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**State of the World's Children 1989; Today's Children - tomorrow's world
 (Proposal for a World Summit for Children)**

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<i>Primary Contact</i>	Rijuta Tooker (Temp Assist)
<i>Owner Location</i>	Special Session & Global Movement For Chil =
<i>Home Location</i>	Special Session & Global Movement For Chil =
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THE STATE OF THE WORLD'S CHILDREN 1989

dunes of often naïve assumptions about the nature of the process. Today, development stands on firmer ground. And it is this base of hard-won knowledge and technique, strategies and guiding principles, which brings significant real development achievements within reach over the decade ahead.

What the priorities should be, within the range of what is now achievable, is a matter for the governments of developing nations. They and their regional organizations will set their own goals according to their own lights. Ultimately, if development is to be an enabling process, people

themselves will decide on, and work towards, the fulfilment of their own priorities. This report has so far attempted to illustrate the considerable progress which *could* be achieved, over the next ten years, by means of a *real development pact* between the industrialized and developing nations.

Of particular concern to UNICEF, in this context, is the extraordinary progress which is now possible in the field of maternal and child health in the 1990s. And it is to this specific issue that the concluding chapter of this report now turns.

Today's children – tomorrow's world

In late September 1988, World Bank President Barber Conable concluded his address to the governors of the World Bank group with these words:

"The stubborn fact of the Eighties is that growth has been inadequate, poverty is still on the rise and the environment is poorly protected. Unchanged, these realities would deny our children a peaceful, decent and livable world."

"We cannot afford to give up. We must build, instead, on what has been achieved and what has been learned over four decades of development experience."

For children in particular, those decades of development experience, and particularly the experiences of the 1980s, have demonstrated that progress in the 1990s could be truly dramatic. Because of this, it is time to assert the fundamental importance – for real development – of doing what can now be done to improve the lives and the development of the rising generation.

At this moment, many millions of children are growing up in circumstances which mean that

they will never fulfil the mental and physical potential with which they were born. And that is a human tragedy which contains within itself the seeds of its own renewal. Those children will not be able to derive maximum benefit from the educational opportunities available, and their abilities to work productively and to be rewarded accordingly will be similarly restricted. They are therefore likely to be less able to protect the health and normal growth of generations yet unborn.

Breaking this self-perpetuating cycle is central to the development process. Without it, all other investments in water supply or food production, education or basic community services will be less effective simply because a significant proportion of people will not be able to contribute fully to them or benefit fully from them. In the context of all other progress, there is therefore a special need to protect *the mental and physical growth of all young children*. The real possibility of largely achieving this great goal, over the next ten years, is a subject worthy of the notice of the political leaders of all nations. And there are now signs that high-level political attention is beginning to turn in this direction.

In the final communiqué of the May 1988 Moscow Summit, General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan "offered their support for the WHO/UNICEF goal of reducing the scale of preventable childhood deaths through the most effective methods of saving children" and urged "other countries and the international community to intensify efforts to achieve this goal". Similarly, the heads of State of most nations in Africa, Asia and Latin America have, in the last five years, expressed a new commitment to making the breakthrough in the health and development of the world's children (panel 5).

The time may therefore be right to consider a meeting of heads of State – or perhaps a Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly such as was held to consider the crisis in Africa – in order to discuss and prepare for action on the great opportunities now available for protecting today's children – and tomorrow's world.

In addition to its specific agenda, such a meeting might also help to bring the subject of *children* to the centre of political and economic concern. In how we bring up our children are sown the seeds of peace and prosperity or of violence and degradation. And it is time that this obvious premise was acted upon more consistently in both industrialized and developing worlds.* It is time, also, to begin attending to the needs and rights of children not as a mere by-product of progress but as an end and a means of progress itself. The true test of a civilization is how well it protects its vulnerable and how well it safeguards its future: children are both its vulnerable and its future. Investing in their development

* It is also clear, at this time, that a new concern for children is arising in the industrialized world. In the United States today, for example, there is an increasing awareness that 20% of the nation's children live below the official poverty line. And in the Soviet Union, Health Minister Chazov noted at the landmark Communist Party Conference in June of 1988 that "we are proud of our health care system, but we keep silent about the fact that we are ranked 50th in the world, behind Mauritius and Barbados, in infant mortality." An international meeting to focus on children might therefore have its counterparts in individual nations, just as the *International Year of the Child* launched countless national initiatives for improving the lives of children in both developing and industrialized countries.

today – by meeting their most obvious needs and attending with all the wisdom and resources at our command to their physical, mental, and emotional development – is the only level of action which both meets pressing human needs today and leads to the pre-emption and solution of what may otherwise become the almost insoluble problems of tomorrow.

