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Interviews available with CDI architect David Roodman and FOREIGN POLICY's editors.

Commitment to Development of the 21 Richest Countries Ranked **Netherlands Most Committed; U.S. Slips to 13th; Japan Worst**

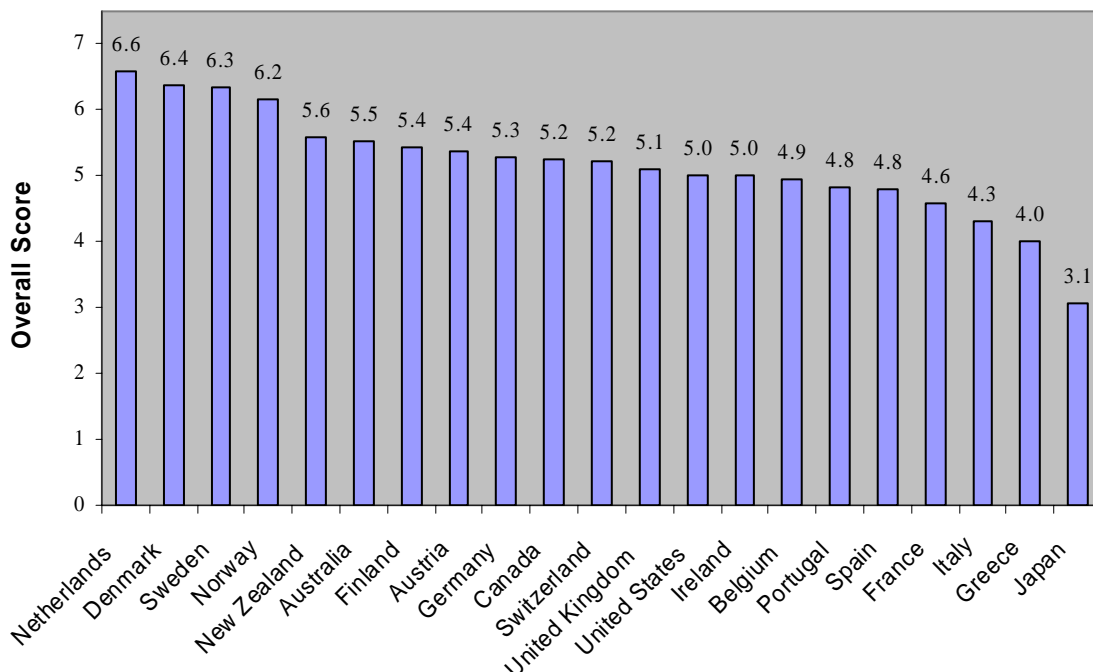
The Netherlands tops the 2006 CGD/FP Commitment to Development Index (CDI), which ranks the world's 21 richest countries according to how well their policies help improve lives in the developing world.

Denmark scores second, followed by Sweden, Norway, and New Zealand. The U.S. was 13th and Japan was last.

The CGD/FP Commitment to Development Index is released annually by the Center for Global Development (CGD) and **FOREIGN POLICY** magazine. Results of the index appear in the September/October issue of **FOREIGN POLICY**. Online access to the CDI is available at www.cgdev.org or www.ForeignPolicy.com.

The CDI is a sophisticated, broad based analytical tool. It moves beyond conventional, narrow comparisons of how much aid countries provide. Rich and poor countries are linked in many other ways—by commerce, migration, the environment, and military affairs.

Commitment to Development Index, 2006



Countries are scored on seven policy areas, generally from 0 to 10. The overall score is the average.

The Index assigns points in seven policy areas: **aid** (both quantity as a share of income *and* quality), **trade, investment, migration, environment, security, and technology**. Within each component, countries receive points for policies and actions that support poor countries in their efforts to build prosperity, good government, and security. The scoring adjusts for size, leveling the playing field for large and small nations.

“Overall, the new scorings show a slow but steady improvement in the commitment of rich countries to growth and poverty reduction in poor countries,” points out Nancy Birdsall, president of CGD, “but fall far short of leaders’ soaring rhetoric in 2005, the so-called ‘Year of Development’.”

