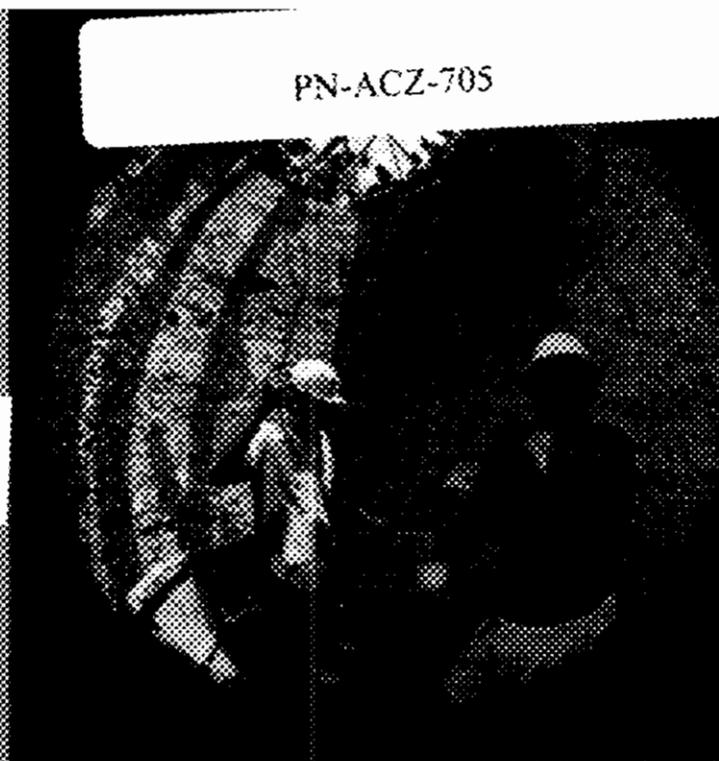


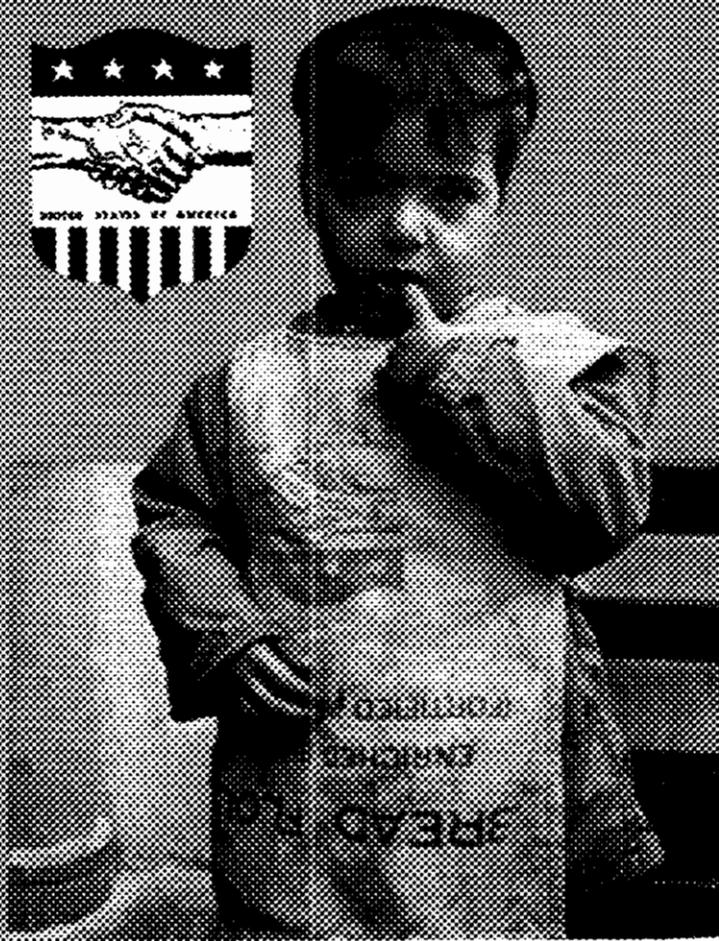
agenda

agency for international development

NOVEMBER 1981



LESSONS LEARNED: 20 Years of AID



DEVELOPMENT UPDATE

Munching on microbes: Microbes, those tiny one-celled organisms that are invisible to the naked eye, may well play a major role in feeding the world's growing masses. In fact, many people already eat the protein-rich microbes regularly—in yeast bread, cheese and other dairy foods, for example. It's only a beginning, scientists are saying. Some day protein derived from microbes could be mass-produced to meet all dietary needs. A single-cell protein (SCP) can be made in almost any form, from a simple colorless powder to sprinkle on food to nutritious "candy" bars or "meat" patties. But don't look for these products in the stores just yet. There are still considerable problems.

Although microbes feed on almost any hydrocarbon source, from sugar to petroleum, and multiply with amazing speed, they sometimes create so much heat in the process that they self-destruct. According to an article in "Bioscience," raw SCP is very high in nucleic acids, which among other things, can cause gout. It doesn't taste good. And it's hard to digest.

