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EXECUTIVE SEMINAR ON  
SOCIAL  
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CIVIC DEVELOPMENT

Title IX of the United States  
Foreign Assistance Act

Antigua, Guatemala  
June 1-6, 1969

ADVANCED STUDY PROGRAM



The Brookings Institution  
Washington, D. C.

SUMMARY

## FOREWORD

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

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

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

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

INFORMAL SUMMARY OF THE SOCIAL  
AND CIVIC DEVELOPMENT SEMINAR  
GUATEMALA, JUNE 1-6, 1969

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9 July 1969

INFORMAL SUMMARY OF THE SOCIAL  
AND CIVIC DEVELOPMENT SEMINAR  
GUATEMALA, JUNE 1-6, 1969

Introduction and Summary of Conclusions

AID Mission Directors and political officers from the Central American countries met with Congressmen, eminent scholars, and resource participants from Washington in a seminar on social and civic development, June 1-6, 1969 in Guatemala. House Latin America Sub-Committee Members Dante Fascell (Chairman), Bradford Morse, and John Culver, along with Deputy Assistant Secretary Robert Culbertson, and Fordyce Luikart of The Brookings Institution (who chaired the seminar) were among the contributors to the conference.

The participants sought to ascertain the nature and implications of Title IX of the Foreign Assistance Act (which calls for greater popular participation in development through the encouragement of democratic private institutions and local self-government). The consensus was that broader participation of Latin American people in decisions which affect them will be conceded by present power holders only in response to pressure from below. The complexities, the unknowns, and the risks in the process of development were fully threshed over. It was recognized that the encouragement of democratic development in Latin America in some respects might be destabilizing politically in the short term, but the participants were agreed that it serves all of the United States' main national interests in the long term. The seminar concluded that Title IX does not devalue assistance for economic aims, but asserts that economic growth is an integral part of development, which inseparably requires social and political development.

I. Implementing Title IX

Edwin Cohn of the AID Policy and Program Office, Title IX Division, opened the substantive deliberations of the seminar, focusing his remarks on strategies for implementing Title IX. He stressed throughout that Title IX is a further dimension to all U.S. assistance efforts, rather than a new sector of concern or type of program. This true, the most realistic way of implementing Title IX is through having it actively in mind throughout the conception, design, and execution of a mission's aid program. This includes importantly those projects intended primarily to affect a nation's economy. In this connection, he noted that the AID manual on Capitol Projects is currently being revised, and hopefully it will include social feasibility and an analysis of social participatory implications.

In addition to the above broad, general approach to the implementation of Title IX, Mr. Cohn stressed the need for individual tailoring of broader popular participation in development and democratic institutions to fit each country. This is obviously required by the uniqueness of each nation's social, political, and economic situation.

## II. Research and Training

Research and training are two areas of particular attention in the Title IX Division presently. The Stanford Research Institute is studying for AID means to incorporate more effectively social and participatory considerations in the planning and implementation of assistance projects. Northwestern University is using statistical correlation techniques to establish relationships between economic modernization and sociopolitical participation. A contract with Harvard is for the study of different relationships between political, economic, and social changes. Under Section 211(d) of the Foreign Assistance Act an institutional grant has been made to the Fletcher School to improve its capabilities to train, do research, and provide consultation in the social and political aspects of development, and a similar grant is being negotiated with Yale for an interdisciplinary program on the role of law and legal institutions in development. In connection with the grant to Fletcher, a group (7 or 8) of AID officers will receive special mid-career training in 1969-70 on social and political aspects of development.

Some of the key questions concerning research are: 1) how to get Latins to do their own research in the social sciences; and 2) how to make more broadly available that which they and others do. The participants agreed that the research effort could not be sufficiently engaged until these questions are resolved. The establishment of central repositories of works by both Latins and others and the development of hemispheric bibliographies were suggested as attempts to resolve these problems.

## III. Correlates of Participation and Modernization

Among the cardinal conclusions of Harvard Sociology Professor Inkeles' study of correlation coefficients on political development were:

- 1) there is a very high correlation between the degree of modernization of a nation and its per capita gross national product (.8 or .9);
- 2) there is an absolute or very high correlation between per capita gross national product and -- a) popular discussion

of politics, b) the perception of anything positive about the political opposition, c) a sense of equal treatment from the government, d) a sense of ability to help correct governmental malpractices, e) a sense of satisfaction with the government, f) a sense of optimism, g) a sense of personal efficacy, h) trust in other people, and i) a sense that others care about your welfare. (Thus, the population of developed countries appears qualitatively different from those of less developed countries with respect to mutual trust, toleration, senses of satisfaction and potency.)

