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EXECUTIVE SEMINAR

ON TITLE IX

**of the United States Foreign
Assistance Act**

**Baguio, Philippines
April 28-May 3, 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 rappporteur 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 rappporteur 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 rappporteur. 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

EXECUTIVE SEMINAR ON TITLE IX

AID/SOUTH & EAST ASIA

Baguio, The Philippines

April 28 - May 3, 1969

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Judson H. Bell, Rapporteur
28 June 1969

PREFACE This seminar was the fourth in a series conducted by the Brookings Institution and sponsored by the Agency for International Development to explore and discuss the implications of Title IX and ways for implementing it in A.I.D. programs. Participation at Baguio included Mission Directors and senior representatives from U. S. Embassies and A.I.D. missions in the developing countries of Asia, and senior officers from AID/W, the Department of State, and the U. S. Information Agency. The seminar group was thus composed of a desirable mix of operating and staff officials bringing viewpoints and insights from a wide variety of positions concerned with the development process. Added to this official representation were several participants and resource speakers from the academic and non-Government community.

This report serves only as a summary record of the seminar. Some of the detailed statements, case studies, and other documents presented during the discussions will appear in other materials to be published during the coming year or will be separately available. These documents represent valuable reference and resource material for a fuller understanding of the concept of Title IX and its application in the development process.

SEMINAR PURPOSE AND PROCESS The Chairman of the Seminar, Mr. Luikart, began the discussion by outlining the philosophy and work of the seminar. The principal purpose of the Seminar is to provide a means to exchange views and develop a better understanding of Title IX and its implications by probing the legislative intent and reconciling that with our foreign policy and individual experiences. The following points were made in describing the philosophical background for the Seminars:

1. With the current domestic scene as it is, Americans must approach the subject of democratic participation in development with deep humility, particularly in regard to its social and political aspects.
2. A commonly accepted system for measuring progress in the human factors of development still eludes us.
3. Although it is difficult to quantify successful activities in this area, we should not allow those difficulties to deter us from practical experimentation and a pragmatic approach to problem-solving, just as we have in economic development.
4. Although we may be healthily skeptical about new initiatives, we should avoid being cynical. Some will ask "What's different about Title IX? Do we really mean it?" Don't expect simple answers.

The basic methodology followed by all five Seminars involves the following:

1. Individual experiences and exchanging views are emphasized. Small sub-groups are used to discuss informally some of the relevant factors in applying Title IX to field situations.
2. Guest discussion leaders are invited to provoke and stimulate thought and advocate ideas.
3. Each individual is urged to participate as much and as freely as possible.
4. Each participant is urged to do his own thinking.
5. There is no attempt to reach formal conclusions.

AID/W VIEW OF TITLE IX

Representing the Title IX Division, Mr. French recommended Princeton Lyman's statement in the Readings as a basic guide to the Agency's official approach to understanding and implementing Title IX. These seminars, sponsored by the Training Branch, A./PM, have been helpful as a forum for improving understanding and exchanging experience, particularly among overseas personnel, as to what the concept of popular experience means. The previous seminars clearly revealed that there are no pat, standardized approaches to the application of Title IX, and that effective implementation requires first a thorough knowledge of individual country environments and secondly a clearer understanding of how our programs interact within them. This has led to a considerable emphasis in AID/W on research and training.

He cautioned that it would be a mistake to view Title IX as merely an approach to stabilization, particularly over the short-run. Over the long-run, however, our hope is that a Title IX program emphasis will mitigate the stresses and strains which are an inherent part of the change process, thus reducing the likelihood of extreme crises which can destroy prior progress.

Our policy is to expand the planning process to include social and political aspects of development along with economic aspects, resulting in a "total approach" in country programming rather than separate Title IX projects.

DISCUSSION POINTS

- Ambassadors and Public Affairs Officers should be briefed on Title IX.
- Country programs are not being systematically reviewed for Title IX inputs. Since AID/W asks only economic questions, field submissions respond primarily to economic issues.
- Title IX asks us to approach development from a new angle--political and social, rather than just economic.

THE VIEW FROM CONGRESS Unfortunately, Congressman Bradford Morse could not leave Washington to participate in the seminar as planned. This subject was included in a statement made by Joseph S. Toner¹/who then led a discussion on questions raised the previous day.

What is meant by Title IX? One of the sponsors of Title IX, Congressman Don Fraser, explains it with these points:

- Stating the problems of developing nations largely in economic terms alone has led us into blind alleys.
- The major shortcoming of these nations lies in their political and social structures.
- Along with economic development should be a growth in pluralism, locating the decision-making at the most advantageous point.
- In development efforts, the initiative should come from those we seek to help.
- Our aid should build institutions and political and social infrastructure as well as physical infrastructure.
- Development that does not reach the people is not progress in human terms.

1/ Included in full in the Appendices.

Does the Agency really believe in Title IX? We cannot ask this question without answering ourselves. We are the Agency. Do we believe in it? Are we bureaucratically resistant to changing our perspective? A few years ago, we avoided the subject of family planning, but today it is one of our major concerns. Each one of us must explore Title IX and establish his own belief.

THE CONCEPT OF ADAPTIVE CHANGE Professor Richard Gable reviewed political development in the U. S. as an exceptional experience, historically. We were able to space out over the centuries a series of changes or "revolutions" inherent in the development process. By contrast, most LDC's are trying to compress the same process into 10 to 20 years. In addition, people in the U. S. were "born free" whereas most LDC's have a history of long-entrenched, constrictive and highly stratified societies. Our own history, on the other hand, has geared us to adaptive change. The central problem of Title IX is to assist other countries to develop this capability and the institutions to make it work.

In looking at our status today, however, Professor Gable sees signs that we are suffering "hardening of the arteries" -- becoming less able to deal with change. We have gained greater control over our physical environment, but appear to be losing control over dignity and identity. It is evident that the individual can be crushed in a democratic society as well as in an autocratic one. We now see new drives, by new people, to participate in new issues and using new techniques, and we wonder how prepared are we to adapt to (or cope with) these changes. Professor Gable compared the student demands of today with the labor unrest of the 1930's.

With this perspective of the U. S. picture, Professor Gable questioned A.I.D.'s ability to cope with changes in LDC's. Although not pessimistic, he challenged the group to think through the changes taking place both at home and overseas and examine our enthusiasm for Title IX where predictability cannot be achieved, where gains are not tangible and measurable, and where A.I.D. personnel are required to take risks. As key points of reference he cited (1) Peter Drucker's "Knowledgeable Society," with more people engaged in education than all other fields, and (2) Warren Bennis' "Temporary Society," with emphasis on problem solving, innovation, and creating new organizations with short lives to perform new tasks and then self-destruct.

DISCUSSION POINTS

- A.I.D.'s willingness depends on its leadership and the Congress. Many A.I.D. people are quite willing to take risks, but Congress expects predictability and measurable results. The question remains, however, whether this is indeed true, or whether statements of this kind merely reflect A.I.D.'s habit and predilection for giving Congress measurable facts and figures which create unfounded expectations.
- U. S. Foreign Policy needs to be as adaptive as the development effort.
- Taking risks without a monolithic Congress or a monolithic Agency can be "self-destructive."
- Tangible indicators of Title IX progress could be in terms of freedoms (newspapers, political parties, etc.) but we can't measure their effectiveness.

RESPONSE OF SUB-GROUPS TO TITLE IX THEORY Seminar participants were divided into five small groups to discuss the relevance of change in the U. S. and the LDC's to Title IX and the development process. The following points were made by the group chairmen in reporting back:

- Too much mysticism surrounds Title IX and what it means. We need to concentrate on making the changes necessary to carry it out.
- How we deal with change in the U. S. affects how we appear overseas.
- Economic goals govern USAID activities. We have neglected political and social objectives. Example: USAID/India has several economists but no social scientists functioning as such. The cards are stacked. Since A.I.D. recruits for technical competence, social and political understandings are currently lacking. Training is needed in these fields.
- More research is needed to understand effects of change on socio-political problems.
- Recognizing there are country differences, we should also consider similarities.
- A.I.D. has capacity to cope with change but other elements of the U. S. foreign affairs family are also involved.

RURAL SECTOR STRATEGY - VIETNAM MacDonald Salter described the recent efforts in Vietnam to close the gap between Government and the people. With variable factors such as wide open war, development, and reconstruction going on simultaneously, bold moves were required. The decision to hold national elections in time of war was such a move. This was followed by a decision to restore local self-government at the village level and to make village government the focal point for mobilization, motivation, and decision-making in rural development. The institutional framework has been established, and the problem now is to make it work. A massive training effort is required to train leaders to represent their people, and for the people to respond to their elected leadership. The "program-building" approach used in East Pakistan has been employed on a pilot basis and is now being considered for nation-wide adoption.

