

EXECUTIVE SEMINAR ON
SOCIAL
AND
CIVIC DEVELOPMENT

Title IX of the United States
Foreign Assistance Act

Bogotá, Colombia
March 23-28, 1969

ADVANCED STUDY PROGRAM



The Brookings Institution
Washington, D. C.

SUMMARY

FOREWORD

This seminar was one of five seminars planned and conducted by the Brookings Institution under contract with the Agency for International Development. The purpose of these seminars was to provide an opportunity for selected senior officials in the Agency for International Development and in other U. S. foreign affairs agencies to analyze and discuss the meaning, importance and implications of Title IX of the U. S. Foreign Assistance Act.

The Agency for International Development provided a rapporteur for each of the seminars whose responsibility was to prepare a summary of the principal issues and major substantive elements discussed and analyzed. The Brookings Institution agreed to issue the summary of each seminar in a sufficient number of copies to distribute to the participants and other designated officials.

The rapporteur who prepared this summary is identified on the page which is devoted to the table of contents. The summary is designated as a "draft," indicating that it represents primarily the interpretations of the rapporteur. The "draft summary" has not been subject to review and revision by all who participated in the seminar.

Neither does this "draft summary" purport to represent the views of the trustees, officers or staff members of the Brookings Institution.

Draft Summary

A.I.D. EXECUTIVE SEMINAR
ON SOCIAL AND CIVIC DEVELOPMENT
(Title IX of the U. S. Foreign Assistance Act)

BOGOTA, COLOMBIA
23-28 March 1969

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E. G. Alderfer, Rapporteur
4 May 1969

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Robert E. Culbertson, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, opened the Seminar by outlining the significant evolution of A.I.D. in Latin America in terms of a new emphasis consonant with Title IX. He remarked that the 35% increase in Latin American GNP since the Alliance for Progress began has failed to mean anything to vast numbers of people in those countries.

New Policy and Techniques

Mr. Culbertson emphasized four principal problems confronting Latin America to which A.I.D. should address itself in the years ahead.

1. Inequities in and the static quality of income distribution;
2. Lack of broad participation of people in the development process and in their own local government, and the lack of sufficient opportunity to respond to change through the private or nongovernmental sector;
3. Failure to achieve significantly in education, and to broaden opportunities for education, and
4. Uncontrolled and explosive population growth and pressures.

One of our own unsolved problems in working in Latin America is our failure to develop a solid basis for social accounting which could enable us to plan and evaluate more effectively.

In the light of A.I.D.'s prior experience, six program areas will now be ready for exploring and developing more fully:

1. Micro-economic development with principal emphasis on the rural sector through a systems approach to its problems.
2. Local government development, to open up new channels for participation of the citizen in both local and national affairs.
3. Development of legal systems emphasizing social justice.
4. Social development and the marshalling of collective local efforts at "the base level" of society -- through cooperatives, social activities of the churches, and private and voluntary organizations and institutions, and labor unions.
5. Development of "the field of learning" generally, starting with the most significant formative processes -- even if necessary outside of the role of Ministries of Education.
6. Maternal and child health protection and family planning.

The development of these programs requires a high degree of innovation and imagination, and a renewed willingness to experiment, as well as more deeply probing methods of sectoral analysis.

Ten techniques which are called for in this programmatic outlook were noted by Mr. Culbertson -- the first five can be carried forward by A.I.D., but the latter five involve the further development of resources and entities outside of the U. S. Government.

1. A considerably increased, new emphasis on R&D.
2. A more professional use and analytical application of sector loans, mostly in the fields of agro-industry and education, and a movement away from program loans.
3. "The base level approach" to get at the roots of society and in the context in which people live their daily lives, as illustrated in the current A.I.D. program in Ecuador.

4. Involvement of the political sections of U. S. Embassies with the A.I.D. country planning process, to develop a greater political sensitivities in programming.
5. More effective use of local currency resources.
6. The creation of an Inter-American Social Development Foundation, involving host nationals in establishing more socially useful institutions.
7. The use of new technologies in the educational processes through support from an Educational Technology Fund.
8. A better linkage and inter-communication with European development agencies contributing to Latin America.
9. A broader involvement of U. S. nongovernmental and voluntary agencies, as well as counterpart private organizations in Latin America.
10. Closer planning and working relationships with multilateral agencies.

There seems to be little doubt that Latin American conditions are such that the development process will become increasingly more complex, and that the work of many agencies will be needed.

Preliminary papers detailing the Inter-American Social Development Foundation and the Educational Technology Fund were provided to the Seminar participants, and need not be reviewed here.

Further discussion by participants brought out criticisms of a recently issued Hemispheric Assistance Strategy Plan (HASP) which did not seem to reflect the newly outlined policies and emphases enunciated by Mr. Culbertson. This, however, it was indicated, was only a draft, and was more of a reflection of what current policies are than what they should be.

The problem of the proper role of the military, both U. S. and host country, was also aired in the context of Mr. Culbertson's remarks. Various participants pointed to the traditional lack of understanding of the social and civic context of development and "Order," and warned against an overweening concern for order at the expense of justice.

Variances in the Title IX Approach

Princeton Lyman, Director of the A.I.D. Title IX Office, led a discussion of "strategies for implementing Title IX." Mr. Lyman stressed the importance of viewing the scope of Title IX as open and broad rather than doctrinaire. At the same time, the specific stress in Title IX on social and political aspects of development required a more rigorous analysis for our program planning than before, involving new approaches to country, sector and project analysis. Mr. Lyman focused on the attributes of the country analysis.

