

SILVIU BRUCAN  
STR. HERASTRAU No. 16  
SECT. I. BUCHAREST  
ROMANIA

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24-11-75  
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D.C.  
Bucharest, 15 November 1975

R10-Xa-794.

Prof. J. Tinbergen  
Mr. J. van Ettinger  
Project R.I.O.  
Rotterdam

libj CB  
R CB

Dear Professor Tinbergen,

Since you sent me a kind letter (12 June) I have been extremely busy and, however much I would have liked to carry on the rewarding dialogue with you, I have been unable to do so.

Now, I am writing in order to tell you how much I am pleased with the Final Report Layout you mailed me recently. As a veteran student of international affairs and a practician diplomatist for over ten years I do realize the formidable task you have set for your distinguished group of experts and wish you success.

Indeed, from the very beginning I felt that the incongruity in the previous drafts between the Aims, and the Means, the Problematicque and the Strategies of Change could be alleviated only by a fundamental clarification of the over-all concept of a New International Order. And here I must say that the pressure arising from the desire of providing the UN Special Session or any other imminent event should not obscure the imperative need of taking a long range view of the whole thing. The quest for a new international order will certainly cover the whole remaining quarter of this century, and perhaps step into the next one. Don't produce another report that will survive only two or three years at best!

Enclosed, I take the liberty of sending you a modest contribution to that end, spelling out briefly some points to be considered in the endeavour to define the stage in international relations and the place in the history of world politics of that particular international order. The basic assumption is that under different historical conditions the hypothesis of a new international order would be necessarily built upon different premises and variables. It may well be that in a distant future the proposed order will not be inter-national, but a world order. This distinction must be kept in mind.

Sincerely yours,

Silviu Brucan

Conceptual remarks on the New International Order

1. The N.I.O. does not propose to improve everything that is wrong and inequitable in the world, to fulfill all the collective and individual aims of man. This is not possible now and therefore the NIO has a limited objective and scope, a particular place in the history of international relations, corresponding to the present stage of evolution of human society and to the present relationship of forces on the international arena. The historical limitations of the NIO must be clearly defined; Aims, Means, Problems, Strategies must adjust to this.

2. Radical transformations inside various societies have not changed the international system and its behaviours; even in the relations between socialist nations conflicts generated by differences in size, power, level of economic development are here to stay.

The NIO is essentially a proposition to start from the other end--the international one. Hence, although it is true that such deep changes in the economic international relations and in the world power structure as required by NIO must be accompanied by adequate changes within individual societies, the emphasis this time remains on the international scene. The implementation of the necessary measures of an international character must not be made dependent on the proposed societal transformations, thus creating a vicious circle, and surely a good excuse for the adversaries of NIO to obstruct the process.

One should also keep in mind that we live at a time of resurgent nationalism and sovereignty originating precisely from the glaring inequalities and gaps between nations, and therefore a good strategy of change must logically throw the main thrust in this particular sphere of the international system. Such a strategy is required also by the realization of the basic fact that the setting-up of a stronger international institution, as required by NIO, can be achieved only in parallel with the equalization of nations--big and small, mighty and weak, developed and underdeveloped, rich and poor. The small, weak, underdeveloped and poor nations will never concede part of their sovereignty to an international institution so long as they will feel that the big, mighty, developed and rich nations have a better chance to dominate that institution.

Complete and effective equality among nations is impossible, but equalization of nations, viewed as a gradual process, is possible.

3. While it is obvious that the major force pushing towards the NIO is the Third World, a transformation of such dimension requiring practically an overhaul of the international system as a whole, cannot and should not be conceived without the Second World, comprising the socialist nations (perhaps more accurately: central-planning states). The assumption that NIO is an exclusive North-South affair between the developed capitalist states and the three underdeveloped continents is erroneous both theoretically and practically. For one thing, in an interdependent world like ours the so-called North-South system does not exist in isolation; it is actually part of the international system and, as such, it is intersected by and interacting with the other international subsystems, whether the First World, the Second World, East-West or East-South. Interdependence between various systems or subsystems does not eliminate the autonomy of each one, and viceversa. Secondly, serious inequalities and economic disparities do exist between socialist nations also, and this is why China, Yugoslavia, Cuba, Romania have officially stated that they are developing nations, some of them that they belong to the Third World. It is not accidental that Romania, one of the less developed countries in Eastern Europe, has become a champion of a NIO, notwithstanding the reluctance of its neighbors.