Nevertheless, many scientists believe these problems are surmountable, that production costs—now high—can be brought down to a reasonable level and that one day we'll all be munching on microbes.

Why don't more third world farmers take suggestions and recommendations of researchers and extension workers, wondered Donald Winkelmann and Edgardo Moscardi of the International Maize and Wheat Improvement Center in Mexico City.

Some experts, they found, claim farmers are at fault, arguing that preferences based on tradition lead farmers to reject unfamiliar methods. Some point to extension services, arguing that improved technologies have not been demonstrated to farmers. Still others claim that inadequate credit limits farmers' ability to adopt improved technologies. Some emphasize that inputs, such as fertilizer, are just not available, especially at affordable prices.

But, the two economists discovered, even the poorest farmers—supposedly the most tradition-bound and the ones with least access to inputs, information and markets—do take up certain new technologies while rejecting others. It seems it's a matter of finding out what the farmers' needs and means are and meeting them. It's called appropriate technology.

Development, a long hard road: "I was part of a rural health program in West Africa," recalls an ex-Peace Corps volunteer. "We were received very warmly into the villages and the women seemed to listen very attentively as we tried to explain the importance of sanitation and nutrition. We noticed that the village children were eating dirt and of course we urged the women to make them stop and explained why. They nodded and said 'yes, yes,' but the children kept at it. Africans are very polite people and they don't like to tell you something they know you don't want to hear. But finally one of the women spoke up. 'We can't tell the children to stop eating dirt,' she said. 'That's what makes their bones grow strong.' And suddenly I realized what a big job lay ahead."

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Agenda is published 10 times a year by the Agency for International Development, a part of the International Development Cooperation Agency. Agenda is free upon request to the U.S. public. Readers are invited to submit original manuscripts (including speeches) and photographs on any aspect of international development. Such material cannot be returned unless accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope of sufficient size and strength. Contents of this publication may be reprinted or excerpted unless copy-righted or non-AID source is noted. Credit to Agenda is requested.

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M. Peter McPherson, Administrator
Herb Harmon, Director
Office of Public Affairs

Publications Division,
Office of Public Affairs
Agency for International Development
Washington, DC 20523
(202) 632-8351

Edward R. Caplan, Division Chief
Lee Mullane, Editor

Twenty years have passed since Sept. 4, 1961, when President John F. Kennedy signed into law the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 which led to the creation of the Agency for International Development by executive order in November. During this time, AID has not only contributed to the welfare of developing countries, but also to the welfare and national security of the United States and the world.

In these 20 years, AID has provided development assistance to some 100 countries at an approximate cost of \$54 billion, of which \$22 billion has been in the form of loans.

It has been said that knowledge of the past prepares us for the challenge of the future. One lesson learned over the years is that development takes time. No matter what the approach, it is complex and lengthy.

From 1961 to 1973, AID concentrated largely on capital projects such as dams, railroads and highways in the belief that they would ignite an "economic take-off" in the developing countries. This would create jobs, food, education and higher income for the poorest people in those countries.

While results fell short of hopes, creation of infrastructure contributed notable achievements. Average Third World life expectancy increased from 35 to 50 years—the level attained in Western Europe at the beginning of the 20th century. The percentage of adults in low-income countries who can read and write rose from 10% to 23% between 1960 and 1974.

Some developing countries achieved such great economic growth that they no longer need U.S. assistance. Subsequently, they established new economic relationships with the United States based on trade and private investment. Taiwan and South Korea are two obvious examples.

Korea's evolution from economic stagnation 28 years ago to profitable trading partnerships today can in large measure be attributed to the U.S. foreign assistance program.



LESSONS LEARNED: 20 Years of AID

Development is not
a neat, straight thread.

by James Bednar and Maxine Stough





AID support has taken many forms over the years, from helping in the relocation of the monuments of Nubia to make way for the Aswan Dam, to funding health care programs.



An Indian farmer may have a better harvest this year, thanks to AID-funded research. But improved crop yields are only part of the challenge. In many countries, roads are needed if crops are to be marketed.

AID helped build schools and set up training in a host of vocational and technical areas, at the same time supporting every phase of the nation's economic activity.

Today visitors see industry on a grand scale and the signs of a rapidly rising standard of living. The bustling people are well-fed, well-clothed and well-educated. The indications of growing prosperity are everywhere.

In 1962, per capita GNP (gross national product) was \$87. By the end of 1980, it had jumped past \$1,500. In a single generation, South Korea has become a major U.S. trading partner. Our exports to that nation reached nearly \$5 billion in 1980 and are expected to climb past \$5.5 billion in 1981. Bilateral trade exceeding \$10 billion is predicted for 1981. Nine South Korean firms are listed as Fortune 500 companies.

Over 16 years, beginning in 1949, the United States provided almost \$500 million in development assistance to Taiwan. We financed a hydro- and thermo-based energy system that fueled the massive industrialization that subsequently took place. We helped enlarge harbors and lent a hand in rehabilitating and expanding railways and roads.

Our aid to agriculture helped Taiwan double output in 14 years and achieve food self-sufficiency. The policies we encouraged led to an emergence and dominance of private enterprise in industry.

