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**SECURITY, POPULATION AND
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by

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SECURITY, POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT¹

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Dramatic developments in the Soviet Union and the Communist block countries and the precipitous end of the cold war provide a historic opportunity to address the twin problems of economic development and population growth. Arms production, size of the military forces, and employment of public resources are already on the decline in industrial and Eastern block countries. In constant 1991-92 dollars, U.S. defense spending declined from \$360 billion in 1985 to \$320 billion in 1990 and is expected to drop further to \$240 billion by 1996.³ Cuts in the Eastern block countries are still larger. Economic crisis has similarly reduced arm; expenditures in Latin America and Africa (Hewitt). Conclusion of the START treaty between the U.S. and the Soviet Union and Yeltsin's recent statements about a nuclear-free world reflect the Soviet desire to focus on economic development.

End of the superpower conflict is not the only good news. Striking progress in other directions has occurred in the last four decades. Democratic movements have sprung up throughout the developing world. Economic crisis in Latin America and Africa and the collapse of communism have resulted in a major reassessment of the traditional authoritarian role of the nation state. People's power has increased vis-à-vis their governments.

The extraordinary progress of countries in East Asia has shown that rapid economic progress is possible in the third world. Moreover, despite low per capita incomes, health and educational standards have improved in many developing countries, e.g. in China and Sri Lanka, often matching the levels of life expectancy and other social indicators attained in the developed world.

Technological progress has been deployed for the benefit of human kind in various ways. For instance the Green Revolution technology has wiped out the notorious famine related deaths in the Indian subcontinent. Spread of immunization has caused a sharp drop in infant and child mortality. Satellites and fiber optic

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³ U.S. Department of Defense as quoted in The Economist August 24-30, p.24

technology have made communications instantaneous even though governments have resisted the free flow of information to their populations.

**Table 1 Average Military Spending around the World:
Adjusted SIPRI data, 1972-88**

	In percent of		
	GDP	World military expenditure	Central government expenditure
	1972-88	1972-88	1972-88
Industrial countries	3.8	52.7	14.3
Eastern Europe	9.2	25.4	20.7
Developing countries	5.9	22.0	20.0
Asian developing	6.3	8.1	27.2
Middle East	11.6	8.0	23.1
North Africa	9.6	1.8	17.1
Sub-Saharan Africa	3.7	1.5	12.8
Latin America & Caribbean	2.3	2.5	8.6
Total	4.9	100.0	16.5
Developing countries grouping			
Net creditor	9.4	SA	25.0
Heavily indebted	2.3	3.5	10.9
Small low-income	3.6	0.6	12.2

Source: Heviti, Duuel P. 'Military Expenditurec in the Dewelapinf World.' Finance A Development, Sept. 1991. p. 33

Notwithstanding these many positive development nearly 5% of the World's GNP or nearly \$1 trillion have been spent annually on military expenditures the last two decades. (See Table 1) A massive arms build-up means a constant threat of nuclear and chemical warfare and environmental damage. Industrial countries incur over half the world's arms expenditure. But Eastern block and developing countries have spent larger shares of their GNPs on arms. Developing country share of military expenditures in world military expenditure increased from 5% in the 1960s to 22% in the 1980s. Countries in Asia and the Middle East are larger spenders still, with nearly a quarter of their government expenditures going into the arms build-up.

With the pressing balance of payments and social problems developing countries face, further reallocation of expenditure from military to development activities is urgently needed. More than a billion people in the world still live on less than \$1 a day, a standard of living worse than that encountered in Western Europe and the United States two hundred years ago. They suffer from oppressive poverty: lack of adequate food, housing, water or access to primary education and health care. Levels of poverty have been on the rise in Africa and Latin America. Both these continents have experienced severe decline in the growth rates of per capita GNP in each successive decade since the 1960s. (See Table 2)

Economic reforms adopted in countries as diverse as Mexico and Ghana offer a glimmer of optimism. Yet, informed forecasts by the World Bank do not offer much hope for significant improvement in the economic prospects of developing countries in the 1990s. (See Table 3) They project continued slow growth in OECD

countries, depressed international commodity prices, continued budget deficits in the U.S., high real interest rates, slow resolution of the debt crisis, negative real transfers of capital to developing countries, and continued protectionism in industrial countries.