The dichotomy-approach to the three worlds, viewed as blocs or monolithic entities opposing each other is irrelevant to our world as a tool of analysis. Actually, development, far from being restricted to a world or another, is a phenomenon that traverses all international subsystems, even the E.E.C. with its less developed areas.

The main conflict besetting Europe is ideological only at the surface, for behind the ideological cleavage and feeding it is the fact that the main economic indicators (GNP per capita, productivity, structure of exports in raw materials versus industrial goods etc) including standard of living in Eastern Europe are three or four times lower than in Western Europe. Most of the time, ideology is invoked to cover-up that discrepancy, as shown by the Helsinki Conference.

Therefore, the socialist nations must be organically included in the NIO. At the practical level, how could one seriously suggest changes in the international trade and monetary system, in the power structure and the U.N. system without integrating a world subsystem which comprises over one billion and a half people and produces over 35 per cent of the world industrial output etc. etc.?

To sum-up the points regarding the concept of NIO:

- a transitory historical stage of our epoch, a stage that will be neither a capitalist nor a socialist order;
- a stage in which the nation-state will remain the basic unit of the international system:
- a stage in which international relations will go through a gradual process of economic equalization and political democratization, passing from the proclaimed juridical equality to political equality in the sense of securing the participation of all nation-states in the solution of international problems and in the decisions affecting them. The consensus procedure and rotation of chairmanship in the Helsinki Conference is something to start with.
- a stage in which in parallel with the process of equalization nation-states will be required to delegate part of their sovereign rights to international institutions gradually empowered to plan, make decisions and enforce them;
- a stage whose main goal is to redress the major imbalances and inequities among nations and continents.

P.S.-In the case that such a contribution is considered useful, I am prepared to deal with the other Chapters in accordance with that basic approach. (S.B.)



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project "reviewing the  
international order" (rio)

co-ordinator: j. tinbergen  
director: j. van ettinger

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RIO-Xb-337

Rotterdam,  
September 5, 1975.

Dear Sir(s),

Project RIO: Reviewing the International Order

We are pleased to enclose two revised RIO documents: RIO-19 (third version) which deals with the principles or "architecture" of the new international order; and RIO-24 (second version) which describes proposals for action in a number of subject areas related to the establishment of a new international order.

Both documents are revisions of earlier RIO documents. In them we have attempted to incorporate not only the observations made by RIO participants but also those made by others who were kind enough to read and comment on earlier texts.

We believe that the documents, as a result of the comments made, have been improved but, at the same time, fully acknowledge that more redrafting needs to be undertaken before a satisfactory and well-balanced final report emerges.

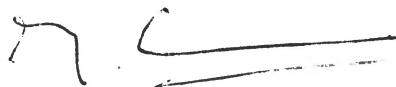
We would, therefore, kindly request you to critically review the documents enclosed. Any comments you might have would be welcomed and you can rest assured that they will receive our careful attention. Our work would be greatly reduced, however, if comments could be restricted to basically two types. The first would comprise general observations on the text which might concern such subjects as structure, approach, style and so on. The second type of comment would be more concrete, referring to specific pages and statements made. As far as the second type is concerned, please feel free to make suggestions for text revisions.

You will appreciate that, although all comments will be carefully reviewed, it might not be possible to incorporate them fully in subsequent texts. Experience has taught us that some comments are diametrically opposed to others and, in such cases, we are forced to make a choice between the viewpoints expressed or to search for compromises. In some cases, we have noticed that the points made are in fact already dealt with in other parts of the report. In other cases, some sections of earlier texts have clearly given rise to misunderstandings and where these have occurred we have attempted to correct them. A final consideration which sometimes prevents us from incorporating comments is our concern that the final report should not be too long.

We trust that the above observations will not inhibit you from critically reviewing our work to date. In order that the comments you might have can be dealt with at our next general meeting, it is important that they reach us no later than 29th September, 1975. The meeting of this deadline will enable us to include your comments, where appropriate, in subsequent text revisions.

Thanking you in anticipation of your continued interest in the RIO project, I remain,

yours sincerely,

*for him*  


Jan Tinbergen,  
Coordinator.