But, encouraging as these gains are, they mask the fact that in most developing countries the benefits of economic progress have not reached the vast majority as rapidly as might be desirable. And in many cases, population growth has outstripped economic gains.

So, by the early 1970s, development strategists were beginning to conclude that the world's poorest people generally were being left behind. "New Directions" was Congress' response, and it was echoed around the world. This led donor





In the early days of AID, massive projects were the rule. Today, the emphasis has shifted to meeting basic human needs in, for example, food, water and health.



and developing countries alike to re-design development programs in 1973 in an effort to raise the productivity and incomes of the poor and to lead to the ultimate self-sufficiency of Third World countries.

The strategy became known as the "basic human needs" approach, aimed at achieving equitable income growth. Because it has been in use a relatively short period of time, the results are still to be measured.

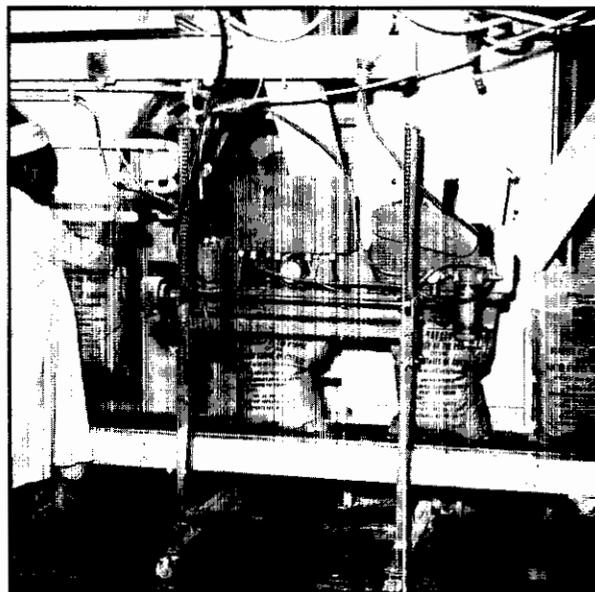
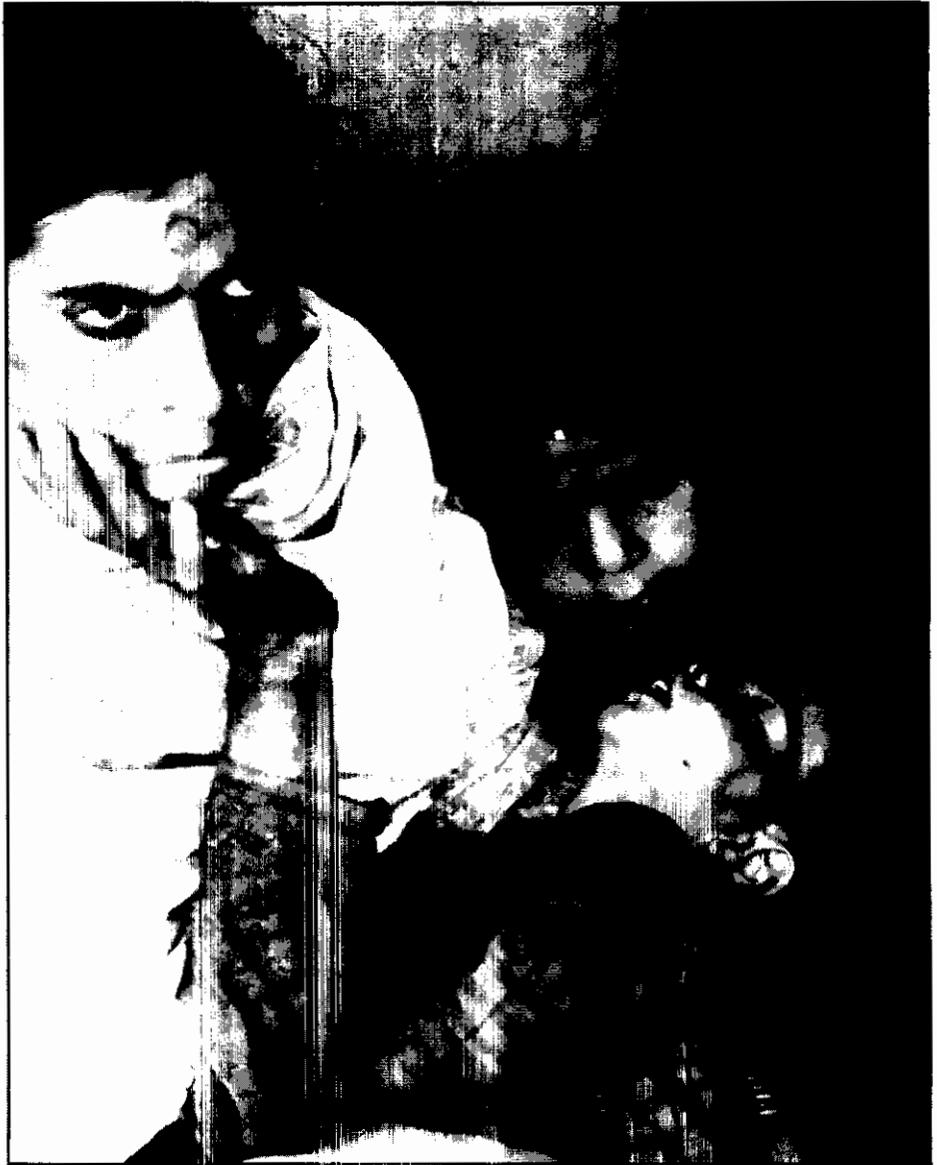
Its essential elements include a combination of increased provision to the poor of such productive resources as land, water, fertilizer, seeds, tools and credit. It stresses increased investment and production in activities that employ unskilled labor. And it expands services of health, nutrition, family planning and education that over time improve the productive capacity and employment potential of the poor.