**Table 2 . Growth of Real GDP Per Capita,
1965-2000
(average annual percentage change)**

Group	1989 Population (millions)	1965-73	1973-80	1980-89	Projection for 1990	Pro
Industrial Countries						1
Developing Countries	773	.7	.3	.3	.8-2.5	
Sub-Saharan Africa	4053				.2-2.9	2
East Asia	1552	.9				4.2-5.3
South Asia	1131	.3	.9	.2		2.1-2.6
Europe, Middle East, and North Africa	433	.2	.7	.0		1.4-1.8
Latin America and Caribbean	421	.8	.9	.4		1.3-2.0
Developing countries weighted by population	4053	.8	.5	.4		2.7-3.2

Source: World Bank World Development Report 1991: The Challenge of Development. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press. Table 1, p3.

Table 3 The International Economic Climate in the 1990s: a Comparison of Recent and Projected Indicators (average annual percentage change).

Indicator	Recent Experience			Projections for the 1990s				WEFA 1991-95		
	1965-89	1980-89	1990	World Bank	World Bank	MF	Project		DRI Group	
				base-line 1990-2000	down-side 1990-2000	base-line 1991-96	LINK 1991-95			
High-income OECD members										
Real GDP	.1	.1	.6	.9	.2	.1	.3	.8	3.1	3.2
Inflation	.6	.8	.7	.6	.3	.4	.3	.4	3.3	4.4
Interest rate (percent)										
Nominal	.6	0.2	.4	.4	.7				7.9	8.6
Real	.1	.8	.3	.4	.3	.9	.3	.7	4.9	4.3
World Trade	.1	.1	.0	.8	.5			.0	4.9	4.3
Real price of oil	.3	10.1	2.2	0.6	.9	13.0		.6	2.0	0.8

Source: World Bank. World Development Report 1991: The Challenge of Development. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press. Table 1.4, p.27.

Growth has been more robust in South Asia and China relative to Latin America or Africa, but together South Asia and China include well over half a billion poor. By the year 2000, the number of poor (365 million) in South Asia is expected to drop, but will still comprise the largest single block of poor in world. The number of poor in Africa while smaller (165 million in 1990) is expected to increase (to 265 million) due to continued slow income growth and rapid population growth (World Development Report, 1990).

Success in improving living standards in the developing world will determine the size and quality of the world's labor force in the 21st century and will depend on declines in female fertility, infant mortality, increased access to primary education, health, and village water supply for the poor. The importance of investment in human capital, and especially in women, as a determinant of the size and quality of the population is by now well recognized. Developing countries also need to resume investment in critically important physical infrastructure. Such investments are also urgently needed in Eastern block countries, but there are several reasons why the peace dividend may not materialize on the scale necessary. First, conversion of military capacity for civilian purposes may be costlier and slower than present enthusiasm warrants. Factories, equipment and people may simply be less fungible in the short and medium run than we would like, as the recent evidence from the Soviet Union indicates. Second, political reality and public opinion in the U.S. still strongly supports continued high military expenditures to preempt the possible nuclear threat from an irrational third world state, and to control the nuclear arsenal which may escape detection in the best of circumstances. According to this view, the end of the cold war and the US military victory in Iraq have unequivocally proven the need for a strong nuclear deterrent, the irrelevance of the conclusion of the START treaty and the need to push on with the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). Despite the USSR owning thousands more nuclear warheads than it did ten years ago the public in the industrial countries feels more secure than ever before because it views military security as dependent on intentions to use nuclear capability rather than on numbers of warheads. Third, industrial countries may well perceive developing countries as the only significant market for their underemployed armament industry. Fourth, regional and ethnic conflict ranging from Yugoslavia, the Middle East, South Asia to Central America may well offer a large market for the world's armament industry. The U.S. Secretary of Defense predicts, for instance, that within less than a decade fifteen more countries will acquire ballistic missiles half with nuclear warheads. The U.S. considers such nuclear proliferation to be the real danger and the justification for its own continued build-up. Certainly without rapid and more regionally balanced economic

growth, ethnic and religious strife will continue to fuel political instability. That, in turn, will hinder rapid and broad-based economic growth, leading to regional conflicts. This vicious cycle needs breaking.