Inkeles has also found:

- 1) there is a high correlation between the degree of modernity and education;
- 2) education is the single most powerful factor associated with citizen participation;
- 3) there is a critical mass of education, between the 4th and 6th grades, beyond which greater results are achieved, and that education should be reinforced subsequently;
- 4) the single most important factor influencing the performance of an individual is the performance of his peers;
- 5) the factory has proven a very effective modernizing institution;
- 6) an extremely important product of both school and factory is their revelation of social organization--thus classrooms and teachers are important and educational TV is a limited tool, while factories render modernizing experience as an important by-product at no additional cost;
- 7) an important lesson of schools is that personal inputs affect one's situation;
- 8) schools also impart a sense of nationality;
- 9) urbanization per se as a force for modernization has been overrated.

Discussion of these findings outlined the following points:

- 1) the type of participatory experience found most conducive to modernization is that of cooperatives (though this is still being evaluated);
- 2) mass communication is very powerful in eliciting participation;
- 3) participation teaches participation; and
- 4) all training must be sensitive to the organizational setting. Inkeles strongly recommended against sending people to the U.S. or their local capitals for training.

#### IV. Social/Psychological Development

Edward Hirabayashi has been working on the social/psychological barriers to development in Ecuador. His technique has been essentially that known as "sensitivity training". His main objectives with social and civic implications are:

- 1) to get leaders to accept the concept of shared authority;
- 2) to get followers to perceive options permitting them to reject authoritarianism;
- 3) to sensitize and educate all to be concerned with their fellows. A well trained staff (personal knowledge of their capabilities is required), psychiatrically healthy targets, and the agreement of the targets to take part are some of the limitations of this technique. It is obviously not yet a tool applicable on a mass scale. A further problem is how to make it self-supporting. The seminar was strongly divided on the use of sensitivity training.

#### V. Constraints on Societal Change

Constraints on societal change and particularly the extent to which democratic development can be realistically expected were probed by the seminar. Outlining the manner in which authoritarian systems have persisted throughout most of history in most areas of the world, Everett Hagen of M.I.T. presented the thesis that the phenomenon persisted partly because it was preferred. He conditioned his thesis

with two premises (which seemed to bear no essential connection). First, that anxiety must be dominant over stimulus. Men don't like to face problems outside their sphere of experience, and the superior-inferior status of an authoritarian system removes broadly the unknowns of relationships among men. Second, there must be responsiveness (not equality, but respect) among the strata of the society. Hagen maintained that the attitude and behavior on the part of upper to lower classes in the present day authoritarian systems was a result of the humiliation of these elites by the more developed western societies. This resulted in frustration vented against lower classes. In view of the above, Hagen felt that formal education had little to do with the persistence of authoritarianism, which depends more upon the home environment of the individual throughout his first six years, approximately.

The concept that authoritarianism is preferred when there is responsiveness among the strata was not shared by most of the participants. Several pointed out that the revolution in communications, the spread of organizational techniques, and the slowness with which traditional societies provide substitutes for interpersonal relations all have strongly propelled the current underdog discontent. Also, the majority sentiment appeared to be that despite the deep engraving of experiences in the first six years of life, significant changes of attitude can be effected later by participatory experiences.

The seminar discussed the extent to which U.S. operations in Latin American countries should conform to the standards of ethics prevalent in the host country. A practical form of this question is that of the U.S. attitude toward corruption among Latin American government officials. Several expressed the view, which seemed endorsed by most, that as representatives and agents of American society, the Foreign Service has to reflect the ethical values of the United States and cannot be relieved of the pressure of the American people and Congress in this respect. Deviations accommodating practices in host countries must be understood to be temporary and tactical. Professors Inkeles and Huntington of Harvard, however, held dissenting reservations on this view.

#### VI. Participation and Institutionalization

Samuel Huntington maintained that the two key elements of Title IX, maximum participation and the growth of institutions are not necessarily compatible. Rapidly increased mobilization and participation, though it bears the advantage of being more easily quantified (literacy rate, number of radios, telephones, automobiles, induction

into armed forces, elections, etc.), can result in "political inflation" which erodes political institutions and thus political stability just as price inflation erodes economic stability. The growth and vitality of political institutions, according to Huntington, is a prime factor for political stability, political rationalization, and democratization. Modernization, for which there is a tremendous tide running, doesn't automatically include political development, and if it outstrips institutionalization tends to promote political decay. Huntington advocated a careful balance between participation and institutionalization. This revolutionary political development cannot succeed without rural and urban support. In structuring participation in the countryside, maximum use should be made of whatever traditional groups or appeals exist. Obviously, any organization must provide something people want before it goes into business. But in addition, to be successful rural organizations should be multi-functional, particularly those which provide security and psychological benefits. This is one of the reasons to be highly selective in choosing the groups to support.