The Reagan Administration is concentrating the program on encouraging improved economic policies in recipient countries, institution building, technology transfer and increased involvement of the private sector. Improved economic analysis also will enhance the effectiveness of our assistance programs.

Through institution building and technology transfer, the developing countries eventually will assure that development programs do not underwrite stagnation. Encouraging private sector involvement will enhance productivity and growth in the developing countries. These administrative emphases will be applied within each of the sectors to which U.S. assistance is directed—to agriculture, health, population, energy and education.

Much remains to be done. Development is not a neat, straight thread. It is a bundle of strands that must be sorted out, then plaited. It takes time. □

James Bednar and Maxine Stough are writers on the staff of AID's Office of Public Affairs.



Mothers and children throughout the Third World need health care and nutrition training.

Bags of grain destined for poor countries are filled in a U.S. plant.

Probably the best known U.S. symbol throughout the world—other than the American flag or Coca-Cola—is AIO's Handclasp. It has become a symbol of the United States' concern and long history of aiding those in need. The red, white and blue design is a required label for U.S. goods sent overseas under American assistance programs and is also printed in the national emblem of the AIO.

Handclasp was first used during the World War I era as a symbol of unity and cooperation between the United States and its allies. It was later adopted by the AIO as a symbol of its commitment to international aid and cooperation.



of union in the mythology and religious rites of Asia Minor.

The handclasp was part of ancient Hindu marriage ceremonies and that of the Romans, passing on into Christian ceremonies. Clasped hands were used on Roman coins in the first century and on 16th century African coins. They appear on many memorials including a battle-field memorial at Pea Ridge, AR, honoring men of the North and South who fell during the Civil War. They appear on the state flag of Louisiana and on the flag of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Gauli conceived the handclasp as a symbol of unity and cooperation between the United States and its allies. It was later adopted by the AIO as a symbol of its commitment to international aid and cooperation.

seen as a sign of unity, good will and cooperation for centuries. They were familiar as a sign

recognized from Nepal to Peru. □
—James Walker



Foreign aid dollars buy American products for export and use in helping poorer countries.

Foreign aid is a popular whipping boy, especially during times of fiscal austerity.

At such times, citizens, public administrators and legislators often ask why "we" are wasting all that money overseas when we have problems at home that need attention.

Similar questions, even criticisms, were voiced about the space program. "Why are we wasting all that money on space?" as if we simply bundled up billions of dollar bills, placed them in rockets and fired them into outer space!

There seems to be a similar misconception about foreign aid, that we simply package up bundles of dollar bills and export them to foreign countries.

Land-grant universities that are experiencing growing international dimensions, sometimes face these kinds of questions, too. To help answer them, one such institution, Washington State University, put together the following case history from records in its controller's office, and of the firms with which it contracted.

On June 14, 1979, a white George S. Bush Co. truck pulled up to VWR Scientific in Seattle and loaded 14 cartons of scientific instruments which were delivered to Seattle-Tacoma International Airport.

The shipment left Sea-Tac on June 27 in the belly of Pan American Flight 122, a Boeing 747, destined for London's Heathrow International Airport to make connections for eventual delivery on July 17 to the University of Jordan in Amman.

The transaction was one of the final details of completing a four year contract to help the University of Jordan establish a college of agriculture.

It is but one small example of how U.S. Agency for International Development contracts benefit local, state and national economies, as well as the Third World nations.

This one contract involved \$21,224.74 of business within Washington state—\$19,944.70 to VWR for

the instruments and \$1,280.04 to Bush, of which Bush paid \$1,164.32 to Pan Am for freight and \$62.94 to Royal Globe Insurance Cos., a Seattle firm, for insurance. The remaining \$42.78 Bush kept for local cartage, documentation and forwarding fees.

The entire sum came from AID and was part of several million dollars worth of non-agricultural goods and services bought in Washington state each year for shipment overseas as part of AID's economic development programs.

For the fiscal year ending Sept. 30, 1979, AID records show that Washington state sold more than \$34 million worth of goods, services and agricultural products as a direct

by Terence L. Day

Contrary to popular opinion, many dollars are spent right here, says one state university.

FOREIGN AID NO BUNDLE OF CASH



American-made goods are loaded on a U.S. carrier for transport overseas.

result of foreign aid programs and that an additional \$5.5 million worth of technical service contracts were in effect with universities and individual experts for research or supervision of AID field projects.