Such a *summit for children* might also help to bring political leaders together not confrontationally across the table of today's problems but cooperatively and facing in the common direction of our common future. Specifically, the overall theme of 'Today's Children – Tomorrow's World' might provide a lens to focus attention on the convergence of sectoral problems in their human impact and offer also the ten, twenty, or thirty year depth of field which the great issues of environment and poverty so insistently demand.

In the needs of children are combined all of the core issues of development. And there is no natural limit to the breadth of issues which world leaders might discuss in relation to improving the lives of children. But however deep such a conference might slice into its potential agenda, its first priority should be to address the major *specific opportunities* for bringing about the great advance which is now possible in protecting the lives and the mental and physical development of the vast majority of the world's young children.

This report therefore concludes with a summary of the specific achievements which now beckon – and which an international *summit for children* might now help to achieve.

The bubble of protection

The need for special protection for the growing minds and bodies of children under the age of five has been perceived by a great many people and organizations in recent years. Some have described it as a need for a 'protective plastic bubble' over the early years of life. Others have expressed the same thought as a need to artificially raise the socio-economic level of the very young child by focusing resources on those elements in the environment of poverty – poor

millions of children; and it could only be achieved by protecting the lives and the health of many millions of women.

Parental capacity

The second means of creating a protective dome around the early years of childhood is the enhancement of parents' capacity to cope with the threats to life and growth which come thick and fast – and in direct proportion to the poverty of the family's circumstances – when the child reaches the age of about six months and begins to come into contact with new foods and a new environment.

Today, the means are at hand to significantly enhance that protective ability. By mobilizing all means of communication and support, parents everywhere can be empowered with knowledge about the importance of breast-feeding and immunization; the special nutritional needs of the young child; the need to monitor child growth; the methods of preventing and coping with diarrhoeal disease, respiratory infections, and malaria; the facts about domestic hygiene and protection against common disease.

If parents can be empowered by these means to achieve what all parents desire – the normal healthy growth of their children – then it should be possible over the next ten years to defeat almost all of the major specific causes of frequent illness, poor mental and physical development, and early death among children under five.

It is behind this cause that a *summit meeting for children* could rally both the political will and the financial and social resources. With that support, some historic achievements are waiting to be accomplished within a very few years from now. Universal immunization could virtually eliminate deaths and poor growth caused by measles, whooping cough, and tetanus. Polio could be eradicated. Iodine deficiency disorders (including the foetal brain damage which affects tens of thousands of new-borns) and vitamin A deficiency (which blinds at least 250,000 children each year) can be overcome by salt iodation, iodinated oil injections, and vitamin A capsules administered

alongside immunization programmes in those areas of the world where they are needed.

Similarly, all parents could be informed about ORT and the ways and means of preventing and coping with the diarrhoeal diseases and respiratory infections which are major causes of death and poor development in children of all developing nations. If that knowledge were backed up by community health workers who could treat or refer the small percentage of cases which are beyond the competence of the well-informed parent, then almost all of the six million children a year who now die from those two causes could be saved.

These few common illnesses cause many more children to die every year, and many more families to go through unimaginable suffering, than all the droughts or famines or floods of the last 25 years. And they probably cause more malnutrition and poor growth than the lack of food itself. Yet no tragedy in today's world is more unnecessary. And it would surely not be allowed to continue if the world were made aware of it in the same way as we are increasingly made aware of the more unusual and more visual tragedies of our times.

There is therefore no question that high-level political commitment to these tasks, including international support, could soon result in the saving of many millions of children's lives each year and the protection of the normal mental and physical growth of many millions more.

This great goal is achievable and affordable in the next decade (fig. 5). The bubble of protection can be created. The bridge across the valley of death can be built. The knife of poverty can be blunted when it comes near to the life of a child. Today, the needs of children can be met, and the capacities of tomorrow's adults can be protected, by empowering parents with present knowledge and supporting them in putting it into practice.