To explore the prospects for increased security, economic development and alleviation of the population problem, the mischievous ambiguity of the word security first needs a more precise definition. Second, the objectives and policies to achieve security and development, including the areas of consensus and debate around the goals and means need clarification. Finally, the steps necessary for the peace dividend to materialize for the purposes of economic well-being need to be identified. This paper undertakes such a difficult task.

The Concept of Security

Robert MacNamara once observed that the concept of security had become "dangerously oversimplified." There was a universal tendency to think of it exclusively as a military problem focused on weapons systems and hardware (Ghosh). Much progress has been made since MacNamara's speech to articulate security in broader terms. Economists and social scientists too have spent greater time and effort articulating the broader constituents and determinants of human welfare. The broader concept encompasses three distinct forms of security:

Economic: Fulfillment of basic human needs as reflected in reduced infant mortality, improved food energy intake, access to education, clean water, and health.

Political: Freedom of expression including of the press, civil and religious liberties including particularly the protection of the rights of minorities.

Physical: Assurance of environmental quality, ranging from nuclear and chemical disarmament, protection of biodiversity to freedom from crime and violence.

Individuals and nations value these different forms of security differently, and the very process of economic development changes the importance attached to them. For example, developing countries eager to improve their economic living standards give less importance to the protection of the environment than do industrialized nations. But this situation too has changed radically since the publication of the influential Brundtland report (World Commission on Environment and Development). Furthermore, the direction of causality between different forms of security is not always clear. Contemporary thinking in industrial countries spurns rapid economic growth if it is seen to come at the cost of environmental security. However, much of local environmental degradation (to distinguish it from the adverse global environmental effects of industrialization or militarization) is often the direct result of poverty and the associated demands on natural resources. Rapid

population growth results in reduced fallow, deforestation and soil degradation by bringing marginal lands under cultivation. Low input-low output production systems followed by traditional societies are now being revived by the environmentally conscious. The jury is still out on their physical or economic sustainability under conditions of rapid population growth and poverty.

The contrasting examples of the EC and the Eastern block countries show that sacrifice of economic growth may not always be associated with a healthy environment, especially where absence of political freedom limits organization and activity on the part of the potential victims of environmental damage, as highlighted by Chernobyl. It can only be asserted that democracy offers the best hope of reducing adverse environmental consequences of rapid economic growth and high living standards, and that economic growth enables countries to afford the cost of the cleanup and protection which failure in economic development cannot. Given the global effects of many forms of environmental damage, industrial countries will have to bear the burden of damage control, unless economic growth accelerates in the rest of the world.

Problems of measurement also abound in attempts to reflect overall well-being. For example, how to measure and value the environmental degradation and other associated depletion of natural resources occurring in the course of rapid economic growth?

Poor knowledge of the interaction between different forms of security extends to the relationship of political freedom to the process of economic development. China's radical political revolution was more successful than India's democratic means in abolishing chronic poverty, through a single massive redistribution of assets. But, India's freer press has been more successful in abolishing frequent famine-related deaths (Dreze and Sen). The recent dramatic collapse of socialistic states has understandably enshrined the importance of democratic values. But broad-based distribution of assets so crucial for the ability of any nation's population to exercise continued political, economic, or religious freedom is being overlooked. The U.S. occupation of Japan played a crucial role in accelerating the process of land reform there and Japan's occupation of Taiwan achieved the same in the latter.

Without an equitable asset distribution, very rapid economic growth is needed over a sustained period to expand employment, and ensure economic security of the poor. But it is still not clear how effective are "politically responsive" governments in undertaking the reforms necessary on a sustained basis to achieve rapid growth, if the reforms affect powerful vested interests. Experience of the structural adjustment decade is far too short and far too undocumented to offer guidance on this important issue. Some have argued that the successful

East Asian countries have all had authoritarian governments and a relatively equal distribution of assets. Recent evidence, however, suggests that political and civil rights may not come in the way of economic growth (Grier and Tullock) and still other evidence indicated a strong positive relationship between rights and per capita real income level and its growth, as well as improvements in social indicators (Dasgupta and Weal 1990). While there are continued problems of valuation, causality and interactions among different forms of security, the importance of attaining them all is widely shared. Our focus should then be on how and why to increase the state of security for those currently insecure.