Of that, more than \$30 million was paid to the state's farmers and food processors for grain and other agricultural commodities sent to developing countries under the Food for Peace Program.

More than \$4 million was paid to Washington manufacturers and other firms for goods and services used in overseas economic development programs administered by AID.

Sharing the business were 23 Washington firms that sold goods and 10 businesses, institutions and individuals that sold services. Nearly all of the money went to companies and institutions in the highly urbanized Puget Sound Region.

John S. Robins, dean of the WSU College of Agriculture, says the university has been involved in international programs for nearly 30 years. That involvement has been increasing since the early 1970s, when it finished a project to help develop a university in Faisalabad (formerly Lahor), Pakistan. Since then it has been involved in a similar project in Jordan, and in others in Indonesia, Lesotho and Sudan.

Development contracts held by WSU total \$36 million over a period of several years. Robins says WSU doesn't spend any state funds on the projects, and that wherever possible, all goods purchased for them are bought from Washington businesses. Federal law requires all purchases be from United States firms if they sell the items, and that transportation be on American carriers as far as possible.

Besides the economic stimulus that these development programs create in our own economy, Robins cites a vital national interest.

"A half billion people are affected by the nutrition gap. Half to two-thirds of the children in developing countries are undernourished. The United Nations estimates that 12 million children under the age of five died of malnutrition last year. It would take 88 million tons of grain a year to fill the gap between food production and minimum nutritional needs in food-deficit countries.

"But developing nations import only about 44 million tons of grain, which leaves them still 44 million tons short of what they absolutely need. And the situation is getting worse," Robins says. "The projected shortfall in 1990 is between 132 million tons and 160 million tons.

"To put this in perspective, con-



sider that Washington state produces only 3.5 million tons of wheat each year on its vast, rich wheatlands, and the entire United States produces only about 63 million tons.

"The humanitarian aspects of helping solve world food and economic problems are obvious and compelling. But less obvious is the fact that we must help these people for our own protection."

Americans cannot divorce the future of less-developed countries from the future of America, according to the dean. First, we have an economic self-interest. Some 1.2 million American jobs depend on exports to the Third World. Last year American farmers exported a fourth of all that they produced—commodities valued at \$41 billion.

Indirectly that permits Americans to buy foreign-made consumer goods, including vehicles, television sets, radios and clothing, all of which contribute to the American way of life.

And, Robins points out, exports are especially important to Washington state's economy although the average citizen may not realize it. Even farmers, whose livelihoods depend on exports, sometimes fail to make the connection between improved economies abroad and increased sales of our agricultural products.



American products appear on grocery shelves in Taiwan.

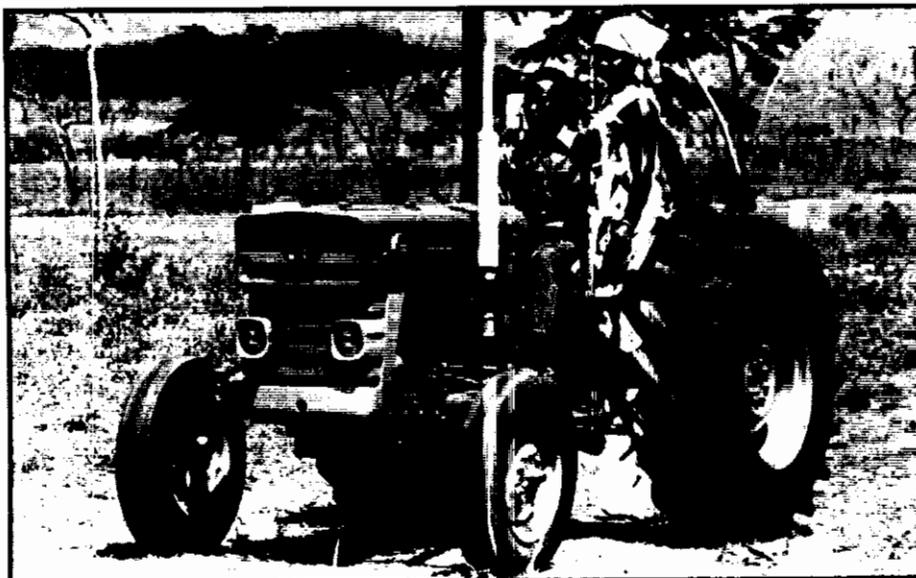


Washington farmers export virtually all of their lentils, 90% of their dry peas, 80 to 85% of their wheat and substantial amounts of other crops such as apples, flower bulbs and hay. In addition, Washington seaports regularly ship grain from Montana and the Dakotas.

"The ability of the United States, and of the state of Washington, to sell agricultural and other products on the world market is partly dependent upon the developing countries having the economic ability to purchase U.S. exports, and to have advanced sufficiently to have developed

a demand for them," Robins says.

Since territorial days, Washington's farmers have depended on export markets as a "home" for much that they produce, but during the past 20 years the export market has soared. Exports of wheat to Asia have tripled. Taiwan's imports of wheat from the U.S. Northwest are up 228%. Hong Kong once bought less than 2% of its wheat from the United States. Today it buys 74% from us. Korea, which buys all of its wheat from the United States, has increased per capita consumption from 14 pounds in 1959 to 100 pounds to-



Tanzanian students learn to operate a Masey Ferguson tractor.

day. Indonesia, which imported 42,900 tons of American wheat in the early 1960s, now imports more than 600,000 tons.