DISCUSSION POINTS

- Village chiefs will have resources, responsibility and authority. National and District officials are to assume the role of public servant rather than lord and master.
- Previous program with strategic hamlets failed because it ignored the village as a unit, and resources continued to be controlled by the Central Government. Now, the local people themselves will decide what they need, set priorities, and carry out their projects.
- Province, District, and Village officials receive political training as well as technical and administrative training.

RURAL SECTOR STRATEGY - PHILIPPINES Wesley Haraldson presented a case study that illustrated that "Title IX has been going on in the Philippines for several years."

A program evaluation four years ago convinced the mission that its activities were too much confined to the Central Government. Pilot programs were then established with two Province Governors to (1) improve provincial government, (2) develop tax maps, (3) establish province motor pools, and (4) improve agricultural productivity. After conducting base line studies on item (4), the following criteria were set for future projects:

- (1) Must make the farmer more productive,
- (2) Must pay for itself,
- (3) Must depend upon the private sector,
- (4) Must involve farmers and their organizations.

A key element in the plan was a supervised credit program that offered loans to the farmers with their crops as security. When the International Rice Research Institute developed IR-8 rice, the USAID developed a "demonstration package" which the farmers bought. Their yields increased 4 to 10 times. When they discovered that lack of technical knowledge limited production, they established extensive training programs. Results - After two years, the Philippines became self-sufficient in rice. For the first time, the Filipino farmer experienced directly the benefits of scientific research. The response of farmers to direct economic incentives was a key factor.

DISCUSSION POINTS

- Objectives of this program resulted in a success story under the Title IX framework. Institutions were established, the private sector brought in, and education programs established.
- The "new affluence" of the farmer has not been analyzed, but there is more rural unrest, and crime rates are increasing in productive areas (because more money is present).
- Farmers can now make some decisions and choices--one of the goals of Title IX.
- Of the millions of problems encountered, the biggest was selling AID/W on the program.

YOUTH PROGRAMS AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT Robert D. Cross reviewed the history of the State Department's Youth Program by recalling Vice President Nixon's "stoning incident" in South America in 1958 and Robert Kennedy's Far East trip in 1962. These events pointed up a communications gap between the U. S. and the youth of the world. There have always been isolated youth dissenters, but today there is a world-wide Youthness, no longer isolated, with traditional limits of dissent removed, with a strong impulse to change established norms.

Today's youth are an active political force, having brought down five governments since 1968; they are shaping attitudes and values for the year 2000; and they are pressuring many existing institutions. (Columbia University, France, and the U. S. Foreign Service will never be the same.)

Some additional evidence of their importance:

"Youth in the developing areas are becoming the agents and beneficiaries of development. Policy making and programming are on trial if they do not take youth into consideration." --United Nations Report, January 1969.

"Elders today cannot invoke their own youth to understand youth of today." --Margaret Meade.

"Student efforts to reorganize institutions is a basic strength for any democratic society." --Chester Bowles.

"Understanding of goals of youth are essential for sound development planning... Students who oppose status quo forces should be our allies... important that A.I.D. maintain contact with local youth groups and encourage host country governments to do the same." --State/AID Guidance Paper (draft).

Since development is a concept for the future, today's youth will carry out or benefit from this effort. In many cases, youth seeks the same changes we seek through the development process. We know too little about youth to understand them,--and they know us too little to trust us. We should at least be willing to listen to them and attempt systematically to sort out what they are saying and reshape our efforts and policies wherever appropriate.

DISCUSSION POINTS

- Evidence is that "happenings" are caused by an active minority of 3 to 5 percent. Yet up to 40 percent are sufficiently disaffected to respond to minority leaders.
- Youth want to participate. Title IX is participation. A.I.D. certainly should relate to youth in the modernization process. We should conduct participant training programs as leadership training programs.
- Youth vary. In Latin America there is little change. In Southeast Asia young people are becoming village leaders.
- New initiatives require new resources. We don't have resources now to carry out all needed programs. The best we can do is to consider youth in on-going programs and consider their ideas and responses.

- Summer intern programs in Korea, Laos, and Vietnam have been successful in bringing student leaders into A.I.D. programs.
- Youth resist sitting down and talking with elders. We have to discover some new ways to work with them. Youth sees a gap in perspectives as well as language. Older experiences are seen more as obstacles than as assets. We need to consider youth as a force the same as we consider labor.

MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT David Levintow discussed the importance of manpower resources and labor leaders in the development process. He cited some case studies to illustrate that strong participative labor groups and leaders can have a significant and positive impact on the development process. In the case of Vietnam, he observed that neither the U. S. nor the GVN has developed manpower policies integrated to serve the three decision-making bureaucracies in Vietnam: the military, the pacification organization, and the regular Government apparatus, counterparted by our own military, CORDS, and USAID. The need for a manpower strategy should be considered in the overall development effort to assure that employment and income implications of individual projects are understood for their impact on the labor force and local economy.

As an example of such need, Mr. Levintow cited the case of a large rock quarry that we outfitted with the most modern heavy equipment, while across the mountain there were hundreds of refugees in need of work who could do the same work manually.

DISCUSSION POINTS

- A reallocation of existing resources should include a look at the entire participant training program and the total needs of the country economy of the future.
- Manpower requirements are difficult to project more than one year.
- Participation in manpower planning should be a participative process for the labor force as well as the official planners.

ROLE OF THE PRIVATE MARKET Professor Fred Riggs discussed how private enterprise can help in the development process by (1) reducing the workload on government, and (2) encouraging democratic participation. He noted, however, that our model of the role of private business presupposes the existence of an effective market system, which does not exist in most developing countries. Hence our efforts to stimulate business initiative do not have the results we anticipate.

Professor Riggs identified four types of entrepreneurs in the LDC's: (1) the public official running a State enterprise, (2) the local monopolist, (3) the minority entrepreneur, and (4) the foreign concessionaire. Each is affected by the political environment with the result that economic rationality is compromised by political-social factors. He cited Camp John Hay as an example of the "subsidized canteen" with special privileges as a business activity. He also discussed corruption as a condition seriously affecting the private market, but suggested that it is a mistake for us to attack it directly since it is actually a symptom of more basic conditions which must be dealt with. As a step to strengthening A.I.D. initiatives in private marketing, Professor Riggs suggested attaching to each USAID an officer capable of analyzing the underlying social and political constraints so that they can be better factored into program development. (His paper on "Business initiative and the Market System in Relation to Title IX" is separately available.)

DISCUSSION POINTS

- Many policy matters serve to restrict the development of private enterprise in LDCs. Cooley loans create excessive pockets of wealth; the U. S. balance of payments problem restricts investment; legislative requirements for use of American flag vessels restrict diversity.
- Outside financial controls can be shaken out by a devaluation policy. (Assuming that such a policy is politically acceptable).
- Afghanistan had considerable success with a new investment law (encouraged by A.I.D.) which brought out "mattress capital" and opened up many new businesses. Ethnic minorities are becoming more active in business.

WHAT IS DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION?

Being at the halfway point in the seminar, Mr. Luikart invited open discussion and comments on the question, "What is democratic participation?"

- Primary goal should be building a nation or integrating a nation. Development is sub-goal. Participation is one way of nation building; pure autocratic rule is another (as in Turkey); and autocratic government with high local participation is another (as in Taiwan).
- The key word is "participation." Even in Turkey, the military decided on a pluralistic society with free trade unions.
- Understanding and communications result from participation (and vice versa). In many instances, the Central Government is not prepared to cope with problems of participation in national affairs by local groups. For example, in many Laos villages, contact with Central Government did not exist until the large back country dam projects started. Villagers become afraid and obstructive--the Central Government was not aware of the villager's concern. Neither understood the objectives of the other. A.I.D. Community Development Advisers have been bridging this gap by encouraging two-way communication.
- By some definitions, everything A.I.D. does has participative aspects. Our task is to discriminate between democratic participation and controlled participation.
- Too many of our A.I.D. efforts are concerned with government and too few are concerned with people. We need to work on the latter dimension to obtain greater participation. Eight years ago, the word "social" in A.I.D. legislation caused trauma; now we have the word "political." These are channels to the people.
- Local participation, to be effective, requires changes and new attitudes at the higher levels.