Continuing Threats to Security in All Its Forms

It hardly needs stressing that increasing integration of the world makes ensuring the security of a few difficult while a vast majority remain insecure. The globalization of the AIDs epidemic, the Chernobyl incident, the growth of drug trade, the Iraq war, and the BCCI debacle illustrate the global health, environmental, and financial consequences of local and regional mismanagement.

With growing population pressure and sharply widened income disparities between industrialized and developing nations, migration of populations to the industrial world is already significant. Although unlike in the 19th century it is not a significant option for the vast majority of populations living in the developing world, prospects of mass international migration create a fear of economic insecurity in the first world and with justification. Recent censuses in the industrial countries already show their increased ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity caused by rapid migration. Moreover, continued political instability and economic insecurity in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and the third world threatens to increase international migration.

Typically, it is the skilled and the well-off that tend to migrate, regardless of whether migration is internal to the developing countries, or external to industrial countries. Migration has alleviated emerging labor shortages in the first world, and remittances of emigrants have helped labor-exporting countries to offset some of the severe adverse effects of skill loss and technological stagnation (illustrated in Table 4). Remittances have helped alleviate the balance of payments difficulties of developing countries. But it is only the improved economic and political prospects which will abate international migration **of the** skilled and help developing countries to catch up with the industrial world.

Population pressure and economic insecurity are, however, not the only areas in which disarmament and development intersect. According to Amnesty International, tens of thousands of people are killed every year

Table 4. The Growth of GDP, Inputs, and Total Factor Productivity (TFP) (percent).

Region Group or economy	GDP			Capital			Labor			TFP		
	1960-73	1973-87	1960-87	1960-73	1973-87	1960-87	1960-73	1973-87	1960-87	1960-73	1973-87	1960-87
Developing economies												
Africa	4.0	2.6	3.3	6.3	6.3	6.3	2.1	2.3	2.2	0.7	-0.7	0.0
East Asia	7.5	6.5	6.8	9.8	10.7	10.2	2.8	2.6	2.6	2.6	1.3	1.9
Europe, Mid												
East, North												
Afr. 5.8	4.2	5.0	7.7	7.5	7.6	1.4	1.9	1.7	2.2	0.6	1.4	
Latin												
America	5.1	2.3	3.6	7.4	5.6	6.3	2.5	2.8	2.6	1.3	-1.1	0.0
South Asia	3.8	5.0	4.4	8.0	7.2	7.7	1.8	2.3	2.1	0.0	1.2	0.6
Sixties-eight economies	5.1	3.5	4.2	7.4	7.1	7.2	1.2	2.4	2.3	1.3	-0.2	0.6
Industrial economies												
France	5.5	2.1	3.9	5.7	3.8	4.8	0.4	-1.0	-0.2	2.3	0.9	1.7
Germany	4.3	1.8	3.1	5.3	3.0	4.2	-0.3	-0.9	-0.6	1.9	0.9	1.4

Source: World Bank. World Development Report 1991: The Challenge of Development. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press. Table 2.2, p.43

throughout the world, including a large number by their own governments (Amnesty International). The killed are the victims of human rights violations. Viewed as opponents of the governments of the day, they are targeted for their religious or political beliefs, ethnic origin and linguistic differences. Military expenditures of many developing countries are directed internally rather than towards any realistic external enemy (MacNamara, Finance & Development p.25). An estimated 10 million people are classified as refugees annually. Superpower interests and hegemonic aspirations of regional powers have reinforced the flow of refugees stretching from Angola to Honduras and Afghanistan to Sri Lanka.