TD/Hf

cc: VEj CB 4-6-'75

АКАДЕМИЯ НАУК  
СОЮЗА СОВЕТСКИХ СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКИХ РЕСПУБЛИК  
ИНСТИТУТ ЭКОНОМИКИ  
МИРОВОЙ СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКОЙ СИСТЕМЫ

г. Москва, В-418, Ново-Черемушкинская 46

Тел. 120-82-00

№ 14306/525

„ 23 “ May 1975г.

Professor Jan Tinbergen  
Co-ordinator,  
The Club of Rome,  
c/o Bouwcentrum International  
Education  
P. o. b. 299  
Rotterdam, Netherlands

Dear Professor Tinbergen:

In accordance with your request we have tried to formulate some preliminary ideas concerning your RIO project. Although it is rather difficult to comment on all the documents issued on the subject, we feel that your main concepts are best expressed in RIO-19.

We enclose our critical remarks and suggestions à propos this document, reflecting the joint opinion of Soviet and Polish economists. On the Polish side it was reviewed by Dr. Jozsef Pajestka and Dr. Kazimerz Secomski, and on the Soviet side by Dr. Djermen Gvishiani and myself.

We hope that it will be possible for you to take these comments into account at the drafting of the next version of the RIO report.

We look forward to further cooperation and remain,

Sincerely yours,

*Oleg T. Bogomolov*  
Oleg T. Bogomolov

IEWSS USSR Academy  
of Sciences

Novochemushkinskaya 46  
Moscow

Encl: 8 pp.

№ 14306/525		4 JUN 1975	
VEj	CB	VEj	CB
Par.			



## REMARKS ON THE RIO-19 REPORT

The Report contains some interesting approaches to an extremely complicated problem and is bound to stimulate discussion. With the aim of elaborating and specifying the basic propositions of the Report and also of concentrating attention on the fundamental ideas we present below some general remarks and also a chapter-by-chapter commentary.

The acute problems - political, economic, sociological, population growth, ecological, among others - now faced by the capitalist world, as listed on the opening pages of the Report, are considered from the ideological positions of the industrialised countries of the West. The interests of the developing world are not always interpreted precisely or correctly. There is no reflection of any assessment of the socialist countries' role in the overall process of the world's political and economic development.

From the introduction (1.1. What the Report Aims At) it follows that the document is an alternative version in interpreting the problems considered by the two documents adopted by the Sixth Special Session of the United Nations' General Assembly (May 1974): "Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order" and "Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order".

These two documents put forward these main problems as requiring solution without delay:

establishment of fairer economic conditions for the working of the developing countries' natural resources and fairer terms of trade on the world capitalist market;

broader rights of participation by the developing countries in the international system of financial relations and better terms for the international financing of their development;

more active promotion by the developed countries of the industrial growth of the Third World countries;

promotion of more active international cooperation of the developing countries and enhancement of their legal status in international organizations.

These problems are not directly referred to or discussed in the Report. But the point is that unless ways of solving these problems are considered it is hard to project a better international economic order aimed to harmonise the interests of various groups of countries and regions of the world.

It would be right to point out that the original initiative on formulating a conception of a new international economic order (NIEO) came from the group of developing countries. That is a positive and noteworthy fact. It should also be pointed out that the urge to institute a new international order (NIO) is a manifestation of the processes which have long been making their way in world development. They are being shaped on the basis of the development of the productive forces, which results in growing interdependence and internationalization of economic life. Evidence of these tendencies comes, in particular, from the evolution of the functions of the



United Nations and its specialised agencies, the efforts to formulate an international development strategy ( Second UN Development Decade) and so on. The NIBO strategy is another, though undoubtedly not the last, undertaking in the effort to realise this historical necessity.

Any analysis of world development processes, as we feel, start from the fact that conflicts of interests and ideological differences do exist and will continue to exist in the world arena. These cannot be ignored or underestimated. At the same time there are some interests which are common to all mankind and which should prevail over these contradictions. Indeed, they provide the basis for formulating an international development strategy. These paramount interests which are common to all mankind bear on:

- a) the maintenance of world peace; their realisation should be at the root of the effort
- b) to introduce greater fairness in international relations for the sake of peace and universal progress,
- c) to introduce more rationality in relations between man and the ecosphere.

#### Chapter-by-chapter Remarks

1.2. The tendencies mentioned in the text which have led to the economic and technological superiority of the developed countries in the capitalist sector of the world economy should be supplemented with mention of the development in the recent period of new tendencies which counteract this state of affairs.