"But," Robins says, "stimulation of our exports ultimately may prove to be one of the smaller benefits from America's commitment to developing nations. We saw what happened in Africa's Sahel in the early 1970s when drought devastated millions of acres of rangeland and millions of people were caught up in famine. Thousands died, we know that, but not many people realize that another significant consequence was that every single nation in the drought region changed governments as a direct or indirect result of that disaster.

"Most changed from generally democratic forms of government to generally totalitarian forms. The long-term implication of malnutrition is discontent, and from discontent flow things not good for humankind."

Robins warns: "We may be approaching a time when the Sahelian problem of the 1970s may be dwarfed by even larger problems in Africa. Climatic trends, if they continue, could result in a repeat of the Sahel—perhaps over a much larger area."

The importance to the United States of the type of government in developing countries should be obvious in the wake of the dramatically rising prices demanded by OPEC nations for the fuel that provides the foundation of our technological society. Indonesia, which WSU will serve on a five-year development contract, supplies 15 to 20% of the oil imported by the United States.

"Our industrial society is dependent on other countries—many of them lesser-developed countries—for raw materials that are essential to our economy," Robins notes.

"To put it bluntly, we need the Third World as much as it needs us." □

Terence L. Day is an agricultural research writer with WSU's College of Agriculture.

Ironically, Washington state's land-grant university in Pullman, near the Idaho border, is better known in many circles in the Middle East, Africa and Indonesia than it is to some people who live in Seattle. That may be because WSU—and other universities like it—have a large and growing international dimension.

Records of only those who have expressed an interest in foreign assignments indicate that WSU's faculty members have worked in at least 100 of the world's 165 nations. The university has about 850 foreign students and holds two AID contracts for work in Indonesia and Lesotho, is the lead university in the Consortium for International Development—an association of 11 Western U.S. colleges and universities—on a project in the Sudan, and recently participated in planning a potential AID project in Jordan.

The university's direct involvement in international work began in 1954 with a series of AID contracts for work in Pakistan.

Under subsequent contracts that extended the program into 1972, university staff helped improve the curriculum, library and equipment base at the University of Punjab and to develop the West Pakistan Agricultural University at Lyallpur.

WSU sent 38 advisers to Pakistan for terms ranging from seven months to more than seven years. Eighty-one Pakistani students came to the United States for various terms of training, 55 of whom received degrees. Forty-six received master's degrees and 16, doctorates. One who studied at WSU is now president of the Pakistan Agricultural University.

With the help of the WSU development program, the West Pakistan Agricultural University increased the number of its faculty members from 59 in 1961 to 298 in 1968, and the number of doctorate holders from four in 1961 to 55 in 1968.

The institution's library was ex-



Lesotho villagers build a "krall" to hold oxen for research.

Most of the grain grown in Africa is harvested by hand.



UNIVERSITIES GO INTERNATIONAL





When men travel far to find work, women must take over at home.



In the village of Rafalestane, villagers meet with a university team.



panded from 23,000 volumes of books and journals to 57,000. Degrees granted by the university also rose dramatically. In 1962 it granted 149 bachelor's and 23 master's degrees and no doctorates. In 1968 the number was up to 195 bachelor's, and 161 master's degrees and three doctorates. Similarly, the number of scientific research projects by faculty and graduate students was greatly increased, from 132 in 1961-62 to 701 in 1967-68.

WSU now has a team of eight people working in Maseru, the capital of the mountainous southern African kingdom of Lesotho.

In fulfillment of an \$8.5 million AID contract, they are researching farming systems in Lesotho in an attempt to make farming there more profitable. Through increases in what people earn, it is hoped that the quality of rural life will be improved.

Lesotho is an "island" nation surrounded by the Republic of South Africa. It is about a sixth the size of Washington state. Its rugged landscape varies from 5,000 feet to 10,000 feet in elevation.

Much of the farming is done by

women while their husbands work in South Africa's mines. (There they can earn as much in two weeks as in a year on their farms.) Twenty-three percent of Lesotho's chiefs are women. Although many of the women are skilled farmers, they lack time after caring for their families, operating businesses and participating in village government to make their farms as productive as they could be.

Last October, the university also signed a six-year contract to direct a \$20 million program to establish an agricultural research program in the four western provinces of Sudan, Africa's largest nation. It is funded by AID, through a contract with the Consortium for International Development.

Other universities are participating in the contract, under WSU's leadership. The program is designed to improve food production systems, rehabilitate and conserve national resources and improve living conditions.

In November 1979, WSU signed a \$7.5 million, five-year contract with AID to provide educational assistance to Indonesia.

This project eventually will involve an estimated 20 faculty members and graduate students from WSU and other institutions. About 40 Indonesian faculty members and at least as many students will be brought to the United States to study agriculture, education and extension services.

Indonesia is the world's fifth largest nation, with 140 million people who live on more than 13,000 islands. It is a nation rich in resources but suffering from rampant poverty in remote regions.