To extend in a balanced fashion participation and institutionalization, U.S. foreign assistance policy should:

- 1) shift its emphasis from macroeconomic concerns to that of political organization and participation;
- 2) override the interests of particular business concerns in foreign areas when these conflict with democratic development aims;
- 3) be shifted from projects to organizations, from intervention in production to intervention in people.

However, Huntington cautioned that outsiders can play only a catalyst role, providing skills and training, no more.

#### VII. Intervention and AIFLD

Huntington's assessment provoked seminar thought on the extent to which U.S. intervention is possible and desirable in Latin America. A direct form of intervention would be the strengthening of or help in the creation of a political party dedicated to democracy. The seminar found that the internal U.S. constraints alone, e.g., the influential elements of U.S. society suspicious and distrustful of democracy, commercial interests initially at variance with democratic

gains in countries wherein they operate, and the U.S. military's understandable preference for order in Latin America, have proven an effective deterrent to intervention favoring the creation of democratic parties in Latin America. Peru was cited as the most obvious, current case in point, where these constraints effectively stymied real help to the democratic political parties during the Belaunde Terry Administration.

The seminar unanimously agreed that U.S. intervention, especially in the smaller countries and in varying extent, is unavoidable. It was noted that AIFLD activities are interventionist, but the participants agreed that AIFLD has made little contribution to the growth of democratic institutions. AIFLD tends to support those institutions which are compatible with it. In most cases these unions are not seriously involved in the struggle to establish a democratic union movement. Political officers and labor attachés attempt to maintain contact with leftist labor unions, but without funds at their disposal, this contributes little to institution building.

The participants reached no decision on their proper course when other values overrule democratic development aims. In inventorying and evaluating the various tendencies among the policy formulators in the U.S. Government, it was evident that some factors in the U.S. policy equation potentially antithetical to Title IX have been gaining in strength. Greater importance is being placed on the activities of private enterprise in Latin America. There seems to be a growing sense in Washington that the bureaucracy has become too unwieldy. Concentration on economic indicators is returning, with the psychological security they provide. Similarly, activities with a direct economic impact are gaining priority. The view that the U.S. should concern itself only with the foreign policy of the Latin American nations and not with the political, social and economic developments within those countries is ascending. According to that view, U.S. relations with those governments will not be materially influenced by the governments' political character. Finally, the U.S. experience in Vietnam and the internal conflicts surrounding race, poverty and student unrest in the U.S. have eroded the traditional support of foreign aid as a whole.

Most important, however, appears to be the nascent bias against "interference" accompanied by a liking for economic aid. The participants agreed that considerable ingenuity would be required to incorporate into the above tentative policy cordons regard for the longer term U.S. national interest of democratic development. This requires the participants to painstakingly, persistently, and

subtly infuse each issue and action with considerations designed to promote democratic development, to unflinchingly present the democratic alternative in all staff work prepared for policy makers' decisions. This appeared to emerge from the discussion as the best middle course as opposed to reinforcing contrary proclivities of the policy formulators and simply resigning. The power of ideas and the power of facts are still useful to Title IX, despite whatever deflating policy predilections currently ascendant.

Moreover, several participants voiced incredulity at the supposition that the U.S. could withdraw from political involvement in the Latin American nations. Participants drew several implications from this supposition. If it is not realistic, at least in the short run, the policy makers will soon realize that and adjust accordingly. In practice, it may revert to the familiar pattern of intervention on behalf of the status quo, but not in favor of change. It will have to result in more separate policies for different areas of Latin America. One participant thought that if truly adhered to, it would be in recognition of and hasten the breakdown of the special U.S.-Latin American relationship. Some participants held that U.S. intervention to date had strengthened the power position of the military, mainly by imparting superior organization, and U.S. withdrawal would leave a structure altered unfavorably from a democratic standpoint. Others rejected this claimed effect of U.S. military assistance.

#### VIII. Land Reform

Dale Adams maintained that land tenure reform is a dead issue in Latin America. The U.S. has devoted only about \$25 million and the IDB almost nothing to land tenure reform, and there are 15% to 20% more landless peasants today than when the Alliance for Progress Charter was signed. That document specifically committed the signatories to reform of land tenure structures, breaking up latifundia and consolidating minifundia.