The costs

Special protection for the years from pregnancy to the child reaching the age of five is a

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hygiene, poor health care, poor food, poor feeding practices – which most threaten normal growth and development. Still others have talked, more dramatically, of constructing a ‘bridge over the valley of death’, referring to the need to use today’s knowledge to construct a safe means of crossing the dangerous period from about the sixth month of life to about the age of two – the period when most of the damage to health and growth is done.

However that need is expressed, the key to the meeting of it is the empowerment of parents.

From the moment of conception to the end of the first six months of life, the environment of the child is the mother. In that period, the decisive factor in the child’s survival and growth is the mother’s nutritional health. From the age of six months onwards, the environment of the child is increasingly the home and the community. If that environment is characterized by poverty and poor services, then it poses a multitude of new threats. And in this period, the decisive factor for the safety of the child is the parents’ and especially the mother’s *ability to protect*.

Creating a barrier around a child’s most vulnerable years therefore comes down to improving first the health of mothers and then the capacity of parents.

The agenda of any new international commitment to children must therefore look first to the major advances which are both necessary and possible for *women*.

This need coincides with another of the obvious priorities of real development. For the sake of women as women, and not just as mothers, urgent action is necessary to reduce the terrible toll now being taken on women’s lives and health by the processes of pregnancy and childbirth. By making knowledge about birth-spacing universally available, by enrolling all pregnant women for basic pre-natal care (including tetanus injections and supplementary feeding where necessary), by ensuring that a trained person is present at every birth, and by organizing referral services for emergency obstetric cases, primary health care could reduce by *more*

than half the developing world’s appalling maternal death rates.

The knowledge exists to achieve a reduction on that scale at a cost which every developing nation can afford to begin implementing and every industrialized nation can afford to support. This is not a question of possibilities. It is a question of priorities. And if the world’s media could find any way of bringing to the world’s attention the often agonizing and lonely ‘maternal deaths’ of half a million women every year, in the same way that the sufferings of drought or famine are brought before the conscience of the world, then it would surely not be long before the world would demand that something be done.

Such a reduction in the quantity of women’s deaths would also be some measure of improvement in the quality of women’s lives. And for many millions of children, that improvement in their mothers’ health would also mean a healthier infancy, including better nutrition before birth and less vulnerability to infection and poor growth in the first few months of life.

One important consequence would be a fall in the incidence of low birth-weights. At the moment, approximately 20% of the world’s babies are born weighing less than 2,500 grammes*. Those infants are approximately twice as likely to become malnourished and twice as likely to die in childhood as babies of normal weight at birth.

Reducing the prevalence of low birth-weight to less than 10% by the year 2000 might therefore be one of the first goals of *real development* which an international conference on children could consider adopting. It is a goal which, if reached, could protect the lives and the health of many

* The problem is particularly acute in South Asia, where almost one third of all babies are born with low birth-weights. Such a figure reflects the very poor health and nutritional standing of pregnant women (not only during their pregnancies but in their own childhood and adolescence) and the fact that 65% of pregnant women in the region suffer from nutritional anaemia. Poor maternal health is associated with the poor nutritional health of children and so perpetuates itself into the next generation. Improving the nutrition of girls, and providing prenatal care, therefore suggests itself as one of the most vital leverage points for real development in much of South Asia.

subject worthy of the attention of political leaders at this time both because of the fundamental breakthrough for development which it would represent and because a high-level political commitment is what is needed if this opportunity is to be seized in the 1990s.

But a *summit for children* might also wish to progress to the broader vision of what could now be done.

This report has tried to show that many of the greatest and most obvious problems affecting children and their families, problems of water and food, health and nutrition, housing and education, are susceptible to low-cost and obvious solutions. To draw attention to these glaring opportunities, the world has held a great many special years and special decades and special conferences in recent years. And such events have played an enormous part in building the knowledge which could today be the base for a new advance. But most of the necessary actions and strategies are now tried and tested, available and affordable. And what is needed in the next ten years is not the advancement of knowledge in narrow confines or the pursuit of development in fragmented pieces but the *mass application of existing knowledge and strategy on all fronts*.

In other words, a *summit for children* might also wish to consider the wider task of making the 1990s into a *Decade of Doing the Obvious*.

That task would obviously have to include considering the scale of resources which would be needed to take advantage of the low-cost opportunities, outlined in chapter IV of this report, for overcoming the worst aspects of poverty by the end of this century. As we have seen, relatively inexpensive methods are available for meeting essential needs in health and nutrition, water and sanitation, education and literacy. But would the *absolute* costs be higher than the ceiling of realism?