The 2006 CDI finds that two-thirds of these countries have improved since the CDI was first issued in 2003. Seven, however, slid backwards.

And no county is perfect. The top ranked Dutch are little more than average in four of the seven areas analyzed.

“The lives of a billion people could be improved in the next decade if rich countries reform their trade, migration and investment policies,” estimates David Roodman, the chief architect of the CDI and a Research Fellow at CGD. “Politically, these changes are difficult. However, if rich countries are truly committed to development, they could easily bear the short-term costs of the reforms and the spread of prosperity would serve the interests of all countries.”

According to Roodman, the real value of the CDI is that it is a detailed road map and scorecard for policymakers to help the 2.7 billion people who survive on less than two dollars a day. “In order to be effective, improving lives must be about much more than giving money. It must be about the rich and powerful taking responsibility for policies that affect the poor and powerless,” asserts Roodman.

Moisés Naím, editor in chief of FOREIGN POLICY, says that the index reflects the magazine’s broader mission of shedding light on some of the most important debates of our time. “Since its creation, the CDI has shaped and expanded the debate on the often overlooked ways that rich countries impact the poor,” says Naím. “The CDI has increasingly become the yardstick that policy makers and analysts worldwide rely upon to assess these effects.”

Netherlands Ranks Top

The Netherlands, which previously topped the index in 2004, claims the top position this year on the strength of generous aid giving, falling greenhouse gas emissions, and support for investment in developing countries. But even the Dutch could do better, notes Roodman. They are party, for instance, to the Europe Union’s agricultural policies, which levy an effective 46 percent tax on farm imports from poor countries, making it harder for poor farmers to escape poverty.

Indeed, the main reason the Netherlands came out on top is because others stumbled.

The Danes, who have historically been among the index’s best performers, registered the largest drop in overall score of any nation since 2003, the CDI’s first year. Denmark was hurt by a shrinking of its foreign aid spending by 14 percent between 2001 and 2004 (in kroner terms), while its economy grew by nine percent.

U.S. Ranks 13th

The U.S. score is unchanged from last year at 5.0, but is up half a point since 2003, due partly to falling farm subsidies and rising levels of foreign aid. Still, the U.S. remains stuck in the middle of the rankings, at 13th.

While the U.S. is the world's largest aid donor in absolute terms, its aid is small relative to the size of its economy. And Washington ties a large share of this aid to the purchase of U.S. goods and services—a backdoor subsidy for American interests. Moreover, because of high levels of violence and corruption in Iraq, the CDI counts reconstruction aid to Iraq at only 10 cents on the dollar. (The CDI penalizes most aid for poorly governed countries.) U.S. and Iraqi officials have said that much of the aid is going to security rather than reconstruction. “Rarely has so much been given and so little received,” says Roodman.

The U.S. is last on the environment component, because of low gas taxes, which encourage consumption, and because of per capita greenhouse gas emissions that are second only to Australia's among rich countries.

On the positive side, the U.S. does well on the trade component, coming second to tiny New Zealand, because U.S. barriers to developing country agricultural exports are not as high as those of most CDI countries. Also, some U.S. policies promote healthy investment in poor countries, ranking the U.S. in the top half for the investment component.

Japan Last

Japan continues to rank last on the CDI due to a combination of higher barriers to goods and people from developing countries, low aid, and minimal security contributions. Even so, Japan registered a significant improvement in its overall score because it stopped lobbying poor-country governments against enforcing labor, human rights, and environmental standards for Japanese-owned factories. It also boosted tax incentives for research and development, which the CDI rewards because they generate innovations available to all countries in the long run.

Japan serves as an excellent example of how the CDI paints a more complete picture than other development indices. As recently as 2000, Japan gave more aid than the United States despite having half the population, and took pride in its peaceful role on the world stage. But Japan's society remains much more closed than that of other rich countries. It does not welcome foreign workers and products as much as other countries. It rarely participates in international peacekeeping. And like the United States, in fact, it gives little aid for its size. All that pulls it down in the CDI, which rewards policies that strengthen links to developing nations.

Country Rankings

Below are the ranks, scores, and short summaries of strengths and weaknesses for some of the 21 countries covered by the CDI.