To act on the problem, the U.S. must adopt it as a policy priority, devote more funds to it, tie other funds to performance on land tenure reform, and increase educational campaigns directed at the problem.

The seminar acknowledged that despite the Alliance, inhibitions against land reform persist in the U.S. A few influential U.S. companies still own Latin American land. Nevertheless, a more equal share of the sources of income, and in agricultural countries

this means land, is a prerequisite for social and political development. Conversely, a more articulate and knowledgeable citizenry will generate more effective pressure on its government. It was noted that land tenure reform must be accompanied by the work of survey teams, lawyers, and administrators to resolve the tangle of titles.

#### IX. Peasants, Power and Progress

Drawing largely on his experience in the Andean area, Professor Paul Doughty of Indiana University observed that peasants in their Latin American polities:

- form one-half of the population;
- are little valued by the upper classes;
- have poor physical and mental health;
- are more fearful and distrustful than other classes;
- have a sense of impotency;
- expect malfeasance;
- have a negative sense of nationalism;
- receive little affection;
- are pervasively controlled by their patrones;
- and have little or no economic surplus.

In the light of Doughty's characterization of the largest single group in Latin America, the following appeared to be concluded by the seminar:

- 1) A distinct culture exists which must, in part at least, be broken down to permit modernization toward the mainstream of civilization. It is questionable whether the U.S. has sufficient commitment for this task.
- 2) Broader participation in development cannot be achieved without a shift in political power downward and outward.
- 3) Shifts in power will require adjustments by U.S. business interests in the area. This requires the assertion of U.S. national interests over special commercial interests.
- 4) Without steady, measured sharing of power and wealth, a peasant explosion becomes increasingly likely.
- 5) It is not too late to try to persuade elites to accept land tenure reform. The principal levers of persuasion, interrelated, are money and pressure from below. U.S. assistance given directly to the peasant (not through the Government) can increase effective pressure for power sharing.

- 6) Some influence of U.S. assistance in this area is possible, though extremely difficult, as proven by our experience since 1962 when conditions were relatively more favorable. The effort requires greater explanation to the U.S. public. The need for dollars for local currency must be made clear to Congress.
- 7) U.S. efforts are reaching some Latins. For example, the Guatemalan Government is beginning to move on birth control and education.

#### X. Congressional Views

All three Congressmen, Representatives Fascell, Morse, and Culver, agreed that Foreign Aid is less popular than ever and Title IX little understood. Nonetheless, Representatives Morse and Culver seemed to support Representative Fascell's view that all concerned must continue "plugging away". He maintained that the U.S. cannot in the short term withdraw from Latin America. While continuing to deal with the elites, the U.S. should take some chances in promoting democratic motivation among the masses. Thus, though not the total answer, Title IX clearly is an important part of it, according to Representative Fascell. Development will not be secured through physical projects alone, but education and other human institutional changes are necessary. Representative Fascell invited the participants to submit to him a one-page memorandum on what new legislation furthering broader democratic participation they feel is needed. (The memo can be unattributed.)

One participant suggested that the foreign aid legislation contain a clause giving dominance to the purpose of development, enabling the Executive to override special interest provisions, such as the use of American ships to transport AID material and the tying of procurement where this hampers the development goal. Other participants suggested that a clarifying statement from Congress that local currencies can be used for social and civic development would be most helpful.

Representative Culver established one base point for the discussion to the extent to which the U.S. can influence development. Though pessimistic about the possibilities for change, he felt that the U.S. must apply "carrot and stick" unreservedly to promote democratic development. According to Representative Culver, it would be very wholesome for our Latin American objectives to have an ambassador declared persona non grata for democratic activism. The U.S. Government must adjust to true proportion the pressure

from Latin-based U.S. business, and be frank with Latin American governments in our stand for democratic development. The macro-economic approach to assistance must be broadened to include Title IX. The obstructive role of the U.S. military in Latin America must be mastered. This must all be decided at the highest level of the U.S. Government.

Ambassador Davis, stressing the agreement of the seminar on the fundamental issues, established a second base point with reference to Rep. Culver. While equally desirous of better ways to implement Title IX, he felt that by operating on the verge of being declared persona non grata U.S. officials could hinder the development of indigenous forces of leadership. There is a danger of doing too much and of precipitating a reaction.