In approaching Title IX generally, it was necessary to avoid falling into the dichotomy within A.I.D. between the "hardliners" who insist on the primacy of macro-economic development, and the "bleeding hearts" who insist on the primacy of programs for human welfare. This is a sterile division. A strong and natural relationship exists between these objectives, and one of the first jobs in regard to Title IX is to develop a perspective that encompasses both. A second pitfall is to overstate the gaps in our knowledge about social and political change, which sometimes

becomes an excuse for inaction. Research and experience have developed knowledge about the conflicts between modernization and political stability which occur at different stages of development. At present, however, A.I.D. program documents often analyze economic requirements and "social problems" separately with no bridge between them in program terms. That allows some people to look at recent economic progress in Colombia, for example, and be optimistic while others (e.g., the Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff) look at the same situation and see grave problems. In different ways, both are right.

In bringing these facets of developments together in our analysis, participation -- stressed in Title IX -- is a valuable theme, for it cuts across economic, social and political considerations. One can evaluate on a country level the stage not only of economic development but the level of modernization in terms of participation -- what groups do participate, and what groups are available for participation or likely soon to demand it; and finally, what is the capability -- economic and political -- of the country's institutions to respond to these demands. Mr. Lyman compared Korea and Pakistan in this regard, where essentially similar development strategies have been followed. Closer analysis showed, however, that in Pakistan this strategy was not responsive to patterns of participation, developing particularly in the East, whereas in Korea in the mid-1960's it was and in Korea therefore was both politically and economically successful.

Following upon this type of analysis, A.I.D. program choices can indeed influence the host country's political climate, and our priority choices can -- indeed must -- vary with each country, in the light of peculiar local conditions and where we see crises or tensions developing.

Subsequent discussion raised a variety of concerns: (1) that we may be spread too thinly to allow us time to wrestle with the real issues of development in Latin America; (2) that much of our \$200 million input into Latin America per year has failed to develop a broad organized constituency for democratic development, and that our position is increasingly awkward; (3) that perhaps we are somewhat presumptuous in Title IX because it can imply a policy of intervening in elite political systems; and (4) that the "technocrats" -- who do have values and are interested in participative development -- may nevertheless tend to feel threatened by Title IX.

Exportation of Our National Style

Discussion of some of the problems resulting from our own national style in Latin American foreign assistance, with reference to Title IX, was led by John N. Plank, Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution. Much depends upon the interlocking set of relationships we develop with the three principal elements of Latin America -- (a) the category of

"modern men", the people we principally deal with, who are increasing in Latin America but still form a very small minority, and they too are often frustrated as we are; (b) the Traditionalists -- the ancient Iberic strain remaining from the Conquest -- to whom honor and preservation of the status quo are very important, who emphasize the individual man at the expense of the social fabric in which he exists, and who are beset with fatalism, suspicion and hostility toward others; and (c) the "marginals" -- the vast numbers of peasants and Indians -- who are disenfranchised from the body politic but are beginning to stir and seek a new role.

Some characteristics of the American style as applied to this framework of society are now disruptive, for its application in our terms cannot be assimilated for the good of the whole. Our style is not as valid to this society as it used to be. But we can neither afford to withdraw nor can we control the disrupting elements.

Some of our national characteristics as translated through the foreign aid process which may impede our adjustment to the Latin American way of doing things were noted. It would be useless to deny that our foreign aid efforts do constitute a kind of intervention in the life style and historic processes of others, for U. S. history illustrates a strong sense of mission in the world beyond our boundaries. And although we are committed to the ideas of participatory development based on the worth of the individual, we also introduce large-scale management skills and systems which are not necessarily democratic. Yet the process of "modernization" involves

both (often incompatible) elements. Nor is our pragmatism -- our experimental attitude -- understandable by other societies. The same can be said with our view of nature as the servant of man, and the resultant exploitative character of our use of natural resources and people. Our pluralism is another characteristic which is strange to more traditional societies, but at the same time we use this characteristic within rather narrow limits. Our tendency to regard ourselves as the wave of the future, our assumptions in many contexts that bigness is a good in itself, our tendency to measure activity in terms of material efficiency -- these are additional characteristics which are either beginning to be challenged or are less valid than before.

Subsequent discussion brought out a variety of concerns about necessary new adjustments in our national style as applied to changing conditions in Latin America. The question was raised, for example, as to what extent technical assistance could or should be somewhat divorced from our traditional and political representation overseas, and whether the public-private corporation -- such as the proposed Inter-American Social Development Foundation -- can modify the problems implied by the dichotomy between technology and diplomacy. The opinion of several participants was that technocrats in Latin American society too often constitute simply another kind of elite system. And assuming the relevance of Title IX in this context, the issue of "point of entry" was also considered -- that is, whether development introduced at the village or local level is either possible in such societies or efficient.