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT: THAILAND

William A. Sommers discussed the role of the administrative structure in developing local participation. (His penetrating paper on provincial and local administration in Thailand is separately available.) In Thailand, the central government is represented all the way down to village levels by Civil Service employees. Their role is difficult. (1) Must both demonstrate and stimulate a commitment to the course of action. As an example, recent local elections resulted in 40% turnout (without force). (2) Must encourage and stimulate action. Training programs are particularly important for government officials to understand this role. (3) Must protect and advise. Keeping procedures orderly and advising (not deciding) are key elements. (4) Must back off at appropriate time.

After encouraging the central official to "get to the people," we must prepare him to withdraw as they begin running their own affairs--to discontinue tutelage and permit them to assume power.

DISCUSSION POINTS

- Community leaders frequently are corrupt. The job is to increase the responsibility of local government and to train local officials to accept it. Reform will come after people begin participating in the action through the election process.
- To make Title IX work, we have to trust local officials to assume power and decision-making responsibility.
- Lack of technology at local level should not deprive them of decisions to build and where to build. If they decide to build a temple, that represents their priority need. They can proceed to the next need.

DEVELOPING DEMOCRACIES PROGRAM - THAILAND

Jerry Wood described the determined effort of the Thai Government to "stimulate the development of local self-government" beginning in 1964. Training was recognized as essential to success for developing the capabilities of local officials. The training technique emphasized participation in learning and threw out the traditional lecture procedure. Mobile training teams were formed to take training to the provincial and local councils. The Academy for District Officers stresses change in attitudes and behavior, human relations, and group dynamics. These are allegedly the most popular courses.

DISCUSSION POINTS

- Both the DDP program and the training Academy were Thai Government ideas. Security problems and defunct councils motivated government action. Success of the limited program has resulted in consideration of a nationwide effort. This will test the RTG commitment.
- Participation under this program provides for (1) communication to make people's feelings known and (2) accountability on the part of local leaders, --both qualifying elements under Title IX.
- There was a 70-75% election turnout in the provinces affected by this program in contrast to a 40% turnout nationwide.
- Strong indications reveal that this program would not exist without Central Government concern for security problems.

- Title IX aspects of programs like this should be described in Congressional presentations, rather than emphasizing only the security implications.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL

IMPLICATIONS OF URBANIZATION and provocative paper (which may be separately obtained) on the impact of Asian urbanization on traditional social and political structures, with special reference to Korea. This problem applies to other Asian countries as well as to Korea where urban growth is rampant and soon will result in one billion people in Asian cities. Reasons for growth are not found in the "pull" of cities but in the "push" factors of rural life. The rural-to-urban shift creates individual and community pressures that lead to revolutionary conditions because traditional social and political patterns have been made obsolete. New institutions must emerge and new concepts for participation must be developed.

Bascom Story presented a sweepin

DISCUSSION POINTS

- A similar situation exists in Bangkok and Manila. It is now past the time to begin planning to solve urban problems. This is a major foreign policy matter.
- Asian Research Institute and Urban Seminar was organized by USIA to focus on this problem.
- Tokyo partially solved the problem by bringing village social structure to the city.
- A.I.D. has hardly begun to consider this problem.
- Indian leaders want to make villages more attractive to reverse the urbanizing trend.
- Since Title IX puts us in the "total" development business, A.I.D. needs resources to face urban problems.
- There are many similar characteristics between this population shift and entrepreneurship that builds on a changing scene.
- Seriousness of the problem is recognized by a plan to include an Urban Development Office in the new Technical Assistance Bureau.

RURAL WORKS PROGRAM--
EAST PAKISTAN

Vincent Brown introduced the Pakistan Rural Works Program as a case study reinforcing the axiom that political issues are always a factor in development. Stephen Palmer gave a brief summary of the events in Pakistan leading up to Ayub's loss of power. He noted that geographic and class disparities in participation in Pakistan's recent economic growth was one of several influencing factors. The future of the program under present conditions of marital law was discussed by Elliott Weiss.

Because the Rural Works Program was used to support the Ayub regime, and because 1969 was supposed to be the last year of U. S. funding, we are faced with problems of how and whether to continue our involvement. Although begun as a program to build physical infrastructure, it has shifted to an irrigation program which requires technical skills only available from higher levels. Due to budgetary constraints, Central Government planners have proposed a 50% reduction in Rupee allocations in the next fiscal year which may jeopardize the entire program.

DISCUSSION POINTS

- Stopping RWP would increase the danger of a country split. Cutting off the money will loosen ties with rural people.
- Suggestions for continuation include greater emphasis on urban areas, and a retraining program to develop more responsiveness within the bureaucracy.

TITLE IX AND PRIVATE
RESOURCES

Sixto K. Roxas, a prominent and successful Filipino businessman, addressed the Seminar in an evening session on the subject of Title IX and the private sector's role in economic development. He first reviewed the provisions of the Title and pointed out its three principal thrusts. (1) The Title "directs foreign assistance to the more fundamental social, political, economic and organizational forces underlying the whole complex process of national development." (2) "The projects that will command high marks under the evaluation criteria that should emerge will increasingly be those in which the involvement of the governments of the LDC's will be less in magnitude and probably indirect in form. These projects will increasingly be primarily private in character." (3) "While the process of national development should be increasingly bringing indigenous private sector groups in the LDC's to the fore, the same process will sharpen nationalistic feelings, and foreign assistance participation in these projects will need to be handled with extreme delicacy."

The intention of Title IX, it seemed to Mr. Roxas, "is to seek out the strategic nuclei of social, political and economic change and development." This salutary shift in emphasis represents a movement "from the broad macro-economic aggregates down to the really substantive writs of development: people and institutions." It also represents a shift from a "mechanistic view of development to a biological and organic one." It also represents greater flexibility in the selection of activities and institutions to assist. Mr. Roxas cited several examples of emergent Philippines institutions in this context.

Three propositions were submitted: (1) that Title IX "seeks to apply foreign assistance beyond the traditional levels of national government projects"; (2) that the projects that will come to predominate "will be those where little or no national government is involved, and what little involvement there is may be indirect"; and (3) that "the process of development sharpens nationalistic feelings". If these propositions are apt, "new entrepreneurs and enterprises should become the really dynamic development cells."

MEKONG DEVELOPMENT AND TITLE IX

John Blumgart described the international efforts to develop the Mekong basin, a huge program affecting 46 million people.

Because the negative aspects of large projects are more evident than the positive aspects in the beginning stages, they are promoting smaller projects first so the people will become familiar with the process and problems and potential benefits. The overall program has great potential for regional collaboration in Southeast Asia.

Positive Aspects

Power Flood protection
Fisheries Water supply

Negative Aspects

Destroys property
Requires people to resettle

The resettlement effort to date has been characterized as a "dreary inconspicuous failure"; it has been handled as a welfare rather than a development effort, and as a result it has not been successful as either. The following lessons have been learned:

- (1) Displaced people should be compensated and given new employment;
- (2) Resettlement sites should improve upon or equal previous sites;
- (3) Where possible, choose settlers and have a scheme for equity;
- (4) Consider the size of farms in terms of economic viability;
- (5) Develop conditions of tenure that lead to permanent rights;
- (6) Provide for resettlement costs in the overall project budget.

Mr. Blumgart noted that to some degree irrigation projects have added to the participation process by requiring farmers to be more innovative and to seek more association. They have also helped to achieve coordination and communication with government services, although there are many serious gaps in this area which are impinging on program progress.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The project is a significant mechanism for local and regional cooperation.
2. Towns may benefit long before rural areas, but the latter are more immediately and directly affected in a negative fashion.
3. Engineering planning is far ahead of social and political planning.
4. Officials are forced to take a new viewpoint on their obligations to the people concerned.
5. Drawing up agreements will present opportunities to focus on human aspects of development.

DISCUSSION POINTS

- Problems mentioned in connection with this case study may be primarily attributed to two factors: (a) a technological arrogance on the part of Westerners, and (b) the futility of using short-term experts who come in and make reports which assume capacities on the part of host governments which do not exist.

- Regional projects of this kind tend to create headaches for country missions which have to cope with the problems the projects create, and hence closer coordination between the regional project and the country mission is highly desirable.
- Similar difficulties have occurred with regional projects undertaken elsewhere. The basic lesson is that more comprehensive planning is needed, and that we might use our own contribution to such projects as a lever to insure that better coordination and human relations are factored into it.
- Local government officials tend to be overwhelmed by the immensity of such projects.