Representative Morse explained that Title IX was enacted because:

- 1) there had been no effective evaluation in the implementation of foreign aid;
- 2) the constraint on development of attitude had become manifest;
- 3) it could recharge waning Congressional support for foreign aid.

He said Title IX is not an attempt to recreate the U.S. system, nor permit manipulation of political processes, nor an effort to put macroeconomists out of business, nor is it community development in the traditional sense. It is:

- 1) an effort to enhance the principal resource of any nation--its people;
- 2) an attempt to help all contribute to their own development and demonstrate the multiplier effect of cooperative action;
- 3) an effort to promote the mechanism of civic involvement which will demand response from the central government;
- 4) an effort to reduce government to government assistance relations;
- 5) an attempt to prove that creativity and the motivation of people, and not only money, are important for development. Rep. Morse stressed the importance of building up the political substructure rather than fomenting political parties.

## XI. Law and Development

The seminar was in agreement that obstacles to development abound in the legal systems of most Latin American countries, and Professor Boris Kozolchyk submitted evidence from his work in Costa Rica that some of these can be removed. The magisterial system per se has proven an obstacle, as it is impossible to legislate in advance against all eventualities despite the excess of legislation in Latin America. In Costa Rica, Kozolchyk prepared a new text based on the case method. In its revision all but a very few North American cases were replaced by Latin American ones, blunting the cultural imperialism charge. In a recent meeting the text was adopted by all Central American Law Schools.

The concept that legislating makes it so, resulting in neglect of implementation, has proven another obstacle to development. Many laws have awaited regulations for years, and many regulations have never been executed. The continuing original ill often leads to more legislation.

A third problem area is motivating compliance. Latin American systems have commonly used sanctions, which have fostered subterfuge (or "simulating" compliance). It would be preferable to replace sanctions with rewards in commercial law.

Some legal obstacles could be readily removed by astute resort to the courts, whereas an effort to secure legislation would stir up an ideological storm. A flanking action is then better than a frontal assault.

The seminar evidently agreed that legal aid centers (such as those set up in Costa Rica and staffed by law students and faculty), judicial training schools, and the proposal for an Inter-American Legal Service to support legal education and administration improvements were all feasible and desirable.

## XII. Guatemala: A Case Study

Deane Hinton, Director of USAID/Guatemala, presented an excellent case study of social and civic development assistance in Guatemala. It was obvious to him that development is a process of changing attitudes, rather than purely economic growth, which is one of its manifestations. Certainly, it is also a question of politics. Title IX philosophy now is integrated into all USAID/Guatemala programs. Among those with the heaviest Title IX intent are those in peasant leadership training, local government, and education.

The peasant leadership training program is run by Landivar in Guatemala in conjunction with Loyola University and relies mainly on sensitivity training techniques, followed by training in organizing techniques. The U.S. costs are high and it is difficult to measure its product, but an indication of its effectiveness is that the Guatemalan Government has requested AID assistance in establishing a Government peasant leadership training center. The Landivar program has become almost totally Guatemalan run.

In the local government field, INAD (National Institute for Development Administration) has selected local government as a target for improved administration and civic responsiveness.

AID support was the catalytic element in the creation of INAD in 1965. This year INAD sponsored a Congress of local government authorities (also AID supported). INAD's energetic interest in local government has spurred a more development orientation from INFOM (the National Institute for Municipal Development), whose primary operations have been financial and technical. The Peace Corps also has a small program of assistance to local governments.

In education the Mission has concentrated its assistance on the secondary and vocational school systems, the IDB assisting the vociferous, Leftist universities.

Mr. Hinton stressed that to be effective, resources must be allocated to these efforts, supported by intelligent technical assistance, and generally the higher Title IX content in a program the greater the human assistance (i.e., staff) requirement.

A major preoccupation is how to get the U.S. out of the program it foments. The Mission is working on means of encouraging Guatemalan students to undertake Title IX activities. To the extent that the Mission has failed, they believe it due to the difficulty of the problem. Looking for new policies is vain; more and better efforts toward the same goals and patience is needed.

The account of the progress of the Landivar project found a ready echo of interest among participants from other posts. The establishment of indigenous Landivar-type centers seemed preferred over the Central Americanization of Landivar itself. Missions in Panama and Honduras are already exploring possible sensitivity training of campesinos. It was recognized that in Guatemala as in the other Central American countries if the population growth is not rapidly dealt with it could swamp all other assistance efforts.

