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"IMPERATIVES FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT"

REMARKS BY

HIS EXCELLENCY SOEDJATMOKO

AMBASSADOR OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA
TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

at

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CONFERENCE ON THE SECOND DEVELOPMENT DECADE:
A BLUEPRINT FOR ACTION BY RICH AND POOR COUNTRIES

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When we speak about the United Nations Second Development Decade we are essentially concerned with a major effort at re-directing the developmental resources of the world. It has been obvious for some time that the external requirements of the underdeveloped countries of the world outstrip the level of resources made available by the developed countries. The second problem that concerns us in this connection is the problem of the optimal utilization of those resources, in other words, the problem of an overall development strategy.

Though both these problems are interrelated, the primacy of the first problem, the mobilization of external resources, is of course clear. Especially in the light of the flagging political will in many of the developed countries to allocate an adequate part of their national resources for international development. It is to this problem in the first place that we should turn.

So far, the discussion has been in terms of improved public relations or more active fund-raising techniques by the United Nations. The problem we are facing, I am afraid, goes much deeper. The question which we should ask ourselves when we speak about the Second or even the Third Development Decade, is: "To whom are we really speaking?" Then it turns out that we are addressing ourselves to the youth of today, youth the world over. It is this youth that will have to support such a Second Development Decade and to implement the development programs that are part of it. Without their active support we are really only talking to ourselves about plans that are doomed to remain the last ritualistic expressions of a dying faith.

But can we make youth listen? Certainly not by using improved public relations techniques. Youth will just not listen unless this program makes sense to them, intellectually, but especially morally: not only in terms of the development program itself, but in terms of the broader meaning and purposes to which they are asked to commit themselves. We all know how much youth, especially in the United States, and in most parts of Western Europe has turned inward. Partially it has turned towards the pressing domestic problems of their own nations; partially it has turned inward in terms of a preoccupation with personal problems, personal meaning, personal authenticity and the inner self. Both these attitudes reflect in a very fundamental way their uneasiness with, their rejection or at least questioning of the basic propositions on which the life of their nation, modern life in general, and the present world order is built. Except in a few countries in the north-western part of western Europe, this introversion among youth has led to a considerable loss of interest in problems of international economic development and the continuation of existing efforts in this direction.

In preparing for the Second or Third Development Decade our problem then is: How do we reverse this inward turn, how do we relate the new moral concerns of youth and their emerging value systems to new purposes that have a bearing on the world's collective capacity for international development? This question has very much to do with the manner in which this young generation perceives the present world order and the direction in which the world seems to be moving. As long as this does not seem to make much sense, they are bound to limit their concern and their commitments to those problems which they feel they can at least do something about: this means primarily domestic problems. It would seem to me that only a major change in the international situation, capable of fundamentally affecting their expectations of the future of the world, its social as well as its international order, and capable of opening up a new perspective for, in their terms, meaning-

ful international commitment, could bring about such a new linkage between the new values around which the world of the young generation revolves, and the goals of international development.

Is such a change in the international situation, is such a major re-engagement of the attention, the idealism and the energy of youth in that direction possible? I think it is. The attainment of strategic parity between the United States and the Soviet Union, which may be the most important development after World War II, provides a unique opportunity and maybe the last one mankind has, to reassess its traditional preoccupations, its divisions, its fears and its hopes as well as the direction in which things seem to be going, before a drift towards a new nuclear arms race and the nuclear extinction of mankind becomes inevitable. Based on their acceptance of strategic parity, a global understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States that is not only limited to reduced armament levels and a reduction of international tension, expanded to include their common interest in finding resources for a concerted or "joint but separate" attack on the problems of international poverty, is bound to have an inspirational effect on this younger generation. It is only such a prospect of international peace and solidarity and such a fundamental re-setting of the course of mankind, that could do this.

I therefore think that it is of the greatest importance that the United Nations' Secretary General with all the prestige and moral authority of his office, and a commission such as the Pearson Commission which is independent from any government, should publicly and emphatically make this connection between international peace and the global capacity for international development.