Internal social and political instability has resulted in increased incidence of violent crime in developing countries as the supply of war and drug related arms has become rampant through civic society in countries as different as Pakistan, Kenya, Cote d'Ivoire and of course in countries of Central America. It is hoped that the type of cooperation the U.S. and the Soviet Union are developing in bringing about a Middle East peace conference will be extended to regional conflicts in other parts of the world. Furthermore, it is hoped that they will obtain the legitimacy and co-operation of the regional powers and involve the United Nations and other industrial countries to achieve a political and moral consensus as occurred temporarily in the case of Iraq. The Iraq war, however, involved important economic interests of a large part of the world dependent on oil. Many

other regional conflicts do not involve such valuable minerals. They simply entail the historical grievances of warring parties without much geoeconomic or geopolitical significance. Can international or regional consensus **be brought to bear** on such conflicts? The arms expenditures of developing countries must **be** viewed in such a broader context of regional conflicts in the face of pressing needs for investment and social expenditures, and **of** the macroeconomic problems.

To solve these interacting problems, a strong consensus is needed on their diagnosis and solutions with willingness to address the problem at several levels. This audience is more familiar than I with the problems related to nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation created by the lack of a consensus. Large differences of view also exist in the case of other important global issues, differences which are currently being masked by the dramatic developments in the Soviet Union.

Genesis and resolution of the debt crisis amounting to \$1.3 trillion in 1990 is a case in point (Sachs). Industrial creditor nations blame the policy mistakes of debtor countries, such as misallocation of capital, the ***growth of** inefficient public enterprises and price distortions that discriminate against exports. Creditors argue that debtor governments must honor their debts so as not to threaten the international financial system and to continue to maintain credit worthiness. It hardly needs stressing that collapse of the Soviet empire has lent added credibility and strength to the arguments of the industrial countries.

Debtors, on the other hand, have argued that the crisis in the 1980s arose due to the rise in the international price of oil, increase in interest rates, the fall in the commodity prices and the collapse of the world trading system. Debtors are skeptical about the extent to which free market remedies promoted as part of adjustment will solve their problem of resuming growth. They call for additional investment and the opening of markets for their primary products in industrial countries. They also argue that some amount of debt forgiveness is essential in order to permit increased investment in the debtor countries. Finally, they express the fear that increased promotion of exports by all developing countries simultaneously would reinforce the already entrenched protectionist tendencies in the creditor countries, reducing terms of trade for their products further. Some steps have of course been taken to redress the debt problem (including a shift from debt rescheduling to the reduction of debt and debt service, debt buybacks, reduced interest rates and rescheduling of the official debt). But according to the World Bank the debt problem will continue to dampen prospects for most of the

46 severely indebted countries (World Development Report 1991). Progress on trade and aid has also been slow and not all effects of pumping rapid structural adjustment loans may be positive.

The truth of the evidence on the genesis of the debt crisis and steps taken to alleviate it of course lies somewhere in the middle. In recently completed studies of development strategy and aid effectiveness spanning three continents over the post-World War n period, my colleagues and I have documented the onus of local and global responsibility for the economic crisis in the third world. The studies show that export pessimism did not simply afflict developing countries. It importantly determined the policy advice and allocation of development assistance given by all major bilateral and multilateral financial institutions in the 1960s and 70s. Through the prestige that their advice and assistance lent to the import substituting strategies, aid agencies underwrote the twin strategies of import substitution and poverty alleviation pursued by developing countries throughout the 60s and 70s (Lele, Lele and Nabi). Military/strategic interests of the two superpowers and popular public opinion in the industrial countries played an important role in the level and nature of official development assistance and commercial credit different developing countries received. Soviet actions in Cuba, Vietnam, the Middle East and Afghanistan resulted in greater U.S. largesse to developing countries since the mid 1960s than the original intentions of promotion of democratic values and poverty alleviation. Those original intentions had resulted in large amounts of effective long-term U.S. development assistance to India prior to 1965 as a way of containing Chinese communism. That development assistance made the Indian Green Revolution possible, eliminating famine-related hunger from the Indian subcontinent. Since the Vietnam war, however, strategic considerations shifted. U.S. assistance was focused on the areas of military conflicts with the Soviet Union, e.g. Egypt, Israel, Pakistan and the Philippines. The "security" content of assistance also increased at the cost of developmental needs. Rapidly changing strategic interests of the two superpowers caused instability and unpredictability of external capital. Unpredictability of aid flows made planning its uses for the much needed long-term investment in human and physical capital difficult for recipients. Whereas capacity to repay debt did not increase, debt repayment obligations ballooned.