### XIII. Remaining Tasks

Robert Culbertson saw Title IX as part of the same mood of dissatisfaction with the perennial gap between ideals and practices which has been increasingly manifest in the U.S. with respect to poverty, race, and the governmental system. Among the major problem areas in Latin America remaining, Mr. Culbertson listed seven:

- 1) increasing economic growth beyond the 1.6% per capita GNP rate;
- 2) making income distribution more equitable;
- 3) additional education for children;
- 4) employment creation;
- 5) too rapid population growth compounding urbanization problems;
- 6) need for greater participation; and
- 7) transfer of technology.

To make progress in these areas it will be necessary to proliferate and expand efforts and to delegate efforts to existing and new private organizations, progressively indigenous rather than U.S. The U.S. moon exploration success and the new miracle rice are examples of the type of breakthrough which can be achieved with massive concentration of effort.

Washington is seeking to redefine its relations with the field to try to make available resources not now available to the individual Missions. Few participants were prepared to comment on the summary descriptions of some proposed activities being considered by SCD. One participant requested the Missions be charged in some way for resources in these proposals, the better to weigh them against competing claims on funds. Respecting the Moss Amendment, the idea of skewing credit in favor of social benefit projects was attractive to participants, but one participant at least doubted that bankers would cooperate, noted the fantastic administrative costs, and saw no way of the U.S. phasing out of the scheme eventually. On the provision that its results would be promptly utilized, several participants supported the proposed inventory of local government in Latin America. The proposal for an Inter-American Legal Service met with the approval of a number of participants and engendered no criticism. The proposal for supporting a third country local

government assistance program through the Brazilian Institute for Local Government Development (IBAM) evoked support for the proposed objective, but the question was raised as to whether there would prove to be a language barrier. However, it was pointed out that in a previous IBAM training program for Spanish speakers the language difference was adequately provided for.

The further reaction of participants was to be submitted to SCD by mail.

XIV. Conclusions:

A) From the Plenary Meetings

Some of the more dominant conclusions of the general meeting were:

- a) U.S. "intervention" in varying extent, especially in the smaller countries is unavoidable in the short term.
- b) Nevertheless, there are signs that Washington seeks to withdraw from involvement in Latin American affairs. If an attempt is made to withdraw from Latin America, it would probably be compromised shortly with present practices, mixed in effect but on balance in favor of the status quo, reappearing. Development assistance aimed more at people and less at governments, intended to build up the political substructure, would seem in harmony with retraction.
- c) More separate policies for different countries seem indicated.
- d) Latin-based U.S. business interests and the concern of the U.S. military for order and stability in the hemisphere have often precluded or diluted U.S. support of social and political development.
- e) Social and political developments are integral parts of development in Latin America, a major U.S. national interest. Some risks must be run for it now.
- f) A distinct culture exists which must, in part at least, be broken down to permit modernization toward the mainstream of civilization. It is questionable whether the U.S. has sufficient commitment for this task.

- g) Broader participation in development cannot be achieved without a shift in political power, downward and outward.
- h) Shifts in power will require adjustments by U.S. business interests in the area. This requires the assertion of U.S. national interests over special interests.
- i) Without steady, measured sharing of power and wealth, a peasant explosion becomes increasingly likely.
- j) It is not too late to try to persuade elites to accept land tenure reform. The principal levers of persuasion, interrelated, are money and pressure from below. U.S. assistance given directly to the peasant (not through the Government) can increase effective pressure for power sharing.
- k) Some influence of U.S. assistance in this area is possible, though extremely difficult, as proven by our experience since 1962 when conditions were relatively more favorable. The effort requires greater explanation to the U.S. public. The need for dollars for local currency must be made clear to Congress.
- l) U.S. efforts are reaching some Latins. For example, the Guatemalan Government is beginning to move on birth control and education.
- m) U.S. support for social and civic development has relatively high personnel requirements.
- n) A more equal share of the sources of income, and in agricultural countries this means land, is a prerequisite for social and political development.
- o) Population growth, if not promptly dealt with, could swamp all assistance efforts.
- p) In the weighing of U.S. interests, considerable ingenuity will be required to incorporate the longer term U.S. interest of democratic development. It must be painstakingly, persistently, and subtly infused into all staff work prepared for policy makers' decisions.
- q) The power of ideas and facts are still useful to Title IX despite whatever policy predilections may be currently ascendant.