SOCIAL SCIENCE
RESEARCH

Philip Sperling reviewed the research program of the Agency to emphasize that this tool should be used more fully to understand some of the problem areas more fully and deeply, and to assess better the unknowns of implementing Title IX. Many research studies are available and each mission should maintain a research library to tap this information when needed. He cited some propositions about participation deduced from a variety of studies:

- The more stimuli about politics a person receives, the more likelihood he will participate and with greater depth.
- Persons participating in informal discussions are more likely than non-discussants to vote and to take part in the political process.
- As information increases, informal discussion about the information also increases.
- Citizen contacted personally are more likely to be interested and to vote.
- Urban people encounter more stimuli about politics than rural people.
- Children exposed early to politics tend to maintain their interest in political matters.

INDIAN STATES IN DEVELOPMENT

Professor Weiner described the trend in political development in India and its impact on the overall development process.

In recent years there has been an expansion of political participation along three axes:

(a) Increased Politicization: Many things previously seen as private matters are now viewed as being legitimately within the public sphere. Professor Weiner noted that contrary to the general belief, more people in the U.S. would rather go to relatives rather than the government for assistance than in India.

(b) Changing Power Relationships: This refers to both how power is allocated and how it is increased. In India, political power has been increasing greatly, particularly at the state level. The states, for example, have control over agriculture and can regulate the internal distribution of food. One reflection of this is the fact that the turnout for elections in India is opposite of that in the U.S. -- more voters turnout for local elections than for national elections. The Congress Party has increasingly turned its attention to organization and alliance building at the state level since it recognizes that the viability of the party at the center is dependent on its support from state political organizations. The expansion of government into development activities has had a tremendous impact on the states, particularly in agriculture and community development. Originally, the C.D. people communicated to the villages rather than the reverse. A 1960 study concluded that the C.D. effort would be stimulated if its functions were turned over to locally elected bodies. Government C.D. officers now function as adjuncts to locally elected bodies and there has been a considerable shift of political power to the latter from the civil service bureaucracy and this in turn is effecting the caste system and other traditional societal forms. There has been a considerable increase in the number of political offices people can aspire to, including a large number of honorific offices which serve as a sort of consolation prize for political losers. Professor Weiner felt this was more important than generally recognized since in developing countries people enter politics as a career and have nothing to fall back on when they lose, which is why it frequently becomes an "all or nothing" game with little room for bargaining or compromise.

(c) Increased Political Influence: India has a well established electoral system with universal adult suffrage and no literacy requirement. He noted a high correlation between the level of modernization and politicization among the states. Those with lowest levels of political participation are most unstable (which seems to be contrary to the situation in other developing countries).

Professor Weiner outlined some of the consequences of the above trends. In 1967 the Congress Party lost control of about half of the states as a consequence of the increased strength of regional parties. He believes that the Congress Party will fail to get a majority of the electoral seats in the next National Assembly elections and will be forced to seek alternative means of maintaining power. He believes that if it tries to form a coalition with other national parties, factional disintegration will result. It is more likely to seek coalitions with regional parties. He noted that, ironically, center CP relations are better with strong non-CP state parties than with its own weaker CP state parties. Many of the states are in a bad financial position, a condition which has increased their reliance on funds reallocated from the center. This, coupled with the dominant political trend toward greater power at the state level, is creating a natural state of interdependency in center-state relations. Professor Weiner believes the result will be a decrease in central government control over economic development in favor of the states, with consequent effects on national economic planning. The likelihood of increasing disparities between localities as a result of inequities in the development process may be further exacerbated by state level political influence over economic resource allocations. Parenthetically, he cited the "Green Revolution" as offering the potentiality for 25% of the country to advance very rapidly while 70% would profit only marginally. He also suggested that the present trend towards increasing privatization of development will continue (citing the growth of private initiatives in the education sector as an example) as more and more local groups get involved in local politics for resource accrual purposes.

Some of the points made in the discussion:

---The Indian Mission is engaged in a Long Range Agricultural Adjustment Study which involves predictive research in support of efforts to nationalize the long range effects of the "Green Revolution," particularly its social and political implications.

---The transfer of power to state and local officials constitutes a reaching out for more resources at these levels - trying to get more out of the system without necessarily putting more in.

---The fact that a major political party is running out of steam is no cause for A.I.D. to attempt remedial action other than to optimize production to increase the economic base.

---Inequities from the development process may create severe disputes between regions.

---The Green Revolution is causing some people to return to the villages from the cities. A study project is under way to look at the long range of effects of this.

---A.I.D. has shifted its agricultural strategy in India from the center to the states by making it more relevant to the area, gearing training and research to area needs.

---Regional disparities are the major problem of the future in the LDC's. The impact can be seen in India because participation is high ... in other LDC's they remain hidden. As participation increases, the differences begin to come to the fore.

---The Indian political system has reached into the countryside on a larger scale than any other developing country. It can be contrasted with the Basic Democracies system in Pakistan. The latter was set up as a way of preventing local participation at the national level rather than encouraging it as the Indians did.

Sub-Group A: Title IX and the Agency

Charles Mann, Chairman
 Donn W. Block
 A. E. Farwell
 Charles W. Naas
 Stephen Palmer
 Philip Sperling
 F. T. Underhill, Jr.
 Loring Waggoner

- I. Our group, like other groups which have attempted to interpret Title IX, has failed to reach unanimous agreement on the intent of its authors. We find the legislative history ambiguous. We observe that the language of Title IX -- as opposed to what might be read into Title IX -- are sensible, prudent guidelines for the planning and conduct of most of the economic and social development activities of any USAID Mission.

We do not insist that every USAID has invariably followed these sensible, prudent guidelines, in the sense that it has established a checklist of Title IX considerations. The success which followed the application of such a checklist to capital assistance projects, from the standpoints of Washington review, congressional presentation and, not least important, valid project selection suggests the wisdom of compiling a simple checklist of Title IX considerations.

AID/W has, we feel, failed signally in its responsibility to meet the information needs of the Congress. In its eagerness to convince the Congress that AID is a cold-eyed, business-like organization whose every action is keyed to unadulterated economic principles, it is apparent that AID/W has convinced much of its audience that we have lost touch with the people in the aided countries. By dealing through the governments of these countries, we have (they appear to believe) lost touch with, and have failed to elicit the full participation of, the rural sector, the laborer, the common man. The Field shares the blame. Perhaps we could not believe that Congress knew so little about us, and short-circuited things which to us seemed obvious.

Title IX may be more than an affirmation of the people-to-people philosophy; it is certainly not less than such an affirmation. We submit that AID has failed to use the facts at its disposal. Case histories illustrating search for (and success in eliciting) maximum participation through encouragement of democratic

private and local governmental institutions are easily to be found. We have encouraged a more equitable distribution of the benefits of development; we have (at least in some instances) used the degree of involvement of the host country population in determining development priorities and allocating development resources; we have used private channels for the provision of American assistance.

We are not suggesting a cynical "dress-up of the status quo." We are suggesting that the Agency's programs have not been presented in all their aspects and that failure to do so has constituted a disservice to the agency as a whole.

- II. A number of our group assert that the foregoing is true but that the issue is far more significant. They offer the thought that Congress quite literally intends the Title IX criteria to take precedence over other, different and sometimes conflicting bases of program decisions; that all Congressional injunctions are equal, but that Title IX injunctions are more equal than any others; and that this should be reflected in subsequent field submissions. (None of our group has suggested that Congress intended us to present new programs which are Title IX for Title IX's sake.)

If this is indeed the intent of Congress, we should learn this from a more reliable source than collective intuition. AID/W should check this judgment with key members of the Congress, or (perhaps better) staff members of key committees. Should the judgment prove valid, it should be transmitted, not merely to USAID's, but to all elements of the foreign policy community. To date, few if any ambassadors have considered Title IX to be more than advisory in its intent. A joint STATE-AID message to Ambassadors and Mission Directors can spell out exactly the degree of weight to be given to Title IX considerations in proposing AID programs -- all of which are forwarded over the signature of Ambassadors.

- III. The group, as was noted, does not urge the reservation of Title IX funds, or the limitation "for Title IX use only." It observes, as well, that care in implementations of Title IX is necessary. Broad pledges of funds in support of locally desired activities consistent with Title IX could increase fiscal demands on some of the governments which we assist, or on AID.

- IV. The group recognized the political motivation which underlies the AID program. There is no sentiment among us in favor of the use of AID funds to stimulate the growth of political parties (presumably, in many cases, parties in opposition to the incumbent government).
- V. At present, Title IX would appear to be limited to AID activities in those countries receiving assistance under the Foreign Assistance Act. As we interpret the guidance of Title IX, its principles are applicable to development -- not AID-supported development. To the extent that countries not now receiving AID assistance (e.g. Iran) can be induced to apply Title IX principles, the course of development in such countries will be advanced.
- VI. In summary, the group believes that the Agency's reaction to Title IX is somewhat defensive, somewhat conservative and somewhat confused. The Agency appears to favor as general principles: pluralism, decentralization of authority and responsibility, and divesting government of any function which can be performed more equitably, more efficiently or more cheaply by the private sector. These constitute the lowest common denominator of the Agency's collective understanding of Title IX intention. Application of these principles has produced AID's present record -- a better record than has been publicly presented by the Agency, but a record which leaves many practitioners of the "AID art" less than fully satisfied with the Agency's performance.