1.2 and 4.6. Consideration of the role of the multinational enterprises is skewed positively. While it may be

time that the multinationals do have some useful functions in spreading technical progress, their activity in many instances is known to run counter to the interests of individual countries, the developing countries in particular. Mention of the growing understanding in private enterprise circles of the general interest can hardly help to solve the problem as a whole or provide a guarantee against decision-making which harms the interests of national or regional economic complexes.

The scheme of international organization to include representatives of the multinationals, governments and trade-unions may prove to be useful but it fails to provide any reliable solution of the main problem: the defence of small and economically weak states against monopoly pressure from the multinationals and their urge to obtain unwarranted economic benefits (direct and indirect).

1.3. When considering the lessons from "what went wrong" in history (pp.7-8) an effort should be made to avoid overdramatising "current crises" and to distinguish them from the difficulties arising from longterm development tendencies.

1.3. The interpretation of the evolution of social policy as illustrated by Western society gives a somewhat onesided view of the problem. Without considering the tendencies in the socialist world and the processes in the developing countries it is obviously impossible to produce a picture of an objectively balanced new international order.

The internal proportions of this part should apparently accord with the three main aims or goals indicated above in 1.4. Special attention should be given to the problems of maintaining world peace. There should be an indication of the irrational character of the arms race and of the economic possibilities opened up through the use of resources released from disarmament for the solution of world problems.

2.3. The way of life under the new order appears to be well formulated, but there is no answer at all to the question of whether the mechanism for mustering resources, as described in Chapter 4, will be sufficiently stable and efficient to make a contribution to the new way of life, for the operation of the mechanism is based on voluntary contributions and acceptance of taxes. Is there any guarantee that the stronger partners will be consistent even in time of crisis, and will they honour their commitments? This is a question that obviously needs further elaboration.

4. The approach to the definition of a quantitative framework (pp. 15-17) does not appear to be sufficiently convincing. We feel that the following alternative could be proposed:

- a) the method of "comparison", as the text has it;
- b) the method of determining a minimum economic level, implying a level guaranteeing sound physical development for broad masses of people and ensuring satisfaction of the peoples' cultural and other needs; such a level could be estimated at, say, US\$ 1,500 per head and taken as the objective for the period until the year 2000.



3.1. The recommendation that the developing countries should concentrate their efforts on labour-intensive and "not too sophisticated production" may be justified with some reservations only with respect of these countries' export sector. To structure the whole national economic complex on this pattern would be tantamount to keeping the gap between the economic and technical levels of the developed and developing countries. The example of the socialist countries and Japan (for all the distinctions in social system and conditions) shows that strategic success in overcoming backwardness and accelerating economic development comes from a radical break-up of the economic structure, and the creation of a national economic complex on a modern technical basis. No new international order can afford to ignore the countries' legitimate urge to create such a structure. It should also be borne in mind that "optimality" in world terms under the present world economy does not always accord with the view of optimality taken in the individual countries. There is need for a special mechanism for bringing about an optimal combination of the interests of the individual countries and global world approaches.

3.3. The suggested conception of the "optimal international division of labour" will not yield the desired results unless the "maximisation of human welfare" is supplemented with the demand for greater justice and fairness in the system of international relations. (p. 22).

3.7. It is necessary to say that prices are one of the main instruments in the international sharing out of profits. (p. 26). It would be worth observing that, given the ineffectiveness of so-called financial transfers, oil prices have turned out to be the most efficient means of

transfer, although this concerns only one group of developing countries.

4.1. When discussing population problems (p. 28) there is need to identify every aspect of the dependence between population growth and socio-economic progress.

4.1. The role of the national state requires a fuller evaluation, for otherwise the relevant propositions of the Report would run counter to the key ideas of the new international order. It appears to be wrong to extrapolate from the state-sovereignty arguments used in Western Europe to the rest of the world. The national state is -- and is likely to remain for a long time -- the key institutional instrument of the developing nations in protecting their external economic interests.

4.1. Among the hallmarks of the new international order (efficiency, participation and membership, and political feasibility) the principles of participation are not spelled out. How are the individual countries, regions and socio-economic systems to be represented? On representation will also largely depend the political feasibility of the aims set by the new order. That is why the point should be elaborated.