The dimensions of the problems that have to be faced in connection with the Second Development Decade are such that only action in this order of magnitude would have any effect. Improved public relations techniques by themselves just will not be enough. Let us not over-estimate the influence of the mass media. For all their power, they have not been able to effect in any way the emergence of a young generation with a value system that is entirely different from the values by which the mass media have operated so far. For the Second Development Decade to succeed it has to be impelled by a new ethos that will have the capacity to take us across the threshold of a new era, away from the automatic reflexes and social sterility of the concept of stable nuclear deterrence that so dominates our world of today. We should be more acutely aware that the ultimate loyalties of the younger generation are no longer unquestionably limited to their own nation. Their sense of solidarity now embraces the whole of mankind. And this can and should be the basis for a renewal of the international order. It is these new impulses that are breaking through that we must be able to harness if we want our preparations for a Second Development Decade to have any significance.

This does not mean, of course, that we could not do with more effective methods of mobilizing resources in the rich countries. Mr. McNamara, as President of the World Bank, has shown that a more activist attitude can be effective even under present world conditions. Mobilization of resources, of course, does not just refer to the allocation of public or private funds for development purposes, but also to the consistent search that has to be made for more adequate forms and methods that could facilitate in a substantial way the transfer of private capital, technological knowhow and organizational and managerial skills. It also includes

the effort to make those adjustments in trade, tariff and shipping and insurance policies that would turn trade into a more effective instrument for development.

This endeavor should involve not only the governments but also the parliaments and the political and social forces in the countries of the world. This would include industry and labor. Given a proper overall setting it might not be impossible to recruit youth and its organized movements for an active global participation in the development effort.

Also, other sources of wealth might be tapped. Various religious institutions, for example, have in a number of countries become major institutional sources of capital. In the Christian world, for instance, there is an increasing awareness of the responsibility that the Church has in combatting poverty both on a domestic as well as on an international level through development. This, as the recent conference of the World Council of Churches in Uppsala, as well as some of the recent papal encyclicals have shown, is an important responsibility for the churches that goes beyond the mobilization of resources for missionary work.

I would now like to say a few words about the search for a development strategy. The lack of a single overall development strategy has often been cited as a reason for the lack of effectiveness of the development effort. That the First Development Decade did not lead to the formulation of such a development strategy has to many become a cause for despair. I do not share this view. In the first place, we still know very little about the development process. Furthermore, it is important for us to realize that the reasons for poverty and backwardness in the underdeveloped countries are many. Their stages of economic development vary considerably. And the diverse capacities of the various political systems to sustain the stresses that are part of the development process should also be taken into account. It therefore stands to reason that the remedies to be applied will have to be different in each case. Thus, I think, it may be well not to emphasize too much the search for a single development strategy. Rather, we should accept the need for multiple development strategies. Continuing the search for a golden formula would be a waste of time.

Still a few observations might not be out of order here. In the first place regarding the order of magnitude of capital inflow into a developing country. The experience of the countries which have been successful in their development effort seems to point to a minimum inflow of U.S. \$ 10.00 per capita as an essential condition for success. Assuming that this could be made available, then the absorptive capacity of a developing country becomes the limiting factor. A development strategy should therefore concentrate on those problem areas that have a bearing on the absorptive capacity: the most important of these, affecting the other areas is the administration, its competence and efficiency; secondly, infrastructure development; thirdly, food production and fourthly, education and research. I will not try to deal with these areas here, but I do want to make a few remarks in favor of a more deliberate application of science to some of the problems we are concerned with in this connection.

Modernization and development imply the consistent application of science and technology to existing resources in order to raise productivity. Any consideration of the assumptions underlying a program for the Second Development Decade should be concerned with an assessment of the contribution already made by research and development towards this goal, and with the maximization of that contribution in the next decade.

In this connection comes to mind the new miracle strains in rice and grain, which started what many people are beginning to call the "Green Revolution" in Asia. The boost in production resulting from their introduction is already considerable, and already has an impact on the perspective on the future. For the first time the avoidance of hunger seems to have become a feasible project. These miracle strains show how the application of science can lead to a strategic developmental breakthrough. On the other hand it remains to be seen whether this very important innovation will only bring temporary relief because it fails to break the fundamental pattern of stagnation, even at this higher economic plateau, or whether it will indeed lead to continued self-sustaining innovation. Maybe the question should be put differently: How can we make sure that the introduction of these new strains will trigger the series of subsequent economic, social and political innovations that are needed to modernize agriculture? Here certainly is an important challenge to those social scientists interested in developmental problems.

The strategic importance of the work of the International Rice Research Institute suggests the need to look into the possibilities of a more systematic, integrated application of all the sciences, and the development of an integrated research strategy to deal with the problems of hunger, poverty and development.