There are many other guidelines for AID action -- considerations of goldflow, US balance of payments, buy American, etc. These guidelines will not always be consistent with the intent of Title IX. Many desirable activities will have no relationship to the intent of Title IX. Many conflict with Title IX (projects in support of strong central government, at the possible expense of democratic private and local government institutions). But in the main, Title IX criteria will be applicable to most development activities.

Sub-Group B: Indices to Measure Title IX Progress

Wesley Haraldson, Chairman
 Judson H. Bell
 Richard Birnberg
 J. R. Jacyno
 Lewis M. Purnell
 Gordon Ramsey
 Fred Riggs
 Elliott Weiss

Group B concentrated on identifying indices to measure Title IX progress and growth. The following were listed, based on the opinion that we can measure Title IX progress by the type of society desired: Increasing literacy, distribution of income, voting rights, land tenancy, labor organizations, farmers organizations, and improved public health.

- I. The above indices were considered as indicators of economic and social development. Intangible elements such as how a person sees his progress, self perception, an open society, upward growth, free speech, and dissent were proposed as being more appropriate.
- II. With reference to self perception, it was suggested that AID labeling requirements oppose the effort of Title IX. Every time a school kid opens his book he sees the AID label.
- III. As comparison, the key indices of our own democratic society were identified as free association, free speech, free elections, habeus corpus, free press, and free assembly.

Sub-Group C: Implementation of Title IX Richard Podal, Chairman
 Jerome T. French
 James Hoath
 W. Sommers
 Bascom H. Story
 S. Thomsen
 Joseph Wheeler

- I. Title IX must be applied within the local environment of the various countries, so approaches, programs, and end results will vary.
- II. However, as Americans, we believe in democracy and for the long run want to see truly democratic institutions in place governed by the rules set by the host country.
- III. We should not be looking for Title IX activities as such, but political and social aspects should be built into normal AID programming, and projects should be developed to include these elements.

How can the intent of Title IX be implemented by Country AID Missions?

1. How do we determine opportunities for political and social application based on each country's situation, and make choices for programming at the mission level?
 - a. There must be a better integration and awareness among U.S. Country Teams elements (Embassy, AID, USIA, etc.) so as to focus on the total development problems in host countries.
 - b. Within the AID mission, there must be a more systematic review of the short and long run impact of Title IX programming. Priorities in the USAID should flow from this total analysis.
 - c. We must determine the proper program project mix according to
 - Country needs
 - AID capabilities
 - What the country will allow and can absorb
 - What areas of the country are conducive to change

d. Provide specific training for division chiefs, program office staffs, and AID personnel in general regarding total planning and programming concepts, including social and political projects.

e. Country AID missions should contribute to AID/W's formulation of the criteria for good political and social inputs into programs and performance.

2. How do we get a better political and social input in each country situation?

a. The awareness by mission personnel of political and social problems and approaches needs to be more systematically included and used in identifying targets to be used in programming.

b. Emphasize a pragmatic problem-solving approach rather than transfer of U.S. institutions or U.S. orthodoxy.

c. Staff missions with appropriate people to implement broader programming concepts. We need more social and political development types to counterbalance economists.

3. How can AID/W build political and social consideration into programming and management?

a. This is the Key Factor.

b. Pressures are needed from AID/W for systematic programming of these elements and building them into CPS and PROPS.

c. Directives from AID/W should flow through line offices, not from staff offices: Desk to Bureau to Mission.

d. AID/W needs to define more clearly the ideas, concepts, and strategy for social and political programming, and identify criteria of success and failure.

e. AID Administrator should voice his interests and views on Title IX factors during program reviews, These would pass down through the AID power structure.

In arriving at these suggestions and conclusions, the following ideas were also considered but rejected by the Group:

- a. Earmarking specific funds for Title IX.
- b. Include Title IX activities as a performance factor where the officer's activities are applicable.
- c. Since AID has plenty of economic officers, borrow some FSO's from STATE and fit into mission staffs for political and social program inputs. (Comment on this proposal was favorable to the extent that Area and Country specialists in the Foreign Service have talents to contribute.)

Sub-Group D: Nepal -- A Title IX Case
Study Proposal

Vincent Brown, Chairman
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Thomas Judd
Russell McClure
Lowell Satin
H. C. Thorne
Jerry J. Wood

Nepal is a kingdom with no political parties but with a system of government extended down to the District level which AID helped to establish. Transportation and communications are poor. Local officials travel by foot for a week to attend a meeting for a few days and then take another week to return home.

Nepal is sandwiched between India and China but is more oriented toward India and somewhat dependent upon her. There are many donors of assistance in Nepal and the Nepalese are having difficulty coordinating all donor efforts.

The country is divided between the lowlands agriculture areas and the hills. While the lowlands are capable of producing more food, six million or 70% of the people live in the hills where they have lived for centuries. There has always been a question of just how much AID should attempt to help the economy of the Hill Country and the life of the Hill People. Local and district government units are not as competent as they should be and their effectiveness is questionable.

Alternatives open to USAID are (1) to get out, (2) train Nepalese local leaders, (3) increase the Community Development effort.

In addition to current AID programs in the country, Group D suggested ways to extend it consonant with Title IX objectives. The following proposals take cognizance that there is already a vigorous agricultural and public health education program going in the Katmandu Valley where 3 million Nepalese are located, and that a STOL (short take off and landing) program is already underway, all of which have Title IX overtones.

These proposals are intended to build on existing work. The main suggestion concerns itself with nation-building and encouraging the participation of the untouched, disenfranchised 6 million, middle mountain Nepalese who live beyond administrative, commercial, and economic contact with the rest of the country.

We decided to list our resources before describing the program to show at the outset that this Title IX activity was indeed within the realm of possibility.

I. Central Nepal -- Government Administration and Rural Works Program

In working up the proposal the following additional resources were considered as probably available:

a. Technical Assistance for Government Training Institute:

(1) Consultants (3 man years)	\$ 100,000
(2) Participant training in U. S.	50,000

b. Third Country Nationals from East Pakistan:
U. S. owned Rupees -- 30 x \$3,000 \$ 100,000
(Rural Works, Road Supervisors,
and Institute Teachers)

c. U. S. owned Indian rupees (equiv. \$5,000,000
in dollars) to pay for Rural Road and
suspension bridge construction

d. Nepalese Self-help contribution \$2,000,000
(rupee equivalent) (3 yrs.)

e. UN OPEX Personnel: 10 x \$ 300,000
\$30,000 ea. (Road and Bridge
constructors logistics)

f. Misc. Commodities requiring \$ 150,000
dollars (3 yrs.)

g. Peace Corps (per annum): 10 \$ 50,000
volunteer engineering graduates

h. USIS (communications, \$ 50,000
motivation and media specialists)

Recapitalization for Three Year Program

i. Annual Dollar requirement \$1,800,000
(600,000 x 3 yrs.)

j. Three year Rupee costs (U.S. + Nepalese) \$7,000,000

II. STOL Project to be financed by IDA Loan

a. 10 hileo planes x \$20,000 + Spares (\$100,000)	\$300,000
b. Contract with Japan Airlines for pilot, mechanic, air controller training (5 years)	\$3,000,000
c. Maintenance equipment	\$1,000,000
d. Buildings	<u>\$700,000</u>
	\$5,000,000

In working on this exercise, the group tried to pursue the problem somewhat further than just indicating the general nature of the activity, but also have a brief look at the program, financing, human resources, training and government-to-people communication problems. The program is outlined below:

The objective of the Central Nepal program is to bring the people of Central Nepal into meaningful contact with their government.

A. We propose to provide the administrative and material means to do this by creating jeep and small truck road links to the Central Area; by strengthening the Panchayatts (local government units) through making physical access to Panchayatt locations easier through construction of STOLS; by providing equipment and operations/maintenance training; and by creating or expanding on existing training institutions to give action-oriented, practical training in local government administration. U. S. advisors would help with the curriculum and various types of programs of the Institute. USIS advisors would also assist in the training and production sides, helping provide materials needed to assist in imaginative

and real communication between the Panchayat people and the government representatives.