An organizational structure based on compromise is also suggested, but then follows a description of the institutions only in the Western world and its economic mechanism, without any mention of socialist institutions. It is suggested that a "supranational power" should be equipped with economic instruments taken from a "fragmented" world, but only from one of the two socio-economic systems.

4.2. There is need to say that any new approaches in the sphere of the world monetary system should be geared to the overall goals of the international strategy.

4.4. The problems of trade are to be tackled through co-ordination of market regulation and research, that is, indirect regulation. Mention should be made when dealing with the future about the possibility of applying more effective measures, namely, joint production, joint plans (programmes) for production, and so on, that is, measures of direct regulation, whose potentialities are, in particular, revealed by the Comprehensive Programme of the COMECON countries' socialist economic integration. The use of this experience could be beneficial even on a broader scale and naturally with an eye to the specifics of the participants, the nature of the agreements, etc. We think that in the interests of the new economic order an effort should be made to deepen and improve the forms and methods of direct production, scientific and technical cooperation between countries.

5. Consideration of the changes in the structure of international "power" seems to apply only to particular problems. There should apparently be an additional proposition concerning the pooling of the efforts of individual countries and international agencies for the purpose of reducing the socio-economic inequality in the world, reducing the unfavourable effect on the less developed countries of the existing division of labour in the world economy, and bridging the economic and technical gap between the "centres" and the "periphery". Unless action is taken in this direction it will hardly be possible to unite all the forces in the world urging the establishment of a new order.



Box 4716  
Santa Barbara, California 93103



Pacem in Maribus

April 24, 1975.

Professor Jan Tinbergen  
Bouw Centrum  
Rotterdam, the Netherlands.

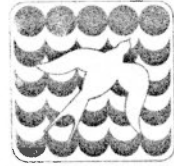
Dear Professor Tinbergen:

Our study on ocean management is going on apace. As you know, we organized here a seminar on "Oceans and World Order" -- and it was this seminar that pointed to the need for a further study: a considerable enlargement of one of the aspects we are dealing with in a more summary way in this year's study. And that is the relationship between the aims of the Six<sup>th</sup> Special Session of the General Assembly and the Charter on Economic Rights and Duties of States on the one hand, and the emerging law of the sea convention on the other.

The seminar led to the recognition that it is surprising how little connection has been established between the two: all the more so if one thinks that the oceans contain the preponderance of many world resources; that the contribution of ocean produce to the world GNP is rapidly increasing -- as demonstrated in the recently published Magnusen Report for the U.S.A. -- and that therefore no international economic order can be viable without a compatible legal regime for the oceans. The Conference on the Law of the Sea is, generally speaking, no longer considered in the broad context of the U.N. efforts to create a new international economic order -- in contradiction to the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (3202 (S-VI) IX,4) which urges that "all organizations, institutions, subsidiary bodies and conferences of the United Nations System are entrusted with the implementation of the Programme of Action."

Having lost sight of this historic context and the responsibilities arising therefrom, the Conference on the Law of the Sea has also lost sight of its own focus, that is, the building of a new, more equitable international order for the oceans. This has given rise to fragmented consideration of major and minor issues. Together with inadequate coordination between the work of

International Ocean Institute  
The Royal University of Malta • Msida, Malta



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Santa Barbara, California 93103

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Professor Jan Tinbergen

April 24, 1975.

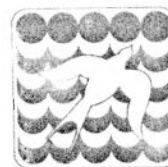
different committees and working groups, this has made it difficult for many States fully to understand the implications of prevailing conference trends on many issues connected with the building of the new international economic order, or to obtain an accurate over-all picture of proposals on major issues in their complex inter-relationship.

An independent study on the interdependence and interaction of the goals of the new international economic order, as proposed by the Sixth Special Session of the General Assembly and the Charter on Economic Rights and Duties of States, and the goals of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea could therefore do much to clarify the latter and contribute to the former. This was the unopposed conclusion of our Seminar.

The study we propose should start with a concise assessment of the economic potential of the oceans. This would be based on the reports published by the U.N. Secretariat and FAO and independent studies such as those published by the International Ocean Institute. Extrapolations, for the world as a whole, would also have to be made from forecasts for individual developed nations -- in particular, the spectacular forecasts of the Magnusen report for U.S.A. uses of ocean space and resources.