Commercial banks behaved differently but not always more effectively than official development assistance agencies from the viewpoint of economic development. Lending pressures undermined the interests of both the stockholders and the borrowing countries.

On the part of the developing countries, their inadequate know-how in economic development policy together with learning the wrong lessons from economic history of the industrialized world led them to:

1. rely excessively on external policy advice and external finance for internal economic development;
2. overlook the importance of fluctuating primary commodity prices for their likely continued ability to service large external debt;
3. anticipate the likely gross misallocation of external capital in situations of little absorptive capacity, and
4. allow vested interests to grow both of the rent-seeking elite and the urban laboring classes.

These same vested interests have tended to scuttle the much needed policy reform in most developing countries. International agencies, e.g. Brettonwoods Institutions, established originally to solve precisely these types of problems have been reactive rather than proactive in addressing many crucial international economic issues.

No less an individual than MacNamara has recently observed that:

"...general balance of payments or budgetary financing from abroad enables a government to spend more on the military than would other-wise be possible. It is therefore bad economics and bad policy on the part of the donor nations and international financial institutions to continue to behave as if the funding of stabilization, adjustment and development programs can be separated from the financing of military expenditures." (MacNamara, Finance & Development, p. 27)

Similar external expression of concern about the extent to which balance of payments support is alleviating poverty has led international financing agencies to rethink their approaches to poverty alleviation, e.g. whether the mix of general purpose balance of payments and project or sector level assistance is satisfactory. Thus many well-intentioned actions of international financing institutions have had inadvertent consequences that they have been too slow to recognize and too reticent to correct.

The often-used description of GATT (the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs), an influential agency that once helped achieve a major reduction in the world trade barriers, as the General Agreement to "Talk and Talk", captures another part of the problem international agencies face. Industrial countries have been reluctant to reduce their own protective barriers towards agriculture.

The UN agencies have similarly been reactive in many territorial disputes, thereby de facto delegating the power to police the world to a handful of industrial nations. Given the inequality in economic power, and its further recent reinforcement through developments in the Soviet Union, such imbalance seems inevitable. Only the powerful industrial countries can take the necessary corrective actions to restore the leadership of the various international agencies to perform the numerous global conflict resolution functions that only they can perform effectively.

Steps Towards Enhancing World Security

First, the experience of the so-called "East Asian tigers", China and South Asia, show that regardless of the size of the economies it is possible to pursue economic policies that will allow growth to occur while improving the lot of the poor.

Second, responsible macroeconomic management is essential in developing countries in which decisions to manage the balance of payments and the government budget must be guided by know-how of the complex and rapidly changing international forces.

Third, public investment in infrastructure is as important to rapid export-oriented growth as macroeconomic policies.

Fourth, investment in human capital through public expenditures on health, education, access to water supply, etc., are as important as macroeconomic policy to achieve equitable growth, reduce the size of the population and increase its quality.

Fifth, public investment requires reduction of the large debt burden.

Sixth, both debtor and creditors must share in the responsibility for the debt burden.

Seventh, an open trade regime and not simply the general economic growth in industrial countries is critical for developing countries to expand their exports.

Eighth, restoration of external aid to countries pursuing economic development and democratic values (as observed in the immediate post-World War II period by the U.S.) is both necessary and appropriate in the changed world.

Ninth, a system of collective security, a guarantee by the Security Council, the United Nations, and the various regional organizations of the territorial integrity and internal political security of member states would go a long way in reducing regional conflicts and releasing resources from arms to development.

Finally, and not the least important, active diplomacy on the economic front to address the complex and interrelated problems of disarmament, trade, aid, economic policy reform and the environment needs strong international organizations with considerable leadership.

With these steps, disarmament and economic development can be a reality for a smaller and more secure world population.

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