B. Another important part would be construction of road links and leader roads with Central Nepal and the Katmandu Valley. At present, no roads exist and government representatives must be flown in or packed in with trips taking from two weeks to a month or more. In times of drought, even though there may be a surplus of rice in the Katmandu Valley there is no way of sending it to the mountain area. Also the villagers have no cash to buy and pay expensive transport charges.

The idea here is to take part of a leaf out of the Chinese book (not ideological) and build these roads with hand labor. The costs will be paid by the Central government from U.S. grant rupees and their own funds. Technical inputs will be supplied first by the Nepalese, second by East Pakistan under the day-to-day supervision of UN OPEX (operational expatriate) personnel and Peace Corps volunteers. Simple tools (shovels, crowbars, and dynamite) could be furnished under the project. Specially trained government workers would assist in the arrangements with the villagers to provide the manual labor, explain the benefits of the road, etc.

Since each neighboring village would have participated in building the road and understood that it came into being because of the government's concern for their welfare, it should contribute to a beginning of a real relationship between the people and their government. When the project is completed it should make possible increased intra-country travel, adequate food supplies during periods of short supply, and exports of timber and handicrafts to lower Nepal. The increased communication should allow the dialogue between the Panchayatts and the government to become more frequent and responsive to local needs and desires.

The air transport project would facilitate prompt transport of local and Central government officials back and forth on Nepalese operated and managed aircraft. The training school would be geared up to instill in government civil servants going out into these areas a "service" concept and not one of arrogant overlordship.

Indices for measurement are hard to devise beyond standard ones of numbers of miles of road, numbers of flights and Panchayatts visited, numbers of government administrators and local leaders trained at various levels, numbers of local sponsored projects, etc. At minimum, a research and evaluation unit should be built into the project at the outset to try to measure social and psychological change as well as economic effects (e.g. the ladder technique of interviewing villagers).

Other ideas, which may have merit, were discussed in the Nepalese context which might warrant further development. Briefly they were:

- a. Summer youth program - Senior high school and college level students might do summer work on government sponsored activities in local government offices, agricultural extension, and other rural programs. Carefully selected advanced students might serve as summer interns in the Central government and the USAID. Private enterprise, such as it is, might be asked to take part in the program. Communication aspects would be stressed, i.e. short orientation sessions and before and after questionnaires, etc. could be worked into the program.
- b. Communication Aids - such as National Wall Posters, and specially designed radio programs pointing up activities of key leaders (King, Prime Minister, etc.) and items of interest to the villagers might be organized. USIS could serve as a resource for project development.
- c. A new emphasis on participant training could provide skill training in U.S. and third countries [e.g. public administration, education (literacy), family planning (social aspects), and communications media].

Sub-Group E: The Private Sector

J. Blumgart, Chairman
 Harriet Crowley, (reporting)
 David Ernst
 W. Hamilton
 MacDonald Salter
 J. Whelton
 G. Zimmerly

It is the consensus of Group E that the essence of Title IX has always been an implicit end goal in U.S. foreign economic assistance -- but in recent years particularly, an unarticulated one and submerged in the more immediate economic goals.

The main ingredient in the successful Title IX activity is an accelerated expansion of development benefits to more of the people accompanied by a strategy of involvement and participation in their own destiny. In effect, programs should now be three dimensions - looked at in economic, social and political.

Given limited funds and few new programs, Missions should add a dimension in planning, evaluation and reporting to ongoing projects and include the same dimension as an element at the start of new projects.

The criteria for judging effectiveness of Title IX elements may be direct, as in the case of the rural works projects; or indirect as in the case of an LDC government action negotiated as the part of a program loan which makes imports more easily available to the middle and small business operators. Or it may be the catalytic effect of a pilot project such as the rice projects in the two provinces in the Philippines as reported by Mr. Haraldson.

The group would like to call attention to one area which has had little discussion during the conference and which has considerable relevance to Title IX. These are private programs now operating overseas and the growing number of interested and potential private resources, and the mechanism which they represent for popular participation.

Today the flow of United States national resources to the LDC's is divided almost equally between public and private - about two billion each. Of the private flow around \$700 million is in private technical assistance. Some with partial AID support, some without. How effective some of this may be is another question, but we have put little effort into improving its effectiveness or recognizing it in country strategy.

With declining AID funds it is only common sense to look at this flow more carefully both as a supplement, or in some cases as the substitute for public programs. And more specifically, to look at the mechanism included among these resources which clearly offer a methodology to broaden participation. An increasing number of these are centrally funded and operate outside the AID programming process. Missions, therefore, do not automatically include these in reporting the implementation of Title IX. I refer to such programs such as cooperatives, credit unions, professional associations, voluntary agencies, Asia Foundation, International Executive Service Corps, International Planned Parenthood, the three regional labor center programs, 211d grants, etc.

Indicative of the changing position of private resources for development are several trends.

One is the establishment of a new overseas investment corporation which will include the present investment incentive programs in AID with some additional authority. The proposal will be introduced in the new AID legislation and has considerable support of the government agencies and Congress and the private business community.

Another experiment which the Office of Private Resources has been carrying on during the last couple of years is the Incentive Grant to private technical assistance organizations which can be characterized as (1) stretching scarce AID technical assistance dollars; (2) encouraging private groups with needed expertise to expand their own programs and their own resources; and (3) reorienting of some of the organizations which have had contract relations for a number of years but which now are beginning to develop their own programs and raise a portion or all of the funding from non-AID sources. Two examples are: the U.S. cooperatives in the India fertilizer project and CIPM with the creation of management institutes.

The third straw in the wind will be an increased emphasis on private sector development in the programming of AID funds with a concentrated effort to attack the "choke" points in selected countries which are inhibiting private sector growth.

Discussion of two specific projects in the deliberations of the Sub-Group detailed what several considered as examples of a major Title IX thrust: Rural self-help and literacy programs in Laos, and local government and urban development programs in the Philippines.

APPENDICES

1. "An Interpretation of Title IX and a Strategy for Its Implementation," by Joseph S. Toner, Director, Office of Personnel and Manpower, Agency for International Development.
2. "The Meaning of Title IX," by Joseph C. Wheeler, Deputy Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Near East and South Asia, Agency for International Development.

AN INTERPRETATION OF TITLE IX AND A STRATEGY
FOR ITS IMPLEMENTATION

by

Joseph S. Toner

In trying to arrive at an interpretation of what Title IX means and developing a strategy for implementation of this section of the Foreign Assistance Act, I believe we have come a long way since we first requested the assistance of MIT and now the Brookings Institution in this endeavor. In reading some of the comments of the AID/MIT summer conference of 1968, and the Brookings Executive Seminar at Tunis in mid-December, one might be led to the conclusion that Title IX can not be defined in a way which will make any operational sense to the officers in the field who must make it work. However, from what I can gather from what has been reported thus far, the contrary is true, that is Title IX is a pragmatic, flexible doctrine which encourages creativity and provides the widest possible options in the selection of courses of action our Missions can take to further AID's objectives.

I thought it would be useful for us to build upon the experiences and conclusions that were reached at one of the previous conferences on the subject. Therefore, I plan to quote selected excerpts from the Tunis conference last December. These excerpts may be found in an article on the Tunis conference by John Tobler which appears in the January 1969 issue of the quarterly journal published by the National Interdepartmental Seminar.

It might be useful to begin by repeating a few of Congressman Fraser's comments at the seminar.

1. The problem of the developing nations has been described largely in economic terms. Conventional wisdom tells us that economic assistance is the primary need and that economic aid results in a better life for the people, moderates strains and stresses on the political system, and encourages the growth of democratic institutions. This statement of the problem has led us into blind alleys.

2. There is increasing evidence that the major shortcoming in the developing nations lies in their political and social structures. Until we address ourselves to this reality little progress will be made.

3. Changes in American society as it continues to grow reinforce the impression, that from the beginning, a concomittant of economic development, if not a prerequisite, is a growth in pluralism. Where this pluralism is inhibited, where decision making is not located at the most advantageous point, growth is bound to lag.

4. In all of these efforts, the initiative should come from those we seek to help. The problems should be discussed, examined, and analyzed together. A mutuality of interest should be developed.

5. If we seek to help the people of these nations, we should accept the political realities which from time to time generate political leadership which sees the world and their own national interest in a different light than we see them. Our aid should be concentrated on building the institutions and political and social infrastructure as well as the physical infrastructure which is the best hope to the people of these societies for meaningful participation in all phases of their national life.