The second part would be an analysis of the Declaration and Program of Action of the Sixth Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and the Charter on Economic Rights and Duties of States in so far as they bear on the development of the Law of the Sea and on the building of ocean management institutions. It will be pointed out that direct references are meager -- in spite of the fact that there are numerous areas where parallel action should be taken and the goals of the Conference on the Law of the Sea and those of the Sixth Special Session of the General Assembly should reinforce each other. These are, inter alia:

(1) the development of landlocked states and developing island states, to which the documents of the Sixth Special Session make repeated references;



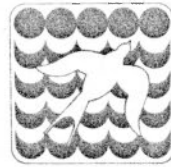
Professor Jan Tinbergen

April 24, 1975.

- (2) the study of raw materials and development;
- (3) Permanent sovereignty over natural resources; and international cooperation. In particular: efforts to ensure that competent agencies of the U.N. system meet requests for assistance from developing countries in connection with the operation of nationalized means of production;
- (4) Unexploited or underexploited resources which, put to practical use, would contribute considerably to the solution of the world food crisis;
- (5) strengthening of economic integration at the regional and subregional level;
- (6) Formulation and implementation of <sup>an</sup> international code of conduct for multinational corporations;
- (7) Transfer of technology;
- (8) Equitable participation of developing countries in the world shipping tonnage;
- (9) Definition of policy framework and coordination of the activities of all organizations, institutions and subsidiary bodies within the U.N. system, for the implementation of the Programme of Action of the <sup>New</sup> International Economic Order;
- (10) Enhancement of participation in decision-making bodies in development-financing and international monetary problems.

The Proceedings of the Law of the Sea Conference will be examined to find out what, if anything, the Conference is contributing to a solution of these issues and an advancement of these goals.

The third section of the study would examine the main trends of the Conference on the Law of the Sea and see what these, in turn, could contribute to the advancement of the new international economic order.



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Santa Barbara, California 93103

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Pacem in Maribus

Professor Jan Tinbergen

April 24, 1975.

This analysis will be based primarily on

(1) the Declaration of Principles adopted by the XXV General Assembly;

(2) the "unified Texts" issued by the Chairmen of the three Main Committees of the Conference at the end of the Third Session (May, 1975).

Other Conference documents may be used as background material.

In particular, the study should examine:

(1) the economic implications of the concept of the Common Heritage of Mankind and its evolution or involution;

(2) the impact of the Economic Zone concept on the building of a new international economic order;

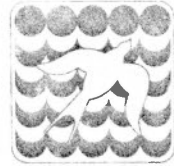
(3) the contribution of the Seabed Authority to a new economic order.

It will be pointed out that most of the debates now occupying the Conference are irrelevant to the building of the new international economic order while, on the other hand, the real economic potential of the oceans is not mobilized for the building of such an order.

In conclusion the study will examine whether an institutional framework such as proposed by our RIO study would be more suitable to promote the goals of the Six Special Session and the Charter on Economic Rights and Duties.

The study should be clearly organized and easy to read, and not longer than fifty pages plus appendices. It should reemphasize the thrust of our RIO study: that ocean ecology and economy are a vital part of world ecology and economy, and that ocean space institutions may be an essential part and model for, international institutions in general.

The study should be carried out under the auspices of the International Ocean Institute. It should be initiated immediately



Pacem in Maribus

Box 4716

Santa Barbara, California 93103

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Professor Jan Tinbergen

April 24, 1975.

upon completion of our RIO study, i.e., in June, 1975, and be completed by the end of the year, i.e., in time for presentation to the fourth session of the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea next February.

The budget would, roughly, break down as follows:

2 main researchers, six man-months each	
	U.S.\$ 30,000
Consultants	5,000
meetings, travel expenses	4,000
clerical expenses	1,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>40,000</b>
=====	

I am looking forward to have your reactions and to discuss this matter further when we meet in June.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

Elisabeth Mann Borgese.



## the club of rome

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State Committee of USSR Council of  
Ministers for Science and Technology,  
attn. Mr. Oleg Bogomolov  
      Mr. Eugenij Fedorov  
      Mr. Jermen Gvishiani  
      Mr. Alexei Pokrovsky  
11, Gorky Street,  
Moscow  
U.S.S.R.

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project "reviewing the  
international order" (rio)

co-ordinator: j. tinbergen  
director: j. van ettinger

RIO Xb-57

Rotterdam, 3rd February 1975

Dear Colleagues,

The letter of January 3 you jointly addressed to me, only reached me on January 23 and I apologize for this late answer. You will understand my disappointment about your decision, but I have understanding for your position.