The team will be working with eight Indonesian universities located in the nation's six eastern provinces. The major objective is to improve agriculture and the living conditions of the rural poor through strengthened formal and non-formal education.

—Terence L. Day

We, in Kenya, have come to regard population planning and development planning as one and the same exercise. . . . They are inseparable.

As you read development plans produced by African countries, you cannot fail to notice that many of them treat family planning as a small footnote to development planning. It is something mentioned in passing. If we recognize family planning as being central to development, we shall not waste time with debates about incentives and other peripheral matters. We shall see our job in promoting family planning precisely in the same role as our job in promoting education, health, better utilization of land, upgrading our livestock, the development of industry, and all other features of development planning on which we place primary emphasis. Family planning must be treated as the most critical aspect of any kind of planning. It is part of what one might regard as rational behavior on the part of an intelligent human being.

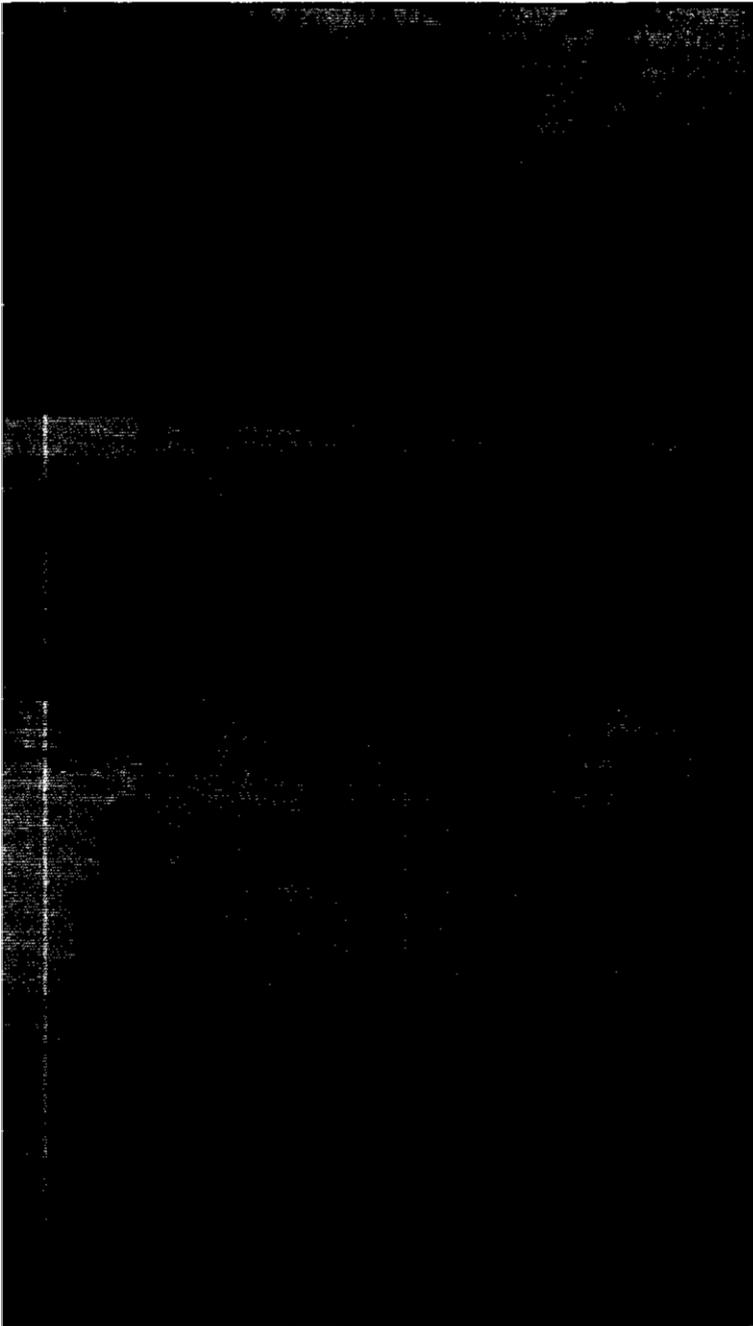
Just as no one should allow his land to be eroded by rainfall because later he will suffer, just as no one wants to leave his own child ignorant because that would deny him a good future, then every rational citizen must want to have the size of his family reach a

FAMILY PLANNING: Footnote or Theme?

It is critical to
development
says one
African leader.

by Mwai Kibaki





The pressures of steadily rising numbers of people are exhausting the earth.

Family planning must become a common topic of conservation.



standard of which they will proud. That is the rational behavior of an individual.

We are all leaders by virtue of having been elected by our own people. But that is not enough. We must have the conviction that our role is not merely to try to persuade citizens that family planning is good for them. Our role is to challenge a citizen on how he can think of upgrading his livestock, how he can think of adopting new seed for his field production, on why he presses for better health facilities and yet he neglects the starting point: the size of his family, and, above all, the spacing of the production of the children, so as to preserve the energy and the health of the mother.

Now that is a social commitment we should demand of all citizens rather than focusing on the misfortunes that will befall our nations if we do not plan our families. If we continue to do this we will be reduced to promoting fear.