There are dangers in reducing such costs to dollars, not least because political commitment and managerial competence are at least as important as financial resources. But in very broad terms, the additional cost of meeting the most essential of human needs would be in the

region of \$30 to \$50 billion per year throughout the 1990s. And in equally broad terms, this cost would need to be met in part by community participation, in part by the bending of government priorities in favour of the poor, and in part by increased international aid for real development.

Strategies and costs would obviously vary a great deal from rural to urban areas and from one country to another (depending especially on the existing level of infrastructure and outreach services). But the development experience of the last 10 to 15 years suggests that national scale action at reasonable cost is now possible in all the main areas of basic human needs.

Experience in low-income developing countries indicates, for example, that primary health care, including essential maternal and child health services, can be made available at a per capita cost of approximately \$5 per person per year. Similar experience in education suggest that the cost of primary school for all 6-to-11 year olds works out to an average cost in the region of \$25 per child per year. Successful adult literacy programmes have also been managed for a cost of approximately \$20-\$30 per person who becomes literate. Finally, as we have already seen, piped water supply and basic sanitation can be made available for an annualized cost of approximately \$6 per person.

World-wide, the 'absolute poor' now total over 1 billion men, women, and children. But it is clearly impossible to focus the development effort *exclusively* on the very poorest. Water supply or nutrition programmes, for example, have to be put at the disposal of whole villages or urban neighbourhoods if they are to be made available to the very poorest - whose lives are inseparable from the complex social and economic realities of their communities. It is therefore necessary to think in terms of ensuring that essential needs are reliably met not just for the one billion or more who are the absolute poor of the world in the 1980s and 90s, but for the 1.5 to 2 billion people who will constitute the poorest third of the developing world's population.

Applying such costs to such needs suggests that the total sum required would be in the region of

\$30-\$50 billion per year throughout the 1990s. This sum is considerably less than one half of one percent of the world's \$13 trillion world economy and a minuscule amount in relation to the great human and economic advances it could help achieve. But it is a large amount in the context of the resources now available for the poorest and the least powerful classes of society.

It is possible that as much as 25% of that total cost could be born by communities themselves. The Bamako Initiative (panel 10), for example, aims to make available essential maternal and child health services for a cost which will be less than many families are already paying for drugs and medicines. And at an annualized cost of approximately \$5 per person per year, piped water supply and basic sanitation could be provided to urban areas for less than many families and communities are now paying to commercial water vendors. In meeting these and most other needs, there are today major new opportunities for *self-help* if governments can provide an enabling environment in which peoples' own efforts are well informed and well-supported.

But the majority of the \$30-\$50 billion required each year needs to be made available from a carefully thought-out combination of a shift in budget priorities by the governments of the developing countries and an increase in, and re-allocation of, aid from the industrialized countries.

In every area of human need, it is now possible to make significant progress by *relatively modest* shifts of resources from high per capita cost approaches, serving mostly the better-off, to low per capita cost strategies serving mainly the poorest strata of society. In health, the hospitals and doctors and medical technologies which reach perhaps 15% of a population often claim 60% to 80% of the health budget. In education, more than half of total government spending is often allocated to the 10% or 20% of students, mainly from higher-income groups, who go on to secondary schools and colleges. In water and sanitation, 80% of the \$12 billion now being spent each year is devoted to providing services for better-off urban groups, at an average capital cost of \$600

per person served, and only 20% is allocated to providing services for the poorest, at an average capital cost of \$20-\$30 per person.

There is therefore very considerable scope for meeting essential needs through the re-allocation of *existing* resources. Certainly it would be possible to release another 25% of the total resources required each year by a shift in the priorities – and in government spending – towards what might be called 'development with a human face'.

But in practice no government, whatever its ideology, can ignore political realities and devote all of its resources to the poor, the whole poor, and nothing but the poor. Nor can anti-poverty programmes be entirely financed by 'taking from the rich' in countries where doubling the taxes of the top 10% would mean doubling the taxes of every factory worker, schoolteacher and low-paid government official. How, then, is a significant reallocation of resources to be achieved?

In the past, fundamental shifts of resources in favour of the poor have usually occurred in the special circumstances of political revolutions (usually with civil war and high human costs) or following the defeat and withdrawal of an occupying power (as in the Republic of Korea in the 1940s) or where there has been a long and vigorous tradition of truly competitive democracy (as in Sri Lanka or the Indian state of Kerala). But for the majority of developing countries, a way must be found to make progress in less exceptional contexts.