It is a misunderstanding, however, to think that the organizational framework had been decided upon beforehand. All the suggestions made about it in Document RIO 6 were open for discussion on our first meeting, as was stated in the documents sent to you.

There is another way in which you might wish to have an impact on the report, however. With several other institutions and individual scholars we have arranged for a regular exchange of ideas, by sending to them our texts and asking for their comments. We will send you our future texts - without any obligation on your side - and we shall welcome your comments, if you wish to make any. If you prefer not to receive them, please notify Mr. Van Ettinger.

I hope you permit me to observe that to me it seems that to reject in advance any supranational approach might well exclude the only way in which some of the problems facing mankind can be solved at all. But even this point of view can be mentioned in our report. I think, moreover, that the Warsaw Pact constitutes an example of a supranational approach.

Hoping to have the advantage, in the future, of comments from one or more among you, I am,

yours sincerely,

J. Tinbergen



January 3, 1975

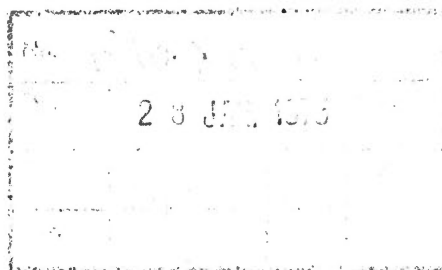
Dear Professor Tinbergen,

This is first of all to thank you for your kind invitation to us, a group of Soviet scientists, to take part in the work on the project "Renewing the International Order" and for the interesting materials on RIO forwarded to us by you and Mr. van Ettinger on your behalf.

We should also like to apologise for this belated answer but you will no doubt understand that taking into account our various duties and obligations, business missions abroad, which do not coincide in time, it has taken some time to arrange to get together to discuss your invitation and to exchange our opinions concerning the Project.

On giving all-round and detailed consideration to the project we came to the conclusion that we could not possibly participate in it in its present form and organization. It does not mean, however that our contribution, and that of other Soviet scientists, to working out the problems in question is impossible. On the contrary, the scientific works of Soviet scholars, as well as the positions of official representatives of our country, in fact, the whole well known practice of the Soviet State in the field of international economic relations show the great attention to these problems and testi-

Professor Jan Tinbergen  
Erasmus University  
Rotterdam, Netherlands



fy to the desire to help establish an equitable world economic order, solve the outstanding international problems and assist the developing countries in achieving full political and economic, as well as scientific and technological independence and ensuring their progress in all the fields of human endeavour.

So we could have taken part in the work on the Project, but we can not agree either with the overall organizational framework of elaborating RIO, or with some of the basic ideas of the contemplated draft-decisions underlying the Project. Suffice it to say that as a matter of fact we have been invited to produce, so to say, a number of component parts of a certain whole, which had been already designed without our direct or indirect participation. Nor can we endorse the supranational approach to solving the major problems of the humanity.

If these suggestions were to be understood correctly and we were to participate in working on a project like RIO from the very beginning with due reason to anticipate that our ideas and proposals are to be taken into account, we would be ready to return to your invitation once more.

With respect

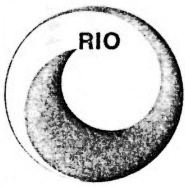
Oleg Bogomolov

Eugenij Fedorov

Jermen Gvishiani

Alexei Pokrovsky

State Committee of USSR Council  
of Ministers for Science and Technology  
11, Forky Street  
Moscow  
USSR



jan tinbergen  
honorary president

stichting

## Reshaping the International Order (RIO)

H.E. Dr. Jorge Castaneda  
Minister of External Relations  
Flores Magon 1  
Mexico 3 D.F.  
Mexico

Xb0-087

rotterdam , 10 March 1980.

Dear Dr. Castaneda,

Further to my letter of 15 February last, I now have the pleasure to send you enclosed two copies of our recent Progress Report.

This Progress Report reviews past (1978-1979) and ongoing (1980-1981) activities and lists publications to date. It also gives information on funding which, up till February 1980, was received from 7 industrialized as well as Third World countries and from 3 international organizations.

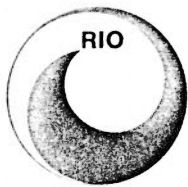
Your support would constitute a part of the total amount of US \$250,000 in contributions we still need untill the end of 1981. This amount is primarily sought from Third World countries; industrialized countries primarily support us on a project basis, which constitutes 75% of our total funding.