## B) From the Working Groups

### 1. Title IX Role of the Foreign Affairs Agencies

The seminar's working group on the cooperating role of each foreign affairs agency affirmed that as Title IX is clearly a policy statement, all foreign affairs agencies do have a role in its implementation. Each country team should have regular Title IX sessions. Each agency should attempt to get away from government to government programs. There was divided opinion on whether a Title IX officer should be appointed. Someone is needed to receive and monitor action, but there may be danger in a hard, formal designation. This decision rests on the condition of each post.

According to Robert Culbertson, a larger Title IX role for the political section is now contemplated. The AID/Economic Section marriage has been successful, and greater AID interaction with the political section is clearly feasible. A political associate AID director position is a possible move in this direction.

### 2. Instruments for Social and Civic Development

According to the second working group an annotated catalog of instruments ought to be prepared. Several target groups under which instruments should be cataloged are peasants, small farmers, slum dwellers, labor, small shop owners, and professionals. The cataloging of instruments should be farmed out. After broad consideration, utilization of instruments should be highly selective. All instruments selected must promote real participation, yield a material product, and be of high integrity.

The problem of "wholesaling" Title IX projects remains, since Title IX projects have a relatively high staff requirement.

### 3. Indices of Progress

The working group first defined social and civic development as progress attained in social justice and democracy through law in activities which affect individuals. It concluded that GNP, a count of persons below a minimum income level (variable), and also an income disparity index, all primarily economic indicators, were the best social and civic development measures. A minority of the working group and several

other participants were dissatisfied with the above measures as indicators of democratic progress. Civic development certainly involves broadening the influence of citizens in decisions affecting them, not detectable at all from the above economic indicators.

4. U.S. National Interests Served by Title IX

The working group defined as important elements of Title IX the motivation and participation of increasingly large segments of a society in its decisions, plus the growth of institutions to provide a framework for that participation (this involves a greater role by political parties). The working group concluded that these elements were more than likely to be destabilizing in the short term and thus adverse to one important U.S. national interest. In the long term Title IX should serve all U.S. national interests. Regardless of the effectiveness of Title IX, it is psychologically important to the U.S. to increase our own self-respect. Support of popular participation abroad should tend to make the U.S. more committed to it at home.

**SUNDAY, JUNE 1**

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5:00 p.m. - 6:15 p.m.

**THE PHILOSOPHY AND WORK OF  
THE SEMINAR**

Fordyce W. Luikart  
Senior Staff Member  
The Brookings Institution

Chairman of the Seminar

**STRATEGIES FOR IMPLEMENTING  
TITLE IX**

Edwin J. Cohn  
Title IX Division  
Office of Program and  
Policy Coordination  
Agency for International  
Development

6:15 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.

**SOCIAL HOUR**

7:00 p.m. - 8:15 p.m.

**DINNER**

8:30 p.m. -

**AID LOOKS AT TITLE IX**

Robert B. Black  
Director  
Office of Social and Civic  
Development  
Bureau for Latin America  
Agency for International  
Development

**MONDAY, JUNE 2**

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9:00 a.m. - 11:30 a.m.

**THE NATURE OF AUTHORITARIAN  
POLITICAL STRUCTURES -  
WHY THEY EMERGE AND PERSIST**

Everett E. Hagen  
Professor of Economics and  
of Political Science  
Center for International  
Studies  
Massachusetts Institute of  
Technology

11:30 a.m. - 12:00 noon

**PROGRAM GUIDANCE FROM  
PARTICIPANTS\***

12:15 p.m. -

**LUNCH**

1:45 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.

**POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND  
POLITICAL DECAY**

Samuel P. Huntington  
Chairman  
Department of Government  
Harvard University

6:15 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.

**SOCIAL HOUR**

7:00 p.m. - 8:15 p.m.

**DINNER**

8:30 p.m. -

**SMALL GROUPS - WORK PROJECT**

**\*Participants to suggest use of  
unscheduled time, key questions and  
topics to be examined by working  
groups, and agenda changes.**

**TUESDAY, JUNE 3**

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9:00 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.

**SOCIAL AND CIVIC DEVELOPMENT  
WITHIN U.S. POLICY OBJECTIVES**

Samuel W. Lewis  
Special Assistant for Policy  
Planning  
Bureau of Inter-American  
Affairs  
Department of State

10:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon

**CASE STUDIES**

Guatemala  
Deane R. Hinton  
Director  
U.S.A.I.D./Guatemala

Costa Rica  
Lawrence E. Harrison  
Director  
U.S.A.I.D./Costa Rica

Discussants:

Allen E. Claxton  
Raymond E. Gonzalez  
Max Krebs

12:15 p.m. -

**LUNCH**

1:45 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.