The Chile Experience

Sidney Weintraub, USAID Director in Chile, reviewed A.I.D. programs in Chile against the backdrop of the foregoing discussion. He noted that program loans in Chile had indeed influenced the tax system in ways which were modifying the limitations on income distribution. Moreover, educational reform, supported by A.I.D., through sector loans, had been quite comprehensive. Agrarian reform efforts, however, had proceeded more slowly and took on a controversial character, though some expropriation and resettlement has been carried out. A.I.D. support to the unionization of agricultural workers had not significantly improved low wage scales but had nevertheless provided a power base for farm workers. As a whole, real wages went up 40% in the 1957-67 decade, even though stabilization has not been achieved. In the last national election, however, the government which had indeed called for broader participation lost -- perhaps because hopes and aspirations of its previous supporters had been raised too high.

The View from Congress

Congressman Donald M. Fraser, co-author of Title IX, reported on the evolution of the ideas implied by Title IX in the Congress, based on the growing conviction of some members that we need to evolve new tools of development and that we need to look beyond the more narrow confines of economics.

Reviewing the A.I.D. response since 1966 when the Title was first included, Congressman Fraser was encouraged by the research and analysis efforts of the Agency and the Title IX Office, with the in-service educational effort on the intent of Title IX, and with the beginnings of moving away programmatically from purely economic considerations, even though this process adds additional burdens to the field.

As to the future of foreign assistance, in the Title IX context, it seems likely that A.I.D. resources will probably be maintained at present levels, even though a serious budget problem is present. It is now beginning to be understood that A.I.D. will need to represent its programs in the context of longer time-spans and that the development process is more complex and slow-moving than we considered it before. We are also, as a result of the Vietnam war, increasingly circumspect about various kinds of commitments which can result from foreign assistance, And we see increasing need, especially in Latin America, for a broader involvement of other donor nations, especially in the context that the United States must avoid the impression of regarding Latin America as its private preserve. The Congressman also proposed that political education efforts and political interchange with the U. S. be increased, and that more resources might well be devoted to the development of local governments in countries where we operate.

Mr. Culbertson thereupon urged participants to develop new projects in the field of political education and local government (including capital assistance to the latter), and the development of leagues of municipalities. An important priority, a first step, is to find ways to make local government relevant to Latin American societies.

Social Change Theory & Title IX

Ward H. Goodenough, professor of anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania, led off this part of the Seminar by outlining some of the factors involved in the development of "movements" for social change in traditional societies. (The case example used was the so-called "cargo movement" in Melanesia). Such movements arise out of a clear need for change, and takes form in a spreading pervasiveness of an ideology which is formulated into a program of action. Government and the traditional elite society usually react strongly and negatively toward such movements as counter to "Order," and government is hence cast as an enemy of developmental change.

Movements of this character require a very real break with the past, a real change of psychology, which inspires acts of commitment. Followers who undergo this process of internal change depend heavily upon the new leadership, often embodied in a single person, and want every new effort spelled out to them in detail. The process often leads to rather bizarre experiments, and to an authoritarian system in which, nevertheless, masses of people can participate in psychic and ritual ways.

Movements of this character become "missionizing" in character which produces high energy levels in spite of disordering elements. Self-development efforts then take shape and government continues to thwart the movement.

It is important, therefore, that if we want profound change in societies, as in Latin America, we must give broader consideration to the role of nongovernmental agencies, domestic and foreign, in order to avoid being trapped by the more traditional posture of governments.

Discussion of the theme pointed out several examples of the coincidence of such movements with government objectives. The community development program in Bolivia was cited as coinciding with or effecting a change in the national style of the Bolivian presidency. The social revolution proposed by the "New Church" in Peru and other countries was cited as an example of revolutionary change emerging out of a traditionalist institution. Our problem, in such circumstances, is related to our role as official representatives of Government which has not normally learned to work with such movements, and consequently there is a lack of credibility in our official posture in the eyes of many.

In short, our constant concern with maintaining "friendly" governments in power, often in spite of movements for change, is unrealistic sometimes in view of our goals. In their origins Movements are not usually violent,

but they usually do come to a point where violent confrontation cannot be avoided. If we fail to use the intent of Title IX as leverage to work with movements, violent revolution may be unavoidable in various parts of Latin America. The problem we face, as stated by one participant, is to develop a higher tolerance level for instabilities caused by change movements.

Youth Programs & Social Development

As an example of a sectoral approach to the problems of social development, Robert D. Cross, Youth Advisor to the Deputy Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs, discussed the current importance of youth programs. Youth dissent, he pointed out, is now a world-wide phenomenon, and the "youth culture" has garnered increasing political power. Development programs that address themselves to social change must, therefore, relate to youth movements as "one of the few existing positive forces for change."

It is increasingly apparent that youth movements see the established order everywhere as an adversary, but lines of communication between the two have been underutilized or simply broken off. Direct USAID contacts with student groups, regardless of possible political implications or resistances, are to be recommended.

The technique involved in this process, however, may appear difficult for A.I.D. The first consideration, in pursuing the establishing of communication links with student groups, is the need for greater awareness

of the political context. A.I.D. has been traditionally shy in getting acquainted on a direct basis with student groups, and the technique of getting acquainted should be carefully considered. Thirdly, the host country position of youth groups should be reflected in the CASP, and A.I.D. programs for responding to them should be incorporated in the CASP. In such ways, perhaps, a subtle but vital shift away from our traditional relationship to youth may be made.

Larry Pezzullo, Youth Affairs Officer for the country team in Colombia, discussed the series of youth seminars supported by the Mission in Colombia. These were instituted by INCOLDA, the host country management training institute, using a T-group approach. Fifty participants were involved originally, but this group was eventually condensed to include a cross-section of the most important elements of the society concerned with youth. The final group was composed of three university students, a banker, a reporter, a priest, a labor union representative, a policeman, an army colonel, a planning official and two politicians.