Yours sincerely,

Jan Tinbergen.

c.c. Dr. Victor L. Urquidi

JE



jan tinbergen  
honorary president

stichting

# Reshaping the International Order (RIO)

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

Xb0-082

rotterdam, 10 March 1980.

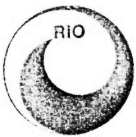
Dear Mr. McNamara,

After having read the report of the 'Independent Commission on International Development Issues' under the chairmanship of Mr. Willy Brandt, I want to congratulate you for having first advanced the suggestion of creating such a Commission.

I was particularly happy to read, that the recommendations of the Commission include a doubling of the borrowing-to-capital ratio of the World Bank, the creation of a number of global institutions, and the introduction of automatic revenue transfers through international taxation. Personally, I hope that the World Bank could be transformed into the envisaged World Development Fund rather than that a new international financial institution would be created.

At the time that such proposals were advocated in the RIO Report, which was published in October 1976, they were turned down as being utopian if not naive. I sincerely hope they will now be accepted as being realistic, thanks to the balanced composition of the Commission and the political weight of its individual members. It goes without saying that we will gladly contribute to the wide dissemination and serious consideration of the Commission's recommendations.

After publication of the RIO Report, our activities to advance the cause of a more equitable international order have been continued through the RIO Foundation. I take great pleasure in sending you enclosed a copy of our recent Progress Report, which reviews past (1978-1979) and ongoing (1980-1981) activities and lists publications to date. By the end of 1981, our first five-yearly period will be over and the performance of and future need for our Foundation will be evaluated.



Up till February 1980, financial support was received from 7 industrialized as well as Third World countries and from 3 international organizations. Presently, efforts are being made to secure the funding of our activities up till the end of 1981. In this respect, I wonder whether the World Bank could consider supporting our overall programme of activities in 1980 and 1981 with an annual contribution of, say, \$25,000.

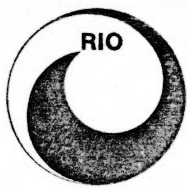
Your support would form a part of the total amount of \$250,000 in contributions we still need until the end of 1981. The rest of this amount is primarily sought from Third World countries; industrialized countries primarily support us on a project basis, which constitutes 75% of our total funding.

Our director, Mr. Jan van Ettinger, will visit the USA in the period 12-19 March next and will then contact Mr. William Clark and his successor on this matter. Your personal support in this will be highly appreciated by me.

Yours sincerely,

Jan Tinbergen.

cc. Mr. William Clark  
Mr. Munir Benjenk



jan tinbergen  
honorary president

stichting

## Reshaping the International Order (RIO)

H.E. Dr. Jorge Castaneda  
Minister of External Relations  
Flores Magon 1  
Mexico 3 D.F.  
Mexico

Xb0-049

rotterdam, 15 February 1980.

Dear Dr. Castaneda,

I was delighted to hear from Dr. Victor L. Urquidi that the Mexican Government may well consider extending its financial support to the RIO Foundation for some years. Delighted especially in view of the prominent role Mexico is playing - through the Treaty of Tlatelolco, the Law of the Sea Conference, the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States and, most recently, the World Energy Plan of President Lopez Portillo - in the protracted struggle for a more equitable and peaceful world.

However, the present international political climate tends to paralyze rather than to activate the intergovernmental system in its urgent task of bringing such an order about. The foundations for a truly new international order must surely be laid during the 1980s at the latest. It is precisely because of this situation that extragovernmental organizations, such as our Foundation, should be enabled to step up their efforts aimed at increasing our understanding of the various problem areas related to a new international order in their mutual relationships and of translating this increased understanding into conceptually relevant and politically feasible action.

Presently, our Director and his staff are working on a review of the origins and of the past, present and future activities of our Foundation. As soon this review is finished, which we expect to be so before the end of this month, you will be sent some copies of it. I trust that this review will bring you fully up to date on our activities and that you will accept that I have now limited myself to putting them in a certain perspective.

Thanking you in anticipation of your cooperation, with due respects,

Yours sincerely,

Jan Tinbergen

c.c. Dr. Victor L. Urquidi

p.o. box 299 3000 ag rotterdam the netherlands telephone (010) 11 61 81 telex 22530 bouwc nl