Each country receives a score in each of the seven policy areas. The scores are scaled so that the average is exactly 5 in 2003, the initial publishing of the CDI. Then the seven components are averaged for a final score.

Full country reports for all 21 countries are available on the CGD Website www.cgdev.org, which also includes interactive maps and separate reports for each of the 21 countries, in English and in the language of the country.

Rank	Country	Aid	Trade	Investment	Migration	Environment	Security	Technology	Average	Change since 2003
1	Netherlands	8.5	6.2	7.8	4.8	7.5	6.1	5.3	6.6	-0.1
2	Denmark	10.0	5.9	5.3	5.0	6.1	6.9	5.5	6.4	-0.6
3	Sweden	9.8	6.1	6.2	4.8	7.0	4.9	5.4	6.3	+0.4
4	Norway	9.3	1.2	8.0	4.6	6.1	8.1	5.9	6.2	+0.3
5	New Zealand	2.2	7.6	3.7	6.9	6.4	7.4	4.9	5.6	-0.3
6	Australia	2.5	6.4	6.9	6.4	3.9	8.1	4.6	5.5	-0.3
7	Finland	3.9	6.1	6.2	2.7	6.7	6.3	6.3	5.4	+0.2
7	Austria	2.7	5.9	3.3	10.5	6.2	4.5	4.5	5.4	+0.1
9	Germany	3.3	5.9	6.8	6.2	6.7	3.7	4.3	5.3	-0.1
10	Canada	3.3	6.8	7.7	4.7	4.5	3.0	6.6	5.2	+0.3
10	Switzerland	4.8	3.1	7.2	9.5	5.3	1.6	5.1	5.2	-0.1
12	United Kingdom	4.6	5.9	8.6	2.6	7.8	1.6	4.5	5.1	+0.5
13	United States	2.2	7.4	6.9	4.6	3.2	5.9	5.0	5.0	+0.5
13	Ireland	5.9	5.7	2.5	4.6	7.5	5.9	3.0	5.0	+0.3
15	Belgium	5.1	5.9	6.5	2.6	6.6	3.4	4.5	4.9	+0.1
16	Portugal	2.3	6.1	6.2	1.4	6.4	6.2	5.1	4.8	+0.4
16	Spain	2.5	6.0	6.7	5.2	3.8	3.5	6.1	4.8	+0.9
18	France	4.1	6.0	5.9	2.6	6.1	0.5	6.9	4.6	-0.1
19	Italy	1.6	6.1	5.5	3.2	4.8	3.9	5.1	4.3	+0.3
20	Greece	2.7	5.9	4.0	1.7	5.2	5.6	3.0	4.0	+0.3
21	Japan	1.1	-0.4	5.6	1.7	4.3	2.8	6.3	3.1	+0.4

1. NETHERLANDS ranks first overall in 2006. The Netherlands places in the top half of CDI countries in all seven components. Its best score is on aid, as it gives a large amount of aid as a share of its income, and the quality of its foreign aid program is high. The Netherlands also has policies that promote productive investment in poor countries and a strong environmental record from the perspective of developing countries.

2. DENMARK ranks 2nd overall in 2006. The Danish foreign aid program is the best in the world in terms of quantity, weighted for country size, as well as its quality. Denmark also contributes a large amount of personnel and finance to international peacekeeping and humanitarian interventions, encourages research and development, and has a strong environmental record from the perspective of poor countries. But Denmark's performance is affected by its barriers against agricultural imports from developing countries and its high fishing subsidies.

3. SWEDEN gives a large amount of foreign aid as a share of its income and has a high quality foreign aid program. The Swedish government also bears a large burden of refugees in humanitarian emergencies and has a strong environmental record. Its contributions to security and openness to developing country migrants are near the CDI average.

4. NORWAY ranks first in the security component, thanks to large contributions of personnel and money to internationally sanctioned peacekeeping and forcible humanitarian interventions. Norway also gives a large amount of foreign aid as a share of its income and has in place policies that support Norwegian investment in developing countries. But Norway also employs some of the most restrictive trade barriers against poor countries, finishing second to last in the trade component.

