personal theory, based on both observation and experience, that personal problems grow in inverse ratio to the size of task you take on in the world. I believe that's true between individuals. Between husband and wife, I am certain it's true; a husband