In facing that challenge, today's low-cost strategies for meeting essential needs are a vital practical factor. They effectively lower the amount of political will required (and the level of political risk involved) in accelerating progress for the poorest. But, at a total cost which may be estimated at around \$30-\$50 billion a year, it will still not be easy to finance such programmes solely by the re-allocation of existing resources. And it is here that foreign aid could make its most crucial contribution.

For obvious reasons, it is politically easier to allocate a greater proportion of national resources to primary health care, or to basic education for

all, or to low-cost water and sanitation systems, if the *total* resources available for health and education are *expanding*. This would be especially true if some significant part of those increasing resources were, at first, made available exclusively for the purpose of assisting governments to overcome the worst aspects of absolute poverty.

External aid could therefore be used to address the fundamental task of reducing the political resistances and making it easier for developing country governments to bend priorities towards the poorest sections of their societies. That is why it is now the *combination* of increased aid and shifting priorities which offers the most feasible and least turbulent way forward towards the eradication of the worst aspects of absolute poverty.

Specifically, if the aid-giving nations were to reduce by half the gap between present aid levels (averaging 0.34% of the donor nations' GNPs) and the long-agreed aid target of 0.7% of GNP, then this alone would make available more than half the sum required to meet basic human needs by the end of this century.

It is, of course, unrealistic to assume that all aid, or even all increases in aid, could be devoted exclusively to this purpose. The financing of roads and other aspects of physical and human infrastructure can also be an important part of the development process and, in any case, the priorities of aid budgets, like the priorities of internal government spending, are more easily altered if overall aid budgets are expanding. It would therefore be important to ensure that a very significant proportion of the *increase* in aid were devoted to the direct attack on poverty.

It would, for example, be reasonable to think of increasing aid from today's level of \$50 billion to approximately \$75 billion within five years while at the same time co-operating with the governments of developing countries to ensure that at least *one third* of that total aid figure was allocated, in the first instance, to the meeting of the most essential needs of the poorest groups.

It would also be possible to design such an approach so that it contributed significantly to the other major purpose of foreign aid – the stimula-

tion of economic growth. Most of the costs of a direct attack on poverty would obviously be local costs incurred in local currencies. If they were largely financed by the industrialized nations under the terms of a *real development pact*, then this would also allow developing countries to 'earn' significant amounts of foreign exchange (in much the same way as tourism brings in foreign currencies which are in large part spent in local currencies and therefore generate foreign exchange earnings). Foreign aid would therefore help committed governments in the developing world to bend priorities towards the poor while at the same time contributing towards renewed economic growth by increasing the availability of desperately needed foreign exchange.

Initially, a substantial proportion of increases in aid could be allocated in this way, with the specific aim of measurably improving the lives and enhancing the capacities of the poorest. The aid component would gradually be taken over by developing country governments as their economies moved towards sustained economic growth the effort to eradicate the worst consequences of poverty could also, therefore, be an efficient way of using resources to promote economic advance.

Internationally and within nations, it would be important to see such an overall strategy principally as an 'enabling' process. The industrialized world could, through its trade and aid and financial policies, create the kind of economic environment which would enable the developing world to earn a higher standard of living for its people. Similarly, within developing nations, governments could help to create the kind of environment – through improved health, nutrition, and education – which would better *enable* families to meet their own needs through their own efforts.

In the longer-term, of course, the meeting of human needs would make an even more fundamental contribution to sustained economic progress. As World Bank President Barber Conable said in September 1988:

"Poverty on today's scale prevents a billion people from having even minimally acceptable standards of living. To allow every fifth human being on our

planet to suffer such an existence is a moral outrage. It is more: it is bad economics, a terrible waste of precious development resources."

If this great goal of meeting the basic needs of all mankind is to be met by the end of this century, then the plans for achieving it – both for increasing external aid and adjusting internal priorities – need to be made in time for the beginning of the fourth and final UN Development Decade of this century (1991–2000). In that time, aid programmes could be publicly re-examined – in both East and West – with a view to identifying what proportion of aid is currently allocated to meeting essential human needs and attempting to increase that proportion to approximately one third over the next three years. Similarly, developing country governments could also begin analysing and publishing reviews of their own resource allocations and of the major opportunities for shifting some of the emphasis to low-cost methods of meeting the needs of their poorest peoples. Finally, international organizations, including United Nations agencies, should also participate fully in this exercise, reviewing the allocation of their own resources and bringing their accumulated international experience to bear on helping countries to identify and refine low-cost methods for enabling the poorest groups to meet their own and their children's needs.