The idea of the seminars -- which ran for three and a half days and required an expenditure of only \$2000 -- was to develop leadership talent and to cross over and transcend sectoral boundaries. The results were exciting to those involved, for a new insight into the thinking of young leaders was gained, and a process of breaking down status barriers was successful. On the basis of the experience, INCOLDA and A.I.D. contemplate regional and sectoral follow-ups.

Subsequent discussion raised the question as to whether youth groups in Latin America can any longer believe that the U. S. is relevant to the condition of their societies. What Latin America youth is most interested in is a redistribution of power, and they are doubtful of U. S. willingness to see power redistributed.

Ronald Morgan, Special Assistant to the Latin America Regional Director of the Peace Corps, in further describing the aspirations of Latin American youth indicated that the Peace Corps no longer specifically programs for "youth," but seeks instead for leadership elements in the 18-30 age bracket and endeavors to support them in their own development aspirations.

The point was also made in discussion that youth no longer "buys" our traditional A.I.D. technical or "technocratic" approach to development. Too many of our efforts to relate to youth have ended up in "make-work" committees through a standardized approach laid on from Washington. Furthermore, the fact that very few A.I.D. officers are under 30 inhibits communications with youth, on their terms. Discussion revealed a general reaction against such standardization of youth program and the formation of "youth committees."

Organized Labor & Development

A case study illustrating the involvement of organized labor in the development process was presented by John R. Doherty, Labor Attache to

the American Embassy in Peru. The condition of the trade union movement and organization in Peru was first contrasted with that in Mexico, where it is a formal part of the PRI one-party system, and in Colombia, where the Confederation is in the process of forming a labor party. In Peru the CTP exhibits little internal discipline and lacks financial resources, but it is still more active than, for example, in Ecuador. Our danger seems to lie in attributing to organized labor a larger range of potential participation than it is capable of.

A.I.D. activities in the labor field are carried out principally through the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) through its own programs in housing, worker cooperative and credit programs, and labor education projects. In Peru two principal projects are current.

The Barriada Project has two principal objectives -- the first of which is the re-training of AIFLD graduates as instructors in a variety of labor education activities: (1) civic development education through the formation of block committees and training in local election processes; (2) consumer education for workers' families in food, medicines, etc.; and (3) nutrition education to instruct families in how to correct widespread protein deficiencies. The second objective of the Barriada Project is the organization of comités sindicales on a geographic barriada basis so that they can carry out projects of their own -- such as installing local water systems and providing more adequate tools for the vocational schools,

The second principal project is the Union Clinic Family Planning Program, in which the prime movers are Peruvians. There are now over 200 union clinics in Peru, and the program -- which is just beginning -- will be instrumented through them. While the program cannot yet be evaluated, it is believed that labor unions and their clinics can perform a significant service to the country in propagating family planning in the context of local self-help.

However, Peru continues to have a very serious unemployment problem in its rapidly growing urban areas. About 130,000 new workers are coming into the labor market each year, but only about 15-20,000 new jobs are available each year. The strong tide of urban migration from the rural areas to urban areas is thus reaching a dangerous and explosive level. Robert C. Hamer, USAID Director in Guyana, pointed out that in that country 46 percent of those in the 18-25 age bracket were unemployed, and the problem in such conditions is to provide incentives to attract young unemployed workers into the interior and rural areas. For, although unions are doing a good job of training in skills, increasing automation in industry tends to reduce job opportunity levels in the urban sector at the very time when the labor supply is steadily increasing. Mr. Hamer urged that unions consider getting into direct involvement in rural development.

Discussion brought out the central question as to whether AIFLD is indeed "the right set of tools" for involving labor in the development process. The criticism was made that (a) AIFLD represents too narrow a spectrum of labor and reflects too much the huge-scaled "monolithic" structure and static attitudes of the AFL-CIO in the United States, and (b) that its programs are submitted to missions through Washington task orders with insufficient or no study of alternatives at the field level.

U. S. Instrumentation of Title IX

Principles involved in applying Title IX to the development process were discussed by John D. Montgomery of Harvard University. The nature of Title IX, to his view, requires indirect action, rather than direct, which is fragmentary, unfocused and unpredictable. Title IX addresses itself to micro- rather than macro-development, hence to the more equitable distribution of wealth rather than the mere aggregation of it in national average terms, and this involves cost benefit evaluation. Political development also addresses itself to the distribution of power, and while we understand macro-power, we have tended to neglect micro-power which involves interaction between government and individual citizens.

Other factors involved in the instrumentation of Title IX include the balancing of our own priority diplomatic interests with the priority interests of the host country, the balance between political demands and government responses, and the time scale of implementation -- that is, the difference

between the "impact project (short duration), evolutionary change (long duration), and policy change (long implementation goals applied in a short time span): Title IX, insofar as bargaining with the host country is concerned, represents a policy change, but the interpretation of this requires a different kind of diplomacy based on cooperative advantage and a finding of common ground.

We have not yet, however, succeeded in transferring (or transforming?) the "comparative advantage" of the U. S. -- technological sophistication, pragmatic social purpose, well developed "delivery systems" on a competitive level, marketing techniques, institutionalization -- to the life style of other societies. Title IX represents a search (not an answer) in this context, and will be a test of our innovative capability.