5. NEW ZEALAND has the least restrictive trade barriers in the CDI. For its size, New Zealand also contributes significant finance and personnel to internationally-sanctioned security operations, and it admits a large number of immigrants from developing countries. Yet New

Zealand's overall score is brought down by its small foreign aid program, poor donor practices, and weak policies toward investment in poor countries (New Zealand is one of just two rich countries lacking a national agency offering political risk insurance).

6. AUSTRALIA's total score is driven by its leading role in peacekeeping efforts, low trade barriers against developing country exports, and migration policies favoring people from developing countries. But on the negative side, Australia gives only a small share of its income in foreign aid, has the highest greenhouse gas emissions rate per person, and, along with the United States, is one of only two CDI countries that have not ratified the Kyoto Protocol.

7. FINLAND's government is a strong supporter of technological innovation and dissemination to the developing world and has also made significant contributions to international peacekeeping and forcible humanitarian interventions. But Finland's performance is affected by a below-average score in the aid and migration components. Due to high barriers that restrict entry, the flow of immigrants from poor countries to Finland is one of the lowest in the CDI as a share of country population.

7. AUSTRIA is rewarded for admitting a large number of legal immigrants from developing countries and for its relatively strong environmental record. But Austria is penalized for poor donor practices, its lack of policies to promote healthy investment in poor countries, and its policies that limit the diffusion of technology.

9. GERMANY's environmental performance from the perspective of developing countries is among the best in the CDI. Germany also has a large inflow of immigrants from poor countries and has taken steps that promote German investment in the developing world. Germany would score higher if it increased participation in international peacekeeping efforts and provided more support for the creation and dissemination of technological advances.

10. CANADA's main contributions to the development of poor countries come through its strong support of technological innovation and dissemination, its low barriers against developing country exports, and its policies that promote productive investment in poor countries. But Canada's positive impact is reduced by its large share of tied foreign aid, its arms exports to undemocratic governments, and its poor environmental record from the standpoint of developing countries.

10. SWITZERLAND admitted many immigrants from developing countries in the 1990s and gives an above-average level of foreign aid for its size. But these contributions to development are offset by Switzerland's poor performance on other CDI components. Switzerland is one of the smallest contributors to international peacekeeping operations, having only recently joined the United Nations, and sells arms to undemocratic nations. It also has high barriers to exports from developing countries, especially agricultural goods.

12. UNITED KINGDOM finishes first in two CDI components, thanks to policies that promote healthy investment in poor countries and the best environmental record from the perspective of developing countries. But the United Kingdom finishes near the bottom in the security component due to its arms sales to undemocratic governments. British borders are also relatively closed to immigrants from poor countries.

13. UNITED STATES barriers against developing country agricultural exports are lower than those of most CDI countries, and some U.S. policies promote healthy investment in poor

countries. But the United States finishes near the bottom of the rankings in both the foreign aid and environment components. U.S. foreign aid is small as a share of its income and it “ties” a large share of this aid to the purchase of U.S. goods and services. The United States also has the lowest gas taxes and among the highest greenhouse gas emission rates per person. Along with Australia, it is one of only two CDI countries that have not signed the Kyoto Protocol.

13. IRELAND’s strongest contributions to the development of poor countries come through its high quality foreign aid program and its lack of arms exports to undemocratic governments. But as one of only two countries without a national political risk insurance agency, Ireland ranks as the least supportive CDI country for investment in poor countries. It is also last in government support for technology creation and dissemination.

15. BELGIUM places among the top third of CDI countries in two components: foreign aid and environmental performance. In the remaining five, Belgium is in the bottom third. Belgium’s overall score is hurt most by the small number of unskilled immigrants from developing countries entering Belgium during the 1990s, its arms exports to poor and undemocratic governments, its small contributions to international peacekeeping and humanitarian interventions, and its low level of government support for research and development.

16. PORTUGAL’s environmental record from a developing country perspective is strong, and the Portuguese government has contributed a significant amount of personnel and finance to international security efforts. But Portugal is least open to developing country migrants of any country in the CDI and gives a very small share of its income in foreign aid.