I am thinking, for instance, of the very significant research that is now going on in some of the developed countries regarding the exploitation of the biological and mineral resources of the sea and the seabed. This will certainly lead to tremendous benefits. But it will, if allowed to follow its natural course, also lead to widening even more rapidly the gap between the rich and poor nations, leaving the latter the passive beneficiaries of the bounty created by the technological ingenuity of the rich nations. It would be worthwhile considering how research like this could be more directly and more consistently related to the needs of underdeveloped countries. Secondly, how research of this kind could be tied in to speeding up the growth of the research capabilities of the less developed countries themselves. The IRRI is an example of what can be done in this direction.

In planning for the Second Development Decade, deliberate efforts at linking up the scientific and technological capabilities of the less developed nations to the frontiers of research in the developed countries on problems of food, population control and resource exploitation, should, therefore, rate a high priority.

If we now look into the contribution made by the social sciences I think a great deal more should and could be done in the Second Development Decade. In the aggregate, a much more massive research effort is needed. To this end, not only the necessary funding, but also a redirection of academic attention, or fashions, if you will, in some of the developed countries will be required. Also, a more effective mobilization of research capabilities in the poor nations is essential. Apart from this, much of the research that has been done so far has been of only limited relevance to our understanding of the nature of the development process.

The reasons for this primarily seem to lie in the inclination of western social scientists to concern themselves with the externals and the measurable indices of development. The whole area of motivations, values, goals, and in general the social dynamics of the development process have on the whole been neglected. In preparing for the Second Development Decade it might be useful for the social sciences to have a second look at themselves in their role as a developmental aid.

Many of the problems, for instance, which underdeveloped countries face in their efforts at economic development are problems that have to do with the structure of their economy, with their political economy. These problems are often problems of a normative nature. But the Western social sciences on the whole tend to evade these normative questions. Partially, this occurs because it is felt that norms are the privileged area of the underdeveloped country concerned, partially also because it is inherent in the ethos of the disciplines. The social sciences owe their growth and development to value-free observations and research. Hence they are not well equipped to deal with normative problems. Moreover, such concern would do violence to this tradition. Another problem which, for some of the same reasons, is not given the emphasis that it deserves is the relationship between development and power. Social change inevitably involves questions of power; it affects the power structure, the political balances, the process and criteria of leadership selection. Very few studies of this kind have been made, maybe because America's own domestic power has been stable for so long. It seems not impossible that the questioning of power and authority that is now taking place in the United States might lead to an increased interest in dealing with the power aspects of social change in the underdeveloped countries as well.

Ironically, the extent of specialization in the social sciences is another factor that hampers adequate study of the developmental process. Traditional societies in Asia for instance have a social structure that is very much shaped by their religious precepts. The manner in which these traditional religions impinge on the developmental process in these societies is an area that has been very much neglected, falling between chairs as it does.

Apart from such studies of the social structure of tradition in each of these transitional societies, some of the cognitive problems related to development deserve more serious attention. How is development seen in a transitional society? The assumption that everybody in an underdeveloped country will automatically subscribe to new developmental goals and act accordingly has proven to be unjustified. The mobilization of motivations for developmental social action, especially in the traditional sectors of these societies, will only become possible if the new developmental goals can be shown to make sense to the individual either in terms of the traditional purposes of life or in terms of broader new goals for himself and his nation. The new structures of meaning that will have to be evolved before these nations can fully mobilize their own potential for development will have to be looked into much more closely. This means that ideological problems will have to be brought into the purview of the social sciences that are concerned with developmental problems.

All this tends to show the need to study and to teach development as a total problem. At various places it is, of course, already taught by specialists in economy or sociology or anthropology, but nowhere it is taught as a total process as it affects the human being as well as society as a whole. Also, more indigenous research should be done that could do more justice to the view from the inside. The establishment of special institutions that are concerned with development as a total process will be a very important step forward in the preparation for the Second Development Decade.