The problem of implementation centers on determining the proper "point of entry". A variety of options are open, depending on what stage or level of host government activity has been attained -- (a) regulative, wherein government enforces its role on its citizens, and we must find non-coercive ways to modify that quality; (b) initiative, wherein government begins to invest in the needs of local societies, but expects local services in return; and (c) mediative, wherein the growing range of conflicting interests in society, induced by change, are accommodated and kept in dynamic balance by government. Unfortunately, we still look at the problems of growth in essentially technological terms, whereas they are really political in nature.

Discussion raised the question as to whether governments can respond to the need for change and expanded opportunity in those sectors of society which they have traditionally kept in a disenfranchised position. In other words, LDC governments tend to be unresponsive anyway, since they do not identify with those sectors. Another question was raised as to whether the Title IX process must eventuate in the development of informal structures at grass roots, regional and finally national levels which in effect parallel government ministries so that real interaction can take place between government and people as response and demand.

Perhaps, it was suggested, our own value system as translated into foreign aid is unclear and uncertain in this context. Are we principally interested in economic growth or in more equitable distribution and welfare? Are we able or willing to reach beyond the constrictions of government to implement Title IX? Have we decided in our own minds whom development is for? Our own American teams sometimes illustrate conflicting views. For example, the Ecuador AID mission decided to focus on the problems of small farmers, while the PASA Agriculture team opted for a national rice production program which essentially did not reach to the smallholder. Economic planning, therefore, should be looked at in political terms also, and should begin to reach beyond the confines of central ministries to regions, states and localities.

Country Strategies: Northeast Brazil

This "country strategy case" was presented by James Villalobos, Chief of the Public Administration Division in Recife, in terms of conditions that prevail in the region. The Northeast seriously lacks managerial manpower; it also lacks educational institutions which are relevant to local conditions. Of 100 mayors attending a USAID seminar, for example, over 50 percent had less than a high school education; 21 percent had only attended grade school, and 36 percent had no education. Maldistribution of land ownership is another problem, with one percent of the landowners owning 50 percent of the land. Furthermore, the differing ecologies of the region result in unbalanced distribution of people: in the sugar-economy coastal region which is only five percent of the territory about 30 percent of the people live; the larger semi-arid zone is based on a sharecropping economy; and the interior, which constitutes 90 percent of the region, provides only a marginal subsistence.

A public administration program for the Northeast was provided for in only the last of four SUDENE master plans. There are some 200,000 municipal and state public servants in the region, but a majority have only about a fourth grade education. SUDENE (Superintendency for Development of the Northeast) is the principal point of reference, but the public administration program supported by USAID also relates to a variety of other subsidiary or autonomous agencies. Under the program USAID entered into an agreement with SUDENE to establish three public administration centers

-- an Institute of Public Service (ISP) to assist reform measures in the state of Bahia, largest in the Northeast; a regional Center for Municipal Administration (CRAM), and a training Center for both (CERTA). In addition, USAID sent some municipal officers as participant trainees to the United States, but the language and cultural barriers limited the usefulness of this program.

The future of the program calls for the intensification of technical assistance training for municipios and states, an expansion of on-the-job training in-country, and the provision for a masters degree program in development administration. In terms of Title IX, it would seem important to continue the emphasis on the municipal level of the program and the development of municipal groups and associations oriented to development needs.

Donor M. Lion, Associate Director of USAID in Recife, pointed out that the U. S.-Brazil special diplomatic agreement on the Northeast was the only one of its kind. The public administration program should be looked at in terms of the total USAID program which resulted from that special commitment. It involves agrarian reform, regional planning, and a significant primary education program, as well as public administration. While we have learned new techniques of transferring public services through the Northeast program, the regional development approach still suffers as a result of political imbalances in the country. The Northeast still accounts

for only 15 percent of Brazil's GNP, the average per capita income hovers at the low level of \$100 to \$150 per annum (but the modal per capita is more like \$70 to \$75), only 15 percent of the Northeast peoples are literate, the area uses only five percent of Brazil's foreign exchange, and half of the Northeast is outside of the market economy.

Country Strategies: Ecuador

Robert J. Minges, USAID Director in Ecuador, described the obstacles confronting developmental change in the country as a backdrop to new departures in the Ecuador USAID program. Ecuador presents the picture of a fractured society, with significant differences between the sierra and the lowlands and between major ethnic groups (40 percent Indian, 40 percent mestizo), and between self-interest power factions. Obstacles to development include a rigidly structured oligarchy which provides only a bare minimum of justice, the country's history of exploitation of human resources, a tradition of paternalism, institutional rigidities as in the church and the patron system, lack of education, and the scarcity of resources available to the poor.

New directions in the USAID program address themselves to the problems of great inequalities of income distribution, the obstacles inhibiting popular participation in development, and the creation of a climate for private investment and agricultural diversification. In addressing the problem of income inequalities, the USAID program supports land

reform measures through a restricted A.I.D. loan to guarantee private land sales to campesinos and agricultural cooperatives, along with the distribution of improved seed, fertilizers, etc. It also includes a program for the barrios of Guayaquil, the first step of which is to construct dikes to avoid flooding. In addition, efforts will be made to provide technical assistance and financing to small family businesses, both urban and rural. In addition, a family planning program is in progress.