16. SPAIN gives only a small share of its income in foreign aid and has one of the worst environmental records in the CDI from the perspective of poor countries. Spain’s highest CDI rank comes in the technology component, thanks to government policies that support technological innovation at home and an intellectual property regime that favors diffusion of technological advances abroad.

18. FRANCE is one of the strongest supporters of research and development, helping France finish first in the technology component. But France’s performance is affected by below-average scores in three CDI components: aid, migration and security. France has a poor immigration record with relatively few immigrants entering France from poor countries and is one of the world’s largest exporters of arms to undemocratic governments.

19. ITALY’s government is above average on funding for research and development and has in place policies that promote Italian investment in the developing world. But Italy’s overall score is brought down by a very small foreign aid program, poor donor practices (including the highest share of “tied” aid in the CDI), and the low number of unskilled immigrants entering from developing countries as a share of the Italian population.

20. GREECE scores below average in four components: foreign aid, investment, migration and technology. The Greek government provides little support for research and development, and has weak policies to promote investment in poor countries. Most notably, the migration inflow from poor countries is one of the lowest among CDI countries.

21. JAPAN’s barriers to exports from developing countries are the highest in the CDI (driven mainly by rice tariffs) and its foreign aid is the smallest as a share of income. Japan also has a poor environmental record from the perspective of poor countries and admits very few

immigrants. Japan's strongest contributions to development come through government support for research and development and through policies that promote investment in poor countries.

Appendix

The Commitment to Development Index by Component

A short summary of the seven CDI components follows, including a definition and the top and bottom ranked countries.

Aid

Foreign aid is the first policy that comes to mind when people in rich countries think of helping poorer countries. Aid donors give grants, loans, food, and policy and program advice to poor countries to support everything from road building to immunization programs in tiny villages. Most comparisons between donors are based on how much aid each gives, either in absolute terms or as a percentage of each country's GDP. For the CDI, quantity as a share of GDP is merely a starting point in a review that also assesses aid quality. For example, the index penalizes "tied" aid, in which recipients are required to spend on products from the donor nation. This prevents poor countries from turning to the open market for products and can raise project costs by 15–30 percent. The index also subtracts debt payments the rich countries receive from developing countries on aid loans. And it looks at where aid goes, favoring poor, uncorrupt nations.

The index rewards governments for letting taxpayers write off charitable contributions, since some of those contributions go to Oxfam, CARE, and other nonprofits working in developing countries. All CDI countries except Austria, Finland, and Sweden offer such incentives. Since the index is about government policy, it counts only private giving that is attributed to tax incentives. Private giving to developing countries is higher in the U.S. than in most countries, at 10 cents per person per day. But even adding that to the 19 cents a day in government aid leaves the U.S. well short of donors such as Sweden and Denmark, which give 86 cents and \$1.06 a day in government aid alone.

The differences between countries in raw aid quantity are dramatic, and as a result they heavily influence the overall aid scores. The Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries take the top four slots on aid, while Japan and the U.S. end up near the bottom when aid is measured as a proportion of GDP. But quality matters too. Norway ties Denmark for first on sheer aid quantity as a share of GDP, but falls to third on aid in the CDI for funding smaller projects and being less "selective"—giving to countries that are not as poor or well-governed. And the U.S. would score higher if it did not tie 70 percent of its aid and gave less to autocrats in Russia, Jordan, Pakistan, and other countries.

Trade

The rules that govern world trade have developed since World War II through a series of international negotiating rounds. Because rich countries usually have a disproportionate amount of control in this process, their barriers to some goods that poor countries are best at producing—including crops and animals—have largely stayed in place. Yet when rich countries tax food imports and subsidize food production, they cause overproduction and dumping on world markets, which lowers prices and hurts poor-country farmers. Industrial tariffs also tend to be anti-poor, with high rates for the labor-intensive, processed goods that poor countries are best suited to make.

For the index trade component, each country's complex collection of tariffs and subsidies is converted into a flat, across-the-board tariff representing its total effect on developing countries. New Zealand does best on trade in the 2006 index, with the U.S. coming a close second. Most European nations share common trade and agriculture policies, so they score essentially the same on trade. Two European nations outside the EU—Norway and Switzerland—score worse. In last place is Japan, whose tariffs on rice average 900 percent.