Congressman Fraser also referred to the findings of a group of 25 Republican Congressmen who undertook a six months study of foreign assistance and issued a concluding statement, "New Directions and New Emphasis in Foreign AID," which was published in the Congressional Record of March 15, 1966. This study stated:

Development which does not reach the people is not progress in human terms and thus cannot significantly better the community. A grandiose economic infrastructure of transportation networks and physical plants and port facilities and industrial capacity is not by itself evidence of human progress or worthwhile development.

For progress, the economic infrastructure must be an integral part of the community. It must provide direct benefits to the people; it must be compatible with the political, cultural and social behavior of the people; it must be intermeshed with the people of the community it is designed to serve.

In short, an economic infrastrucure cannot provide meaningful human progress unless it springs from a vibrant human infrastructure. The task of development might best be expressed not in sterile economic terms but in terms of people, their awareness of the possible, their education and skills, their determination and participation -- the impetus they provide and the satisfaction they receive.

In concluding, Congressman Fraser emphasized that Title IX is really a statement which should cause us to think somewhat more than we have in the past about how society should be organized in order that the United States itself might develop in a more congenial atmosphere. He pleaded with the group not to place a legalistic interpretation on statutory wording but rather to look upon it as a Congressional injunction to become more deeply involved in the broader concept of social and political development of the countries we seek to assist. If the U.S. is going to succeed in its relations with other nations, we need to work toward creating a world society in which human aspirations are more closely met.

In the six days of discussion, the Tunis seminar explored the implications in Congressman Fraser's statement drawing upon selected background material provided in advance of the meeting. In these discussions, many arguments and criticisms were raised including the political sensitivity of the subject, and whether in fact we have the capacity to do anything in this area even if it were a good idea. Some of the general conclusions reached by the members of the Tunis seminar included:

1. Title IX in some respects is already being applied and has in fact been applied for many years in some of the AID programs. Further development of this approach, however, requires that a Title IX concept be built into the program at all levels and that training be extended to all relevant levels to sensitize personnel into this expanded area of endeavor.
2. It should be a low-key effort -- not a blunt -- instrument approach.
3. No general world-wide rules can be laid down, since Title IX must of necessity call for diversity of approach depending on the particular complex of problems faced by an individual country. This means increased awareness and initiative in the field.
4. The sense of Congress with regard to longer-term commitments is needed. Title IX cannot be applied effectively on a year-to-year basis. Long-term planning is essential and a great deal of patience will be required.

5. This is not an "AID exclusive." The application of Title IX must be an integral part of the overall AID effort. The tools used to carry it out should not be limited to AID. "Who implements what" is a decision which should be made at the Country Team level. In this regard, specific instructions should be sent to Ambassadors. In Washington, the subject should be considered at the level of the Inter-departmental Regional Groups, if not higher.
6. A great deal more flexibility must be granted the field. One of the prescriptions recommended for field action was that each mission should constitute a small working group of AID and other agency representatives to work out agreement on the local approach.
7. More initiative must rest with the host-government -- or host country nationals. Their scholars and research people should become involved.
8. In certain countries, host-country personnel should be included in any determinations made. (This was a particularly sensitive issue on which many pros and cons were raised. It was quite obvious that in different countries the problem would need to be approached in different ways, at different levels, through different channels. But it was equally obvious that a final determination on our actions with respect to any given country would have to take full cognizance of the feelings, aims and objectives of the host country nationals, and that the only way these can be ascertained is to bring carefully selected nationals fully into the exercise.)
9. While the aim is clearly the achievement of the U.S. foreign policy objectives within the broader context of U.S. national interest, this cannot be accomplished in a vacuum. In fact, if U.S. national interest conflict with host country interests and, once clearly identified, these interests cannot be reconciled, we would be well advised not to attempt to apply a Title IX concept.

A great deal of conference time was spent discussing the means for evaluating success or failure and the importance of evidences of accomplishment in Congressional reaction to Title IX programs. It was pointed out that these programs could not be evaluated in terms of facts and figures. Congressman Fraser was asked whether a report to

Congress that is based on intangible factors and evidence would be acceptable. His feeling was that it should be tried.

John Tobler attempted to summarize succinctly these conclusions by the following definitions and interpretations of what Title IX actually is and is not.

1. Title IX is an attitude, a practice -- not a specific program.
2. Title IX is a framework -- not an operation.
3. Title IX is a style of action -- not a series of projects.
4. Title IX constitutes a basis for evaluation of how we are doing in the broadest context of U.S. interests.
5. Title IX constitutes a basis for criticism on where we have gone wrong.
6. Finally, Title IX is a new dimension for the conduct of our foreign aid programs within the context of the U.S. effort as a whole in furthering our basic national interests.

I do not know if we all can agree with all of the conclusions which I have quoted, however, I think it would be useful for us to digest these thoughts over the next few days, challenge them, defend them, discard them, build on them and finally see if each of us individually can come up with a concept which becomes workable and meaningful in its relationship to the country programs in which we are engaged. The measure of success we have in reaching this objective, will not be quantifiable in the short run. Rather, it will be dramatized by the new directions which will be perceived by the Agency and Congress as the true believers in the field begin articulating the Title IX concept in strategy statements, programs, and projects. This articulation will not be a forced one as I believe it is now, but if Title IX is to take hold, it will be the 'warp' and 'woof' of the totality of our efforts and thus as easily integrated into our program planning and operations as cost benefit ratios.

THE MEANING OF TITLE IX

by

Joseph C. Wheeler

I would like to summarize my own reactions to a week of reading and discussion on Title IX, which has to do with "assuring maximum participation in the task of economic development on the part of the people of the developing countries, through the encouragement of democratic private and local governmental institutions." I will divide my remarks into three parts: First, the philosophical framework; second, the several levels of meaningful understanding of the concept; and third, Title IX applications in an operational sense within AID.

PHILOSOPHICAL FRAMEWORK

I enjoyed reading Boorstein on The Genius of the American System. He says that the genius of our system is that we don't have a hard and fast doctrine and that our decision-making process can thus absorb new forces pragmatically. In one sense I agree with this. Our governmental framework has demonstrated a remarkable ability to move with the times; our parties seek the consensus rather than the particular; our administrations respond to the issues of the day rather than adhering to yesterday's creed.

However, in another sense, Boorstein's analysis does not go far enough since he seems to me to touch too lightly the whole area of American values. Here I would argue that the American system is more than an aimless kaleidoscope. Our traditions, as articulated by that remarkable group of constitution founders, includes a system of values which underlie our society. And basic to this system of values is the notion that government is created by people -- it derives its legitimacy from the people -- its purpose is to serve people -- the individual is its end. This notion is not spelled out in great detail in our system because the founders, in their wisdom, realized that this was a theme around which many differing compositions could be composed and that our understanding of the theme and our realization of the goal would grow with time. Thus the original group even hesitated to articulate the rights of individuals in the constitution for fear that the very articulation would tend to set limits on the concepts. And when they did articulate the rights in the first ten Amendments, they left the articulation open-ended.

Through the years as our conditions have changed bringing new problems and opportunities the concepts have been enlarged. Examples include the package of measures to protect children from industrial exploitation; to give women equal rights, to provide rights to Negroes; to protect the individual against police authority; to enlarge the concept of free speech; to give to each individual economic security in an industrialized society; to provide education; to equalize voting power; and so on.

We don't articulate our doctrine partly because we don't want to freeze it in any mold. But the basic theme is there. And the Key is People.

In my view, Congress, in Title IX, has simply caught the essence of the American constitutional tradition and told us that we should justify ourselves against the measure of whether or not we are helping people. The use of the phrase "democratic participation" separates the concept from one in which government is the end rather than the servant of the people. To Congress, participation is a value in itself -- not simply a means to get more economic activity but a good thing in its own right. In Title IX, therefore, Congress has expressed a value, established a test, and reflected the spirit of the American tradition.

LEVELS OF UNDERSTANDING

Let us turn to the second series of thoughts on Title IX -- the several levels of understanding. In one of our discussions, one of us turned to the speaker and said that if he understood correctly, everything we do can be classified as Title IX. The rice farmer in the Philippines or the Punjabi wheat farmer has a new ability to make choices when he grows IRI-8 rice or Mexican wheat for the market and achieves a new income level. Private sector development supports this concept. More efficient government and more equitable taxes surely contribute. Education and public administration are part of it. Indeed, when you think about it, we are all Title IX'ers.

One reason that our present program, emphasizing economic development, is Title IX is that democratic participation depends on development of power distributed throughout the society. The subsistence farmer lacks power; the farmer in the market economy, on the other hand, can influence others, and if the private and public institutions are provided, he can participate in them. Democratic participation required development of power distributed throughout a system of law. This thought is often summarized with the word "pluralism," which implies distribution of power and decision-making to the appropriate points in the society. Power goes to participation.