Programs designed to increase the range of popular participation include the following. (1) Leadership training programs, significantly involving Ecuadorean members of the USAID staff, are being planned for student and campesino groups and for action agencies of the government. (2) Institution building programs involve a CUNA credit extension program and the development of agricultural cooperatives in the Guayas basin. (3) Community education programs include new approaches to primary school construction, textbooks, and local university contracts, as well as training opportunities for specific types of jobs.

The significant, continuing fall-off of investment in the country and the need for capital goods imports, the lack of management talent, and archaic business laws have prompted the mission to begin planning for assisting diversification of small scale business and industrial activity in the rural sector.

To carry out such programs, a new kind of USAID organization has evolved which equates social development at the "micro" level with macro-economic development programs. David Davies, Deputy Director of the Office of Development Program in Washington who served in Ecuador, described the new USAID orientation as a "change from business as usual A.I.D. program using traditionally oriented personnel." The change of emphasis centers on community action relevant to people outside the power structure of the country. This involves a direct approach to people, beyond the traditional channels of government, to create the kind of climate in which government will be required to respond.

Peru's experience in recent months was noted as demonstrating a significant change of direction, in contrast to Ecuador, by which an authoritarian de facto government was directly engaged in redistribution of opportunity. This has resulted in new tax regulations of a more equitable character, a new retirement system, new social security provisions which include women, expropriation of ill-used agricultural lands and the formation of state cooperatives to reduce food prices, the levying of fines for malpractices, and the restructuring of ministries.

Country Strategies: Guatemala & Colombia

Marvin Weissman, currently USAID Director in Colombia and recently of Guatemala, discussed A.I.D. country strategies in both countries to illustrate differences of approach to different political situations.

Guatemala, with less than 10 percent of its people "in the 20th Century," has tended to be a more difficult setting for A.I.D. efforts, a condition traceable to relationships at least since 1954. Except for a brief period, there has been little expansion of the political base and of fundamental social improvements. Opportunities for USAID response to the real needs of the country, under such conditions, have therefore been limited.

The program that evolved within such constraints included development of a technical vocational institute, a public administration training center, a National Institute of Development Administration including municipal services, an educational television program (with serious shortcomings), and a self-help school construction program. More recently, a variety of rural development programs, including one assisted by California Polytechnic under contract with A.I.D., undertook to penetrate an area where there was little or no government presence. Moreover, a cooperative and credit union program gained some political power for certain Indianist areas. The IDF has worked with agrarian reform and community development programs, as has the Peace Corps. An A.I.D.-sponsored Loyola University program for training rural and other leaders is also continuing. In insurgency areas A.I.D. also endeavored to work closely with military civic action. But the program as a whole has been a "mixed bag." The vast number of Indians in the country and the "Ladinos" are still the real ethnic base of the nation, and they have remained substantially unaided by most development efforts.

Colombia, after suffering years of la Violencia which reportedly took many more than 200,000 lives, now presents a different picture. The so-called National Front, which to end the political violence, established the principle of absolute parity of office-holding between the two major parties, may appear administratively awkward. But it has been able to achieve purpose and independence of program under the present Carlos Lleras Restrepo administration. The USAID program here can therefore concentrate on macro-economic development, unlike in Guatemala, with emphasis on economic stabilization first, so that Colombians themselves are in a better position to undertake the job of micro-development. The important thing was to establish a viable growth rate, and that corner has now been turned. To move forward more rapidly now in social development terms requires (a) a national will to development and the kind of pride that necessarily goes with it, (b) first-rate leadership, and (c) stability and continuity of effort. The government is providing considerable stimulus in these directions, and the principal connecting link between it and USAID is the national planning agency.

USAID programs responding to these elements of promise include: (1) support for agrarian reform and the provision of land titles which, among other things, enable campesinos to get credit, (2) sector loans in agriculture and education, (3) support for improvement of administration of criminal justice, (4) sponsorship of Overseas Education Fund activities of the League of Women Voters and the like, (5) work with INCOLDA in management training, etc. (6) planned support to study-abroad programs with ICETEX to develop leadership resources, and (7) attention to technological research with help from the National Academy of Sciences.

Discussion centered around the "national catharses" which seem to recur in Colombian history, and whether the underlying conditions that produce these are being confronted. Some indicated a belief that the next great wave of modernization in Colombia must take place in rural society. Others felt that the future danger lies in the urbanized lower middle class which cannot seem to break through the barriers imposed by the elite. A question was raised as to whether our analytic tools are really good enough to cope with the deep, traumatic, psychic problems which the history of a country like Colombia present.

Agrarian Reform

In the context of discussion of Colombian development, Dale Adams, International Economist for AID/Washington, discussed U. S. attitudes and capabilities in supporting agrarian reform. The mystique of land reform has too often been taken over by the communists, as in Vietnam, and it has become a central point in their strategy of penetrating disaffected rural societies. We for our part have had considerable experience in agrarian reform, but it has not gained centrality in our view of development. In Latin America most land reform measures -- as in Venezuela and to some degree in Colombia and Chile -- have been evolutionary in character. But here hardly 100,000 new land titles have been issued in the last three years.

Alliance priorities for rural development have been mostly in the field of agricultural credit, with the development of infrastructure for colonization efforts ranking next. Nor have the IDB or the World Bank significantly supported land reform. There is indeed an almost total lack of A.I.D. and international agency commitment to land reform, in spite of the urgent need to cope in basic ways with rural poverty.