Subsidies per rich-country animal and aid per poor person, 2004 (\$)

	Subsidies per head				Aid per person in de-veloping countries
	Cattle	Chickens	Pigs	Sheep	
EU 15	179.28	0.01	9.24	28.93	16.11
Australia	17.12	0.39	6.49	0.94	0.54
Canada	68.59	0.15	18.99	0.00	0.95
Japan	163.23	0.21	3.92	0.00	2.38
New Zealand	2.66	0.13	2.14	0.19	0.08
Norway	965.72	1.48	39.98	94.06	0.83
Switzerland	987.58	7.63	139.62	16.11	0.61
United States	29.06	0.58	9.03	4.12	7.67
All	92.59	0.38	10.58	12.85	29.17

Sources: OECD, FAO, CGD.

"poor person"=2.7 billion people live under \$2/day in developing world.

Investment

Foreign investment can be a significant driver of development in poor countries. Many of East Asia's fastest-growing countries—South Korea, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand—have benefited largely from investment from abroad. However, foreign investment can also breed instability, particularly when domestic debts are held in foreign currency terms, (witness the 1997 Asian financial crisis) as well as corruption and exploitation.

The index looks at what rich countries are doing to promote investment that is actually good for development, including both foreign direct investment and portfolio investment. The component is built on a checklist of policies: Do the governments offer political risk insurance, encouraging companies to invest in poor countries whose political climate would otherwise be deemed too insecure? If so, do they filter out projects likely to do egregious environmental harm or exploit workers? Do they have tax provisions or treaties to prevent overseas investors from being taxed both at home and in the investment country?

The lowest scorers are Austria, which restricts pension fund investments in developing countries, and Ireland and New Zealand, which do not provide political risk insurance and do little to prevent double taxation. Top-ranked Britain does better on all these counts and has participated aggressively in international arrangements to control corruption, such as the Kimberley Process to track and eliminate trade in "blood diamonds" used to finance warlords in countries such as Angola and Sierra Leone.

Migration

Some 175 million people today—one in 40—do not live in the country where they were born. That number will likely grow as aging rich societies run short of workers, which would create a de facto boon for the development of poorer countries.

Workers who have migrated from poor to rich countries already send billions of dollars back to their families each year. Latin America received \$32 billion in remittances in 2002 six times what it received in foreign aid. Some immigrants from developing countries, especially students, pick up skills and bring them home—engineers and physicians as well as entrepreneurs who, for example, start computer businesses. But emigration to rich countries has been blamed for stealing skilled workers, when they permanently emigrate to wealthy nations.

The CDI rewards immigration of unskilled people more than skilled. One indicator used in the index represents the gross inflow of migrants from developing countries in a recent year, including unskilled and skilled immigrants but leaving out illegals. Another is the net increase in the number of unskilled immigrant residents from developing countries during the 1990s. The index also uses indicators of openness to students from poor countries and aid for refugees and asylum seekers. Austria and Switzerland tie for first in "importing" the most labor for their size, especially unskilled labor. At the bottom is Japan, whose population of unskilled workers from developing countries actually shrank during the 1990s. The U.S., the great nation of immigrants, scores a surprisingly mediocre 4.6. Why? For its size, its inflow of legal immigrants and refugees is actually low compared to many European nations.

Environment

A healthy environment is sometimes dismissed as a luxury for the rich. But people and economies cannot operate at their full capacity without a well-functioning environment. And poor nations have weaker infrastructures and fewer social services than rich countries, making the results of climate change—like floods, droughts, and the spread of infectious diseases—all the more damaging.

The environment component looks at what rich countries are doing to reduce their disproportionate exploitation of the global commons. Are they reining in greenhouse gas emissions? How complicit are they in environmental destruction in developing countries, for example by importing commodities such as tropical timber? Do they subsidize fishing fleets that deplete fisheries off the coasts of such countries as Senegal and India?