Conclusion

In summary, the main argument of this report has been that the derailment of the development effort in recent years now presents an opportunity to re-examine the direction of that effort and to make a new commitment to the kind of progress which meets the needs and enhances the capacities of the poorest quarter of mankind. In the coming restructuring of economic relationships, a global approach which takes into account the needs and the contribution of the developing world would be in the interests of both North and South. But it would require a reversal of today's financial flows through action on debt reduction, the stabilization of commodity prices, a lowering of protectionist barriers, and an increase in aid and investment. Such a transfer of resources

should now form part of a *real development pact* to abolish the worst aspects of absolute poverty in the next decade. But after the publication of the Brundtland Report, it is clear that any development pact should in effect be an *environment and development pact*, including practical and financial assistance for developing countries to make the difficult decisions necessary for long-term environmental protection. If that dimension could be added to real development, then it may also be possible to begin applying the brakes to the environmental deterioration which will otherwise become an ever-greater problem for an ever-greater proportion of mankind as this century draws to a close.

Finally, if the first hints of light perceived in the 1988 Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces treaty, and in the lessening of regional tensions between the superpowers, were to become a full dawn of arms control, then not only would the threat of war recede but the resources available for a new pact for real development and the protection of the environment could conceivably be increased. Several times in this report, the comparison has been made between the costs of social progress and the costs of armaments. But so overwhelming are the resources now directed to the military that some degree of demilitarization has become almost a pre-condition – in the great majority of countries – for the meeting of all other human needs. To put that claim in perspective, the transfer of only 5% of today's total military spending of over \$1 trillion a year, by developing and industrialized countries, could release the \$50 billion a year which would be enough to overcome the worst aspects of absolute poverty on the planet by the year 2000.

Ironically, the debt crisis may now be prying open the channels of a North-South dialogue which, for most of the 1980s, have been muddied by misunderstanding and silted by inaction. Creatively conducted, there is more than a faint possibility that discussions on the resolution of the debt crisis could lead in the direction of realism and reform on both sides. It is therefore not too much to hope for a thaw in North-South relations, coinciding with the thaw in East-West relations which now appears to be beginning.

The restructuring of economic relationships between the major economies of the North is both inevitable and already under way. A wider vision would see the resolution of the debt crisis and the restoration of growth to the developing world as an inseparable part of this process, serving the interests of global growth by liberating the demand of the South for the products of the North.

A wider vision still would see in the complexity of such negotiations the possibility of pursuing such a new economic relationship with the South as part of a real development pact by which the developing nations would not only return to economic growth but to the kind of development which meets the needs and enhances the capacities of the poorest half of their populations.

It cannot be stressed too much that it is the international community as a whole, and every individual citizen within it, which stands to gain, tangibly, from the realization of such a vision. The persistence of poverty on this planet is ultimately inseparable from the issues of violence, instability, and environmental deterioration which affect us all and will affect us increasingly as we move towards the opening of a new millennium.

It is therefore neither too great an abstraction nor too distant a consideration to urge political leaders, in the closing years of the 1980s, to

examine the structural links between the resolution of pressing economic problems and the possibility of international co-operation to overcome absolute poverty in our times. It may be that years of political inertia lie ahead, years in which problems of poverty, violence, and the degradation of the environment impinge ever more frequently and painfully on the lives of ever more people, before political leadership addresses itself to more than piecemeal or short-term solutions. Or it may be that the time has now come when the political vision and leadership will emerge to address the unity of these problems rather than the fragments of their consequences.

UNICEF's experience commits it irrevocably to the belief that international co-operation to meet the essential needs of all children – and their families – is the greatest investment which it is possible for the human race to make in its future economic prosperity, political stability, and environmental integrity.

No one could overestimate the complexity of such a task or the political creativity and commitment which will be required to address it. But if the vision and leadership were now to emerge, and if relatively modest resources were to be made available, then this report has attempted to show that past experience and past technique now stand ready to convert that vision and those resources into the greatest human achievements of this or any other century.