In Colombia between 600,000 and 700,000 families own no land and a like number own three hectares or less. About 75 percent of the land is owned by absentee landlords, an arrangement which generally is very inefficient and hence a serious deterrent to development.

Traditional arguments against land reform persist. One of the principal arguments -- that land reform decreases production -- has never been sufficiently proved from empirical evidence. Another -- that urbanization is the way out -- does not take into consideration the enormous costs and investments which that requires. Colonization in underutilized countryside is often proposed as an alternative, but this has proved very costly both in investment and in psychic terms. Improvement in agricultural technology is no real alternative either, since, as in Colombia, such programs are of benefit principally to the commercial farming sector. It is important that A.I.D. should dissociate itself from helping to perpetuate inequitable

agricultural programs. It is equally important that we -- country directors as well as agricultural specialists -- rid ourselves of a predisposition against the modernization of the small-holder.

Mr. Culbertson assured the group that AID/Washington is now committed to urging land reform programs as a part of the Title IX commitment, and that there is a new consensus at the policy level about the desperate condition of the peasant small-holder and the tenant farmer. There is also concern at this level about the condition of the ex-peasant who moves to the city, and about the need for urban area land reform. The so-called marginal farmer is now central to our development interests.

Study Groups on Brazil

During the week's Seminar the participants divided up into three discussion groups which met after hours in formal session to consider and report on the political context in which Title IX emphases can be given through USAID programs. The Brazil group -- under the chairmanship of Herman Kleine, Deputy USAID Director -- first reviewed characteristics of the military government of that country. While few of the standard freedoms -- habeas corpus, freedom of the press, etc. -- exist, there are internal pressures on the military for devolution of power and for progressive change. The sheer size of the country, however, in view of extreme centralization, inhibits the process of change. Many military officers, nevertheless, are

reform-oriented, and some Title IX opportunities are therefore present.

The loss of political freedoms, the confiscation and censorship, since the Institutional Act of December 13, have provoked a growth of urban terrorism, and a rise in tensions and uncertainty. Since then A.I.D. has suspended all capital programs and disbursements, though continuing technical assistance. Present A.I.D. activities in the Title IX context include projects designed to assist in the more equitable distribution of economic resources, encourage a broader base of participation in development, improve the educational resources of the country, and confront the problems of maternal and child health.

Study Group on Peru & Bolivia

With respect to the position of labor in Bolivia, few opportunities of a Title IX character are present. Unions are weak and disoriented, fragmented, and a creature of the state. Between 60 and 70 percent of the wage earners are paid directly or indirectly by the state, and there is no meaningful collective bargaining. One of Bolivia's basic problems is the needed retraining and relocation of surplus labor in the mining areas. In Peru, on the other hand, organized labor has very little connection with government, and it is mostly associated with political parties which are out of power. However, there is no real suppression of labor, and a favorable climate exists for labor education.

In regard to the Church, in Peru, though 60 percent of the clergy are foreigners, there exists a sincere dedication to social change and

justice, and a tendency to swing away from traditional moorings. The Bolivian Church is even more influenced by foreign clergy (65 percent), but here again the influence of Vatican II for social justice is apparent. In the liberal wings of both churches a strong revolutionary sector distrusts the position of the United States.

The character of the *barriada* is different in the two countries. In Peru the *barriadas* grew up very quickly and have their own form of loose local government and a sense of self-identify. This is not the case in Bolivia where the *barriada* culture is traditional and lacks identity.

Despite a similar ethnic background, the position of the *campesino* is different in the two countries. The *campesino* began to emerge from serfdom only some twenty years ago. But whereas the Bolivian *campesino* has a strong sense of dignity and pride, and participated in the revolution of 1952, the Peruvian *campesino* lacks that quality, has not participated in resistance movements, and lacks national representation. In Bolivia President Barrientos considered the *campesino* his major base of power, and he called a Congress of *Campesinos* in 1968.

In Bolivia government programs are accelerating the granting of land titles, forming a mass education program, stimulating a "green revolution," and trying to bring the *campesino* into the national economy. In Peru, however, government programs currently seem not as promising or as relevant.

Study Group on Smaller Countries

Smaller countries considered and represented in this group included Paraguay, Ecuador, Guyana and Honduras. The basic conclusions reached by this group were as follows:

1. Each country presents different conditions, and smaller nations are significantly different from larger, so that Title IX should be applied in accordance with those differences.

2. Application of Title IX in such countries needs support and assistance, but not direction or the earmarking of funds, from AID/Washington.

3. Application of Title IX is more difficult and subtle and requires a longer time span than other programs or approaches; it should depend more on grants than on loans, and will probably absorb more local currency than dollars.

4. Title IX calls for a willingness to take chances and requires an innovative spirit and imagination.

5. Certain rigidities in the attitude of the U. S. foreign service establishment tend to impede Title IX progress.

Some Additional Conclusions

There seemed to be general agreement that the intent of Title IX transcends the boundaries of A.I.D. and must involve the whole country team, at least in planning and analysis stages. Perhaps this could take

shape in an innovative, action-oriented country team task force, with significant participation by the Political Section of the embassy, and by other U. S. Government agencies in the country. It was remarked by William H. Pugh, USIS/Ecuador, that Title IX gives incentive for a much more effective and broader interlinkage between A.I.D. and other agencies. But USIS for one has thus far received virtually no information on Title IX.