Britain tops the environment standings. It cut greenhouse gas emissions by more than seven percent during 1994–2004, the last ten years for which data are available, thanks to steady increases in gasoline taxes and strong support for wind and other renewable energy sources. Most rich countries' emissions rose. Spain finishes low as a heavy subsidizer of its fishing industry while Japan is hurt by its high tropical timber imports. Japan is also the only holdout among CDI countries, aside from landlocked Switzerland, against the U.N. Fisheries Agreement, which is meant to limit overfishing in international waters. The U.S. ratified that agreement but not the Kyoto Protocol, the most serious international effort yet to deal with climate change. That gap, along with high greenhouse gas emissions and low gas taxes, puts the U.S. last. Two notches up, Australia cuts a similar profile, with the highest per-capita greenhouse gas emissions in the group.

Security

Rich nations engage daily in activities that enhance or degrade the security of developing countries. They make or keep the peace in countries recently wrought by conflict, and they occasionally make war. Their navies keep open sea lanes vital to international trade. But rich countries also supply developing-country armed forces with tanks and jets.

The CDI looks at three aspects of the security-development nexus. It tallies the financial and personnel contributions to peacekeeping operations and forcible humanitarian interventions, although it counts only operations approved by an international body such as the U.N. Security Council or NATO (thus the invasion of Iraq does not count). It also rewards countries that base naval fleets where they can secure sea lanes vital to international trade. Only four countries receive points for that: France, the Netherlands, the U.K., and the U.S. Finally, the index penalizes arms exports to undemocratic nations that spend heavily on weapons. Putting weapons in the hands of despots can increase repression at home and the temptation to launch military adventures abroad. When weapons are sold instead of being given to developing nations, this diverts money that might be better spent on teachers or transit systems. Still, countries need guns as well as butter—arming a police force can strengthen the rule of law—which is why the index penalizes exports to some countries but not all.

Australia and Norway share the top spot on security—Australia for its U.N.-approved action in 1999 to stop Indonesian oppression of East Timor, and Norway for steady contributions to peacekeeping operations in the former Yugoslavia and the Middle East. The U.S. scores above average overall, earning points for flexing its military muscle near sea lanes but making only average contributions to approved international interventions and losing points for its record as a leading arms merchant to Middle Eastern dictatorships such as Saudi Arabia. Japan earns a perfect score on arms exports to developing countries (it has none) but lags otherwise because of its peace constitution and minimal international military profile.

Technology

One important way that rich countries affect poorer ones over the long run is through technology transfer. For example, with medical technology from the rich countries, human health and survival in Latin America and East Asia made gains over four decades during the 20th Century that took Europe almost 150 years. Today, the Internet is facilitating distance learning, democracy movements, and new opportunities to participate in the global economy. Of course, some new technologies do as much harm as good, creating huge new challenges for the developing world: consider the motor vehicle, which symbolizes gridlock and pollution at least as much as it does freedom and affluence in dense and growing cities such as Bangkok.

The index rewards policies that support the creation and dissemination of innovations of value to developing countries. It rewards government subsidies for research and development, whether delivered through spending or tax breaks. Spending on military R&D is discounted by half (much military R&D is destructive but some results in valuable non-military spin-offs.) Policies on intellectual property rights (IPRs) that can inhibit the international flow

of innovations are also weighed. IPR policies always compromise between the interests of the creators, who want to control the use of their inventions, software, and writings, and consumers, who want to use them freely. The CDI penalizes certain policies that tilt too far in the favor of rich-country innovators at the expense of poor-country consumers. Some countries, for example, use their leverage to negotiate trade agreements with individual developing countries that extend certain IPRs beyond international norms. U.S. negotiators have pushed for developing countries to agree never to force the immediate licensing of a patent even when it would serve a compelling public interest, as a HIV/AIDS drug might if produced by low-cost local manufacturers.

No country does spectacularly better than its peers on technology. The U.S. loses points for pushing for such compulsory licensing bans, and the Europeans are penalized for allowing the copyrighting of databases containing public data. France, which spends a substantial 1 percent of GDP on government R&D, takes first. Canada, whose policies on IPRs are the least restrictive of the group, places second.

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