**INDUSTRIALIZATION, MODERNIZATION  
AND PARTICIPATION**

Alex Inkeles  
Professor of Sociology  
Center for International Affairs  
Harvard University

4:00 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.

**PROGRAM GUIDANCE FROM  
PARTICIPANTS**

**TUESDAY, JUNE 3 (continued)**

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6:15 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.

**SOCIAL HOUR**

7:00 p.m. - 8:15 p.m.

**DINNER**

8:30 p.m.

**SMALL GROUPS - WORK PROJECT**

**WEDNESDAY, JUNE 4**

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9:00 a.m. - 10:15 a.m.

**RURAL REFORM**

Dale W. Adams  
Agricultural Economist  
Sector and Market Analysis  
Division  
Agency for International  
Development

10:15 a.m. - 11:30 a.m.

**SOCIAL JUSTICE**

Boris Kozolchyk  
Regional Organization for  
Central America and  
Panama  
U.S.A.I.D./Costa Rica

**Discussants:**

Thomas J. Riegert  
L. Paul Oechli  
Robert White

11:30 a.m. - 12:00 noon

**PROGRAM GUIDANCE FROM  
PARTICIPANTS**

12:15 p.m. -

**LUNCH**

1:45 p.m. -

**VISITATION TO PROJECTS**

(Optional)

Intended to provide unscheduled  
time

6:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.

**SOCIAL HOUR**

7:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.

**DINNER**

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 4 (continued)

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8:15 p.m. - 9:30 p.m.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Ed Hirabayashi  
Community Development  
Advisor  
U.S.A.I.D./ Ecuador

Discussants:

Samuel Moskowitz  
Lawrence J. Tate

**THURSDAY, JUNE 5**

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9:00 a.m. - 11:30 a.m.

**PROBLEMS, PEASANTS AND  
PROGRESS**

Paul Doughty  
Professor of Anthropology  
Indiana University

Discussants:

Lawrence E. Harrison  
Edward M. Rowell

11:30 a.m. - 12:00 noon

**PROGRAM GUIDANCE FROM  
PARTICIPANTS**

12:15 p.m. -

**LUNCH**

1:45 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.

**VIEWS OF TITLE IX FROM  
CONGRESS**

The Honorable  
F. Bradford Morse  
U. S. Representative  
from Massachusetts

The Honorable  
Dante B. Fascell  
U. S. Representative  
from Florida

The Honorable  
John C. Culver  
U. S. Representative  
from Iowa

Discussant:

Marian A. Czarnecki  
Consultant  
House Committee on Foreign  
Affairs

**THURSDAY, JUNE 5 (continued)**

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6:15 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.

**SOCIAL HOUR**

7:00 p.m. - 8:15 p.m.

**DINNER**

8:30 p.m. -

**SMALL GROUPS - WORK PROJECT**

**(Optional-to be determined  
by the groups)**

**FRIDAY, JUNE 6**

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9:00 a.m. - 10:15 a.m.

REPORTS FROM WORKING GROUPS

10:15 a.m. - 11:00 a.m.

REVIEW AND EVALUATION

11:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon

CLOSING REMARKS

SOCIAL AND CIVIC DEVELOPMENT -  
NEW ETHOS FOR FOREIGN  
ASSISTANCE

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

12:15 p.m. -

LUNCH

SEMINAR ADJOURNS

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

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U.S.A.I.D./Panama

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Agricultural Economist  
Sector and Market Analysis  
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Development

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U.S.A.I.D./Honduras

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JOHN R. BREEN\*  
Director  
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RAYMOND E. GONZALEZ  
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Costa Rica

LAWRENCE E. HARRISON\*  
Director  
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DEANE R. HINTON  
Director  
U.S.A.I.D./Guatemala

ED HIRABAYASHI  
Community Development  
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U.S.A.I.D./Ecuador

JOHN H. KAUFMANN\*  
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Regional Organization for Central  
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U.S.A.I.D./Costa Rica

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Deputy Chief of Mission  
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Political Officer  
U.S. Embassy  
Honduras

OLIVER SAUSE\*  
Director  
Regional Organization for  
Central America and  
Panama

ROBERT E. SERVICE  
Department of State  
Mexico

ROBERT WHITE  
Deputy Director  
Latin American Region  
Peace Corps  
Washington, D.C.

LOUISE YOUNG  
Agency for International  
Development  
Washington, D.C.

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\*Participated from one to three days

FRANKLYN W. EVERTZ  
Seminar Control Officer  
U.S.A.I.D./Guatemala