BOOK REVIEW:

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER CONFRONTATION OR COOPERATION BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH?

Karl P. Saunvant and Hajo Hasenpflug. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1977. Pp. xv. 470. Index \$27.50

This book has to be read by everyone interested in the current economic and social issues confronting the international community and the efforts undertaken during recent times to discuss these issues and to resolve them. The analytical perspective presented here is an attempt at an objective assessment of the world socio-economic situation and an integration of all the varied factors which brought about the crisis of confrontation between North and South or, another way of looking at it — the catalyst in the cooperation between developed and developing countries. Historical factors such as colonial trade practices designed to keep the economics of certain colonies along "specialized" lines of producing and exporting a set of agricultural and mineral products and other raw materials and at the same time as recipient markets for finished products of the developed countries, created patterns of dependence which even after the granting of political independence to these countries, became persistent moulds of development in the Third World. It was falsely assumed, during the 1950's and 60's that the problems of the developing countries primarily stemmed from their colonial status and that once political independence was achieved, their equal status in the community would necessarily follow. By the beginning of the 70's, the falseness of this assumption had become obvious. As the population of these countries increased tremendously - in wide disproportion of their productivity, the crisis of underdevelopment reached an alarming stage which could no longer be ignored by the international community. Hence, the developing countries, as organised in the Group of 77 and NAC united to forge a common effort at confronting the problem of underdevelopment in the international level. launching the discussions that aim at the establishment of the New International Economic Order (NIEO) in 1974. As early as the previous decade however, the developing countries had hoped for the attainment of the objectives of the First U.N. Development Decade designed to improve the socio-economic conditions in the Third World, but with apparent frustrations. The alternative now was to

re-examine the same situation but to find a new approach and strategy.

In the Seventh Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly, this new approach is given impetus by a re-appraisal of the current Third World situation (pp. 20-35). The new International Economic Order (NIEO) has for its objective the "increase in the productive capacity of developing countries, individually and collectively, to pursue their development." A set of concrete measures are propounded inter alia: (1) to expand and diversify the international trade of developing countries (DCs); (2) to transfer financing resources to DCs to make feasible the implementation of their longterm development programmes; (3) to develop science, technology and research in DCs; (4) to launch a rigorous programme of industrialization; (5) to achieve self-sufficiency in food and agriculture; (6) to forge cooperation among DCs in the regional, subregional and interregional levels; and (7) to restructure the U.N. system to make it more responsive to the DCs problems of development and cooperation.

The foregoing measures are further explained and expanded by UNCTAD's review of the elements of the NIEO (pp. 39-62). Not mentioned in the above enumeration and found in UNCTAD review are: production cartels (along OPEC lines); indexation of raw materials prices with those of imported finished products; preferential tariff agreements; permanent sovereignty of host countries over natural resources, particularly non-renewable ones; introducing some mechanisms in the developing countries to accommodate Third World finished products; and the transfer of technology. Hans Frederichs, the former Minister of Economics of FRG, gives a synthesis of these Third World demands in "Basic Problems of the World Economy" (pp. 85-96), at the same time discussing the position of the developed countries, particularly that of the Federal Republic of Germany. He observes that the North views the NIEO with "major reservations" arguing that meeting the demands of the South would "imply a dismantling of the market-based international economic system and its replacement by a largely dirigistic structure" (at p. 87) adversely affecting the poorest developing country, notably those without much raw materials and countries with "extensive foreign economic involvement such as the FRG". What he exactly means by this phrase and pointing to the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. as benefactors with large reserves of natural resources and less integration with the world economy than the FRG is quite unclear. He is however unequivocally clear in espousing the principle of comparative advantage to govern "more than ever" the economic

relations between North and South. He suggests to the developed countries to pursue more sophisticated means of manufacture to maximize use of scarce resources; to reject the notion of "ex ante policies to steer industrial structures on a sectoral basis by means of administrative measures" (at p. 94) and instead to follow structural adjustments within the market at the same time supporting industrialization in the developing countries through government incentives and foreign investments which should be governed by traditional international law and not by national laws which could be altered. This position exemplifies attitude of the North towards the NIEO. A discussion of the positions, notably that of the U.S. and other developed countries could be found in Ries' article of what he calls the "sceptics' view" (pp. 63-84). He recalls Moynihan's argument that the poverty in the Third World was caused largely by international factors (e.g., government corruption, inefficiency and mismanagement) which I think is factually true, but which may not necessarily explain the much more complex problem of poverty in the Third World. I suppose it is highly questionable to attribute, whether explicitly or by implication, the poverty in the South to the affluence in the North. Such would be a very simplistic equation. The need is nevertheless obvious to eliminate government corruption in the Third World and to re-structure their own societies to reduce gross internal inequities. The North is quite correct in pointing to fascist regimes in the Third World which so eloquently talk of equality and justice but are the main deprivers of their own peoples' basic human rights. Another argument of the North which justifies its affluence is what Stanley attributes to "...a great deal to the development of the concepts of law and equity which guide its political and social systems" (at p. 69). The attitude of the North is not totally critical however. A major shift to a conciliatory and cooperative mood is made apparent in the 7th Special Session and so was the offensive stance of the South geared to moderation and pragmatism (pp. 97-117). It has become imperative from the point of view of the Third World that the NIEO should proceed on the basis of an acceptance by the North that it should be integrated in the world economy and increase its share of the world product. Hasenflug observes that due to the failure of the "traditional aid-by-trade concept" (pp. 121-134) the step should be towards expanding the developing countries international trade. He points to the pathetic situation where the "... overwhelming majority of the developing countries remains confronted with problems related to decreasing shares in world trade and deteriorating terms of trade" (at p. 121). Outside the OPEC for example, the DCs are suffering from vast deficits and balanceof-trade problems. Indexation which is discussed lengthily in UNCTAD'S report (pp. 134-154) may be one concrete measure to approach the problem. Another would be administered commodity markets (see article pp. 155-164) to inject stability in prices. It could take the forms of stock-piling or creating reserves, production controls, national marketing bounds or long-term supply contracts. The general system of preference as a response by the North on the issue of trade appears to be perfunctory if not ineffective, which is reviewed by Dinman and Murray (pp. 190-209). Of course, perhaps the most important measure would be making available adequate and real financing to the developmental programmes of the Third World to assure and sustain their implementation. The different means proposed to do this are discussed variedly in this book by several articles (see UNCTAD's documents pp. 213-229; article by Mahbub ul Haq pp. 248-257; and another by the Group of Twenty-Four pp. 258-262). Ultimately however, it is technology or productive capacity which should resolve substantively the South's economic problems. Excellent articles on transfer of technology to the South and questions of industrialization in developing countries are found in this book.

An indispensable article would be "Controlling Transnational Enterprises" by Karl P. Sauvant (pp. 356-433) without which the NIEO could not be placed in the right perspective. Here is an appraisal of the TNC phenomenon wherein the author points out unequivocally the need for control, disclosure and transparence of TNC activity and elaborate on the current international, regional and national approaches to the TNC problem, including the activity of the U.N. Centre on Transnational Corporations towards the development of a comprehensive information system and a code of conduct for TNCs.

The book in some ways is an "exhausting" reading in that too many topics are discussed with overriding details, complete with charts and statistics. To an extent, this may be a subjective feeling. An explanation, perhaps would be that it has attempted to cover the whole range of the NIEO in a single volume: its conceptual and historical backgrounds, its contemporary meaning, modification and all activities revolving it, and by way of implication—its immediate future and significance. It is a difficult and gigantic task by the way and I think the book has marvelously achieved it.

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