It is important for the students from underdeveloped countries studying in the United States that, over and above their particular discipline, they become familiar with the overall developmental problems of their countries and the rela-

tionship between their own discipline and those problems. A greater awareness of the social and cultural relativity of the substantive knowledge they gained while studying in the United States would help them not to become a captive of that body of knowledge and would increase their capability of looking at social reality in their own way, in response to the problems of those countries themselves, and not as the unquestioned extension of traditional academic preoccupations and interests in the developed countries. What I am saying, in short, is that for quite some time now the universities in the United States and other developed countries have ceased to be the intitutes of higher learning serving the needs of their own society alone. For quite some time now these universities have become institutes of higher learning serving the needs of the whole world. But the necessary adjustments to this new role have not been made widely or thoroughly enough. Parallel to what I said before regarding the natural sciences and technology, the establishment of such institutions for the study of development and the research capabilities of the underdeveloped countries themselves should deliberately be accelerated and linked up with these intitutes. It would also reduce the danger of "disorientation" of returned graduates, as well as of the "brain drain".

In speaking about education for development, a few words should be said about the training of the so-called "sergeant majors of development." These are the people who are or will be involved in economic development in its various aspects at the village level or in the small towns. It is they more than the "generals" who will determine the effectiveness of the developmental effort. Which skills should be developed in their training; what motivation should be inculcated; what should be done to make it possible for these people to be placed in strategic positions from the point of view of developmental requirements in each village? Stated differently, how does one influence the criteria for leadership selection in the village? How can the shift from traditional criteria to modern developmental achievement-oriented criteria be made and speeded up? This area of education has as far as I know not been systematically looked into, but it will have to be done in our efforts to make the Second Development Decade a more effective one.

Before closing, let me make one more point. I would like to refer to my earlier statement that we should not continue looking for a single developmental strategy. By the same token, I think it is important to resist the pressure towards the establishment of a single world development authority. Even assuming that it would be possible to formulate a single developmental strategy which should be the basis for policy of such a world - wide agency, that agency would inevitably be paralyzed in practice by the conflicting political pressures for the allocation of its resources. By maintaining and developing a plurality of institutions - governmental, United Nations, multilateral and bilateral, as well as non-governmental - the concentration of political presures would be reduced and they would cease to be disfunctional. On the whole it would seem to me that the effectiveness of the overall effort would be enhanced.

Summing up, the main thrust of my argument is that if the Second Development Decade is conceived in the same narrow terms as the first one, i.e. as merely one of several unrelated endeavors of the United Nations, it may be worthwhile in itself, but morally and in the long run economically it is doomed to failure. What is needed to evoke the motivational drive that could successfully carry this effort through, and that could revive the flagging political will of the rich countries to shoulder the burden and to make the necessary but painful adjustments in their trade and aid policies, is a new and broader vision. This vision should encompass

ways of dealing with what have now come to be seen as the major problems staring us in the face: the problem of race, the cities, the population explosion, the destruction of human ecology, a runaway technology, the depersonalization of modern life, domestic and international poverty and the growing irrelevance of the cold war and the arms expenditures connected with it.

These are the problems that will determine the shape and the quality of both individual life as well as the life of the nations in the next decades. All these problems have now become interrelated. The likelihood that thirty years from now the world population will have doubled, is bound to change the scale and intensity of many of these problems. If through indifference these problems remain untended, the already obsolescent world order of today may very well collapse entirely. The prospect of civilized life in either the poor or the rich countries will become very dim. A Second United Nations Development Decade can only make sense, therefore, if it is part of an integrated global movement of mankind to prepare ourselves for a sensible life in the decades to come.

The articulation of such a vision is a first but essential step in that direction. It would make possible the development of criteria that could govern the basic redirection of resources that will be required. Such a vision will also enable us to recast the preceptions of our present problems in ways that might make them more amenable to solution, or might reduce them to a more tolerable level of tension. Most likely, such a perspective would also facilitate the development of new analytical tools and new concepts, especially in the field of international security, that would enable us to understand and to react rationally to the rapid social changes everywhere, and to shifts in international politics that will grow out of the interaction between the new technology, the mass media and the population explosion, which are now inescapably part of our life. This vision, therefore, should not speak to the fears in which we live but rather appeal to the hopes of mankind for a brighter future that can and should be within its grasp.

The economic development of the third world would only be one of the many interconnected and interdependent elements in this vision. A full involvement of the third world, with all its resources in the productive processes of the world will be an essential precondition for the realization of that vision. One might say that it constitutes the infrastructure of that future.

It would thus seem to me that only within such a broader setting has the Second Development Decade a chance to fulfill its promise of leading us towards a new world order that is more responsive to the new and urgent needs of man, rich and poor alike; a world order more morally satisfying, motivated by a clearer and stronger universal vision of man and illuminated by a sense of human solidarity and of international social justice.

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