I would argue that the all-encompassing concept I have described is a valid conclusion about Title IX. It is not the only conclusion about the Title IX, but still, a very important one. What it is saying is that we in AID need to describe our activity to the American people and to their representatives in Congress in terms which they understand. The average American cares about what we do for people rather than about GNP, and we would do well in our Congressional presentations and public addresses to focus on this point. When expressed in these terms, Title IX helps AID to justify its traditional program.

Along the same lines, Title IX helps us in another respect. This was impressed upon me in listening to Myron Weiner's presentation on India. With 540 million people -- more than in Africa and Latin America combined, it is the world's largest democracy. Since the amount of money we spend there is large, our success or failure in convincing Congress of our case turns to a large extent on India. Title IX urges that we increase our focus on India in the Presentation. It permits us to talk about the one country with more participating democratic activity than any other country in the world.

Now let us turn to another level of Title IX thinking and ask: How should Title IX change AID programming? How should it affect our traditional way of doing things? Surely it is not enough to stand on the notion that we are already doing it.

If I understand the consensus of this seminar, Title IX does not call for an infusion of new Title IX personnel in our program offices or for projects carrying a Title IX label. Rather it calls for a programming process sensitive to Title IX considerations. In developing country strategies, for example, the problems of geographic income disparities which have been discussed in our meeting for example, in India, Pakistan, Thailand, and Nepal -- take on a Title IX significance. In considering development loan strategies, the role of the private sector takes on a Title IX significance. In developing technical assistance programs, the role of local government is important. In planning any program, the involvement of people in the planning process is relevant to Title IX. Title IX is involvement of people, and as several of us have stressed, this can be within the political process or outside it. Surely community development is Title IX, as are labor unions, farmers' organizations, professional societies, cooperatives, and voluntary groups of all kinds.

We are helping nations who are riding the development tiger and having a hard time holding on. Thus we can expect vast social changes. We have heard of the extraordinary movement of people to cities taking place and soon to take place. We know that people awakened to the modernizing economy will demand even more. With modern communications, disparities are becoming better known and people will organize to get their due. The job of government is to absorb and reflect -- to internalize -- these new pressures. The society which fulfills expectations, which gives legitimate opportunities for the expression of views, will internalize better -- and this is a Title IX question -- and we will find ourselves giving more and more attention to these matters.

In summary, Title IX can be found in our present activities, but Title IX will also take on new significance as we give more urgent attention to the political and social arenas which in the past we have tended to slight in favor of the economic considerations.

TITLE IX IMPLEMENTATION

Now turning to the third point -- how we are to act in an operational sense if we are better to reflect Title IX in our programs. First, Title IX must be internalized within AID. This involves continuing activities such as this Seminar. It involves new orientation emphasis and adjustments to existing training curricula. It involves Title IX people getting around to USAID's. It involves careful reflection of Title in programming instructions and documents. It may involve hiring geographic specialists as regular members of our programming staffs. It certainly requires highest level consideration of Title IX implications. It means having research done to support USAID staffs. It involves the establishment of improved participant training programs which get across to the participant the participation features of the American system. It means 211d grants to strengthen U.S. university capacity to deal in this area. And it means carefully designed research of a more general character. It means looking at the UN programs to see if new elements can be added to those efforts. It means the development of institutions on an international scale to share ideas and experience -- for example on local government, on community development, on labor legislation, on control of monopolies, on rights of speech, on dealing with students -- indeed, on dealing with any number of Title IX related activities. We need to speed up our communications of experience. We need to inventory existing organizations of this sort and make sure they are being used. We need to involve our own and host countries' universities in the process.

In establishing the rules for implementing capital projects, we need to be sure that Title IX has been reflected. Has local participation been emphasized in the planning process? Has the project been scheduled not only on the construction phase but also on the human resources side? Have we scheduled the training of operators and scheduled the resettlement of displaced persons on that new dam project?

I have by no means been comprehensive in my listing, but it becomes clear that we can do a more sensitive and more complete job of programming, planning, and implementing taking into consideration democratic popular participation.

So, to summarize my reactions to Title IX, I see it as an opportunity to more effectively describe what we have been doing very well already. I see a shift in our programming and implementation processes to assure that we have systematically considered Title IX criteria. I see it as a focus of research analysis. I see it as the *raison d'être* of new mechanisms of experience communication among nations. It is not a static concept -- we will continually look for new meaning in our own constitutional traditions.

BEST AVAILABLE DOCUMENT

MONDAY, APRIL 28

1:30 - 2:00

THE PHILOSOPHY AND WORK OF THE SEMINAR

F. W. Luikart
Senior Staff Member
The Brookings Institution

Chairman of the Seminar

2:00 - 2:30

A.I.D. LOCKS AT TITLE IX - SOME IMPLICATIONS

Jerome T. French
Policy Planning Specialist
Title IX Division
Office of Program and Policy
Coordination
Agency for International
Development

2:30 - 4:30

VIEW OF TITLE IX FROM CONGRESS

The Honorable
F. Bradford Morse
Member of Congress from
Massachusetts

6:15 - 7:00

SOCIAL HOUR

7:00 - 8:15

DINNER

8:30

SMALL GROUPS - WORK PROJECT

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 30

9:00 - 10:30

YOUTH PROGRAMS AND SOCIAL
DEVELOPMENT

Robert D. Cross
Special Assistant for Youth Affairs
Office of Under Secretary
U. S. Department of State

Discussants: Calvin D. Cowles
Ivan Izenberg

10:30 - 12:00

MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT -
IMPLICATIONS FOR TITLE IX

David Levintow
Joint Economic Section
U. S. Mission
Vietnam

Discussants: Melvin H. Levine
Harriet Crowley

12:30 - 1:30

LUNCH

1:45 - 4:30

ROLE OF THE PRIVATE MARKET IN
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
IN ASIAN COUNTRIES

Fred W. Riggs
Social Science Research Institute
University of Hawaii

Discussants: John C. Heilman
David H. Ernst
Vincent W. Brown

6:15 - 7:00

SOCIAL HOUR

7:00 - 8:15

DINNER

8:30

PROBLEMS IN JOINT ADMINISTRATION OF
FOREIGN ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

Sixto K. Roxas
Bancon Development Corporation
Manila, Philippines

THURSDAY, MAY 1

9:00 - 12:00

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION AND POLITICAL
DEVELOPMENT (CASES)

1. Role of Administrative Structure in
Political Development

William A. Sommers
Public Affairs Advisor
USAID Thailand

2. Developing Democracies Program

Jerry J. Wood
Public Affairs Advisor
USAID Thailand

Discussants: Garnett A. Zimmerly
Thomas Judd
Donn W. Block

12:30 - 1:30

LUNCH

1:45 - 3:00

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS
OF URBANIZATION

Bascom H. Story
Director, Public Services Division
USAID Korea

Discussants: W. Hamilton
R. Hill
F. T. Underhill, Jr.

3:00 - 4:30

ANALYSIS OF RURAL WORKS PROGRAM IN
EAST PAKISTAN: PAST EXPERIENCE AND
FUTURE PROSPECTS

Vincent W. Brown
Deputy Director
USAID Pakistan

Discussants: MacDonald Salter
Jerome T. French

6:15 - 7:00

SOCIAL HOUR

7:00 - 8:15

DINNER

FRIDAY, MAY 2

9:00 - 12:00

POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF LARGE SCALE
WATER DEVELOPMENT

John D. Blumgart
Assistant Director
Regional Programs
RED - USAID Bangkok

Discussants: Lewis M. Purnell
Albert E. Farwell

IMPLICATIONS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
FOR TITLE IX

Philip Sperling
Research, Evaluation and Information
Retrieval Staff
Vietnam Bureau
USAID Washington

Discussants: Judson Bell
Charles Mann
Joseph M. Whelton

12:30 - 1:30

LUNCH

1:45 - 4:30

THE INDIAN STATES IN THE DEVELOPMENT
PROCESS

Myron Weiner
Senior Staff Member
Center for International Studies
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Discussants: Stephen E. Palmer
Richard Podol

6:15 - 7:00

SOCIAL HOUR

7:00 - 8:15

DINNER

SATURDAY, MAY 3

8:30 - 10:00

REPORTS FROM WORK GROUPS

10:00 - 11:00

REVIEW AND EVALUATION OF THE
SEMINAR

11:00 - 11:30

CLOSING REMARKS

Joseph Wheeler
Deputy Assistant Administrator
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F. W. Luikart

SEMINAR ADJOURNS

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OF THE UNITED STATES FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT

Baguio, Philippines
April 28-May 3, 1969

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