U. S. military representation, as well as A.I.D.'s Public Safety sector, should be fully briefed on the nature and intent of Title IX.

The Title IX emphasis by no means eliminates economic programming, which must be continued, but it does require new skills and sensitivities, and especially more probing analyses of country situations.

In order to develop that necessary quality and sensitivity, the A.I.D. training program for newly hired professionals should encompass the whole spectrum of development principles, not just the Title IX part of that spectrum. It was suggested that the Orientation program should be expanded so that a three weeks study program of this kind could be added. Perhaps also a special training program for Program Officers should be considered, to emphasize new directions and requirements stimulated by Title IX.

The real key to the implementation of Title IX is how relevant it is to the field situation, the country mission director, and the field staff.

SUNDAY, MARCH 23

5:15 - 6:00

THE PHILOSOPHY AND WORK OF
THE SEMINAR

F. W. Luikart
Senior Staff Member
The Brookings Institution

Chairman of the Seminar

6:00 - 7:00

RECEPTION

7:00 - 8:30

DINNER

8:30

SOCIAL AND CIVIC DEVELOPMENT -
SOME IMPLICATIONS

Robert E. Culbertson
Deputy Assistant Secretary
for Inter-American Affairs
Department of State

MONDAY, MARCH 24

9:00 - 9:30

MEANING AND IMPORTANCE OF
THE SEMINAR

Joseph S. Toner
Director
Office of Personnel and Manpower
Agency for International Development

9:30 - 12:15

STRATEGIES FOR IMPLEMENTING TITLE IX

Princeton Lyman
Chief, Title IX Division
Office of Program and Policy
Coordination
Agency for International Development

Discussants: John N. Plank
Robert E. Culbertson
Joseph S. Toner

12:30 - 1:30

LUNCH

1:45

THE AMERICAN NATIONAL STYLE -
IS IT TRANSFERABLE?

John N. Plank
Senior Fellow
The Brookings Institution

Discussants: Ward H. Goodenough
Princeton Lyman
William Pugh

6:30 - 7:00

SOCIAL HOUR

7:00 - 8:00

DINNER

8:00

Informal Discussion with Special Guests

TUESDAY, MARCH 25

9:00 - 12:00

TITLE IX - THE VIEW FROM CONGRESS

The Honorable
Donald M. Fraser
Member, U. S. House of Representatives
from Minnesota

Discussants: John N. Plank
Robert E. Culbertson
Princeton Lyman

12:30 - 1:30

LUNCH

1:45 - 4:30

THEORIES OF SOCIAL CHANGE -
PROBLEMS CONFRONTING REFORMERS

Ward H. Goodenough
Professor of Anthropology
University of Pennsylvania

Discussants: Charles W. Grover
Edward W. Coy
John E. Karkashian

6:15 - 7:00

SOCIAL HOUR

7:00 - 8:30

DINNER

8:30

SMALL GROUPS - WORK PROJECT

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 26

9:00 - 12:00

SECTOR CASES WITH IMPLICATIONS FOR
SOCIAL AND CIVIC DEVELOPMENT

1. Youth Programs and Social Development

Robert D. Cross

2. Labor Movement and Development

John R. Doherty

Discussants: Ronald D. Morgan
Robert C. Hamer
Harlan A. Harrison
Ragnar L. Arneson

12:30 - 1:30

LUNCH

1:45 - 4:30

U. S. INSTRUMENTS FOR DEMOCRATIC
INSTITUTION BUILDING

John D. Montgomery
Professor of Public Administration
John F. Kennedy School of Government
Harvard University

Discussants: Ward H. Goodenough
Frank C. Carlucci
Joe J. Sconce

6:15 - 7:00

SOCIAL HOUR

7:00 - 8:30

DINNER

8:30

SMALL GROUPS - WORK PROJECT

THURSDAY, MARCH 27

9:00 - 12:00

COUNTRY STRATEGY CASES WITH
IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL AND
CIVIC DEVELOPMENT

1. Northeast Brazil - James Villalobos
2. Ecuador - Robert J. Minges

Discussants: Herman Kleine
David Davies
Donor M. Lion
David Lazar

12:30' - 1:30

ROLE OF THE NONGOVERNMENT SECTOR
IN SOCIAL AND CIVIC DEVELOPMENT

John N. Plank

Discussants: Richard Bernhart
James F. O'Connor, Jr.
David W. Burgoon

6:30 - 7:30

SOCIAL HOUR

7:30

DINNER

Evening free

FRIDAY, MARCH 28

9:00 - 12:00

CASES WITH IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL
AND CIVIC DEVELOPMENT

1. Country Strategy - Comparison of
Colombia and Guatemala

Marvin Weissman

2. Chile

Sidney Weintraub

Discussants: Earl H. Lubensky
Donald Finberg
Robert T. Follestad
Dale Adams

12:30 - 1:30

LUNCH

1:45 - 3:00

REPORTS FROM WORK GROUPS

3:00 - 4:00

REVIEW AND EVALUATION

4:00 - 4:30

CLOSING REMARKS

Princeton Lyman
Chief, Title IX Division
Office of Program and Policy Coordination
Agency for International Development

SEMINAR ADJOURNS

6

EXECUTIVE SEMINAR

ON SOCIAL AND CIVIC DEVELOPMENT

Title IX of the United States Foreign Assistance Act

Bogotá, Colombia
March 23-28, 1969

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