When we approach the ordinary citizen regarding the development of agriculture or industry or livestock or health or the construction of water supply in his village, we do not tell him about the misfortune that will befall him or his nation if he does not do what we are asking him to do. Instead we emphasize the benefits to himself as an individual. We address his self-interests. We try to relate all those activities to the improvement of his personal welfare and the welfare of his family. That way it is brought home to the individual that by our own efforts we will improve our own standard of living.

It is only afterwards that we put to him the aggregate effect of his growing more crops, of producing more milk, of doing all the other things we want him to do. But we do not start by generating the fear that if he does not do x, y and z, then the whole wrath of hell will fall upon his head. Yet in this subject of family planning, we have, over the last 30 years, emphasized the statistics of doom: how the world will be evil, how we shall have grown poorer, how we shall suffer even more through famine and malnutrition. All these things may well be true. They, in fact, may well happen if we do not undertake family planning. But when we confront an individual about a decision regarding his own personal life and the life of his own family, we must address ourselves to the benefits that shall come to him if he should plan his family properly. I believe if we take this approach, we will get people to be more responsive, we will get them to see the correlation between the size of the family and the standard of living. They will want to listen. They will want to discuss it with their neighbors.

There is no better way of propagating knowledge than to encourage neighborhood discussions. For this reason, family planning must be emphasized at the community level. Let them discuss among themselves how the standard of living can be improved in their

own areas if families are regulated and if the size is such that they can effectively educate, clothe, and take better care of them in every other way.

The second aspect I would like to emphasize is that family planning is indigenous to the continent of Africa. We are very tired in this nation, and I'm sure in one or two other nations in Africa, of the bright, educated young who project family planning as something they have discovered in the course of their Ph.D. or M.A. and that, therefore, they are going to the village to bring this new message to the old who are ignorant. In our own societies, certainly in Kenya, family planning is indigenous. I, myself, come from a family of six. Now the nearest spacing during all of our six, and I happen to be the last born, is three years. My father, who is now 95, and my mother, who died at 80, could not have had access to family planning information. And yet they practiced it. We also know that in certain districts in Kenya where the old traditions have not vanished, family planning continues. The spacing of children continues, and it is observed by family traditions which are still carried out in some parts. But where these traditions have died off, and where people have adopted new methods and modes of life, problems have begun to arise.

In propagating family planning, we must acknowledge that the ideas which we should address to the people of Africa are not strange, they are not some importation from imperialists and others, who, according to some theorists, want to limit the number of the people from the Third World. If we realize, and bring to the attention of those who don't know, the fact that family planning is indigenous to Africa, we shall be spared the waste of time from the current dispute as to whether family planning is for the benefit of the people of the Third World or for the benefit of the rich. I think that is totally a mischievous debate. There is no way that we are going to force the rich to share what they have with the poor. Whatever gains the poor will make will come as a result of their own free decision, and the prospects are that aid that shall be given, in whatever form, to the poor, will never be adequate. The development of the poor of the world will be a result of their own efforts, efforts that will take longer than they think, and, more importantly, it will be an exercise in self-help and self-reliance.

I suggest, therefore, that we emphasize that family planning is indigenous to Africa. We are not introducing a new concept. We are introducing the new means, the new tools, the new technology to practice an already indigenous concept. Our role, therefore, is to show that these new methods are safe, they are proven, they have worked elsewhere. If we do this, we will be successful.

But in order to be successful, there is a third factor which is required for meaningful family planning programs, namely leadership. As you read the press of

Africa, as you read the statements by leaders in Africa, there are very few top leaders who emphasize family planning. Very fortunately, our President, H. E. Daniel T. arap Moi, is one of them. Our President always speaks out, in every meeting he attends, that family planning is the intelligent behavior of citizens, that family planning is an integral part of development.

Indeed, over this last weekend, he gave an example in one area where he was speaking, which we all might use. He said to a group of villagers visiting him that they should think of the birds of the air. Before they lay their eggs, they have to make their nests, they have to plan; they program everything, and then they lay their eggs. Everything is well organized by the birds. Then, as intelligent human beings claiming to be more intelligent than birds, how can we fail to plan? President Moi, in telling that story, is challenging human beings to work that way. And I'm certain the villagers will never forget it because the challenge came from the head of state, from their leader.

We must come to the conclusion that leadership is a critical input in family planning. Our role as leaders is to educate the farmers, to educate the peasants, to educate the workers, that family planning is to their own benefit. And we are providing that education all the time. We educate them regarding the need for greater productivity, we educate the farmers regarding everything from better seeds, improved husbandry, and all other aspects relative to development of their



economic life. But when it comes to family planning, it is mentioned in passing. And that is the failure in the continent of Africa. We have to be able to realize where our failures have been. Then we have a chance of correcting them. If not, we haven't got a chance. It does not matter how detailed we research the solutions we pass in meetings, as we have done in earlier meetings. We will not progress unless we have leadership.

If we agree on these three aspects, I would suggest that we consider a fourth aspect: a global view of population pressures we will face in the next 50 years or so. That is very important to all of us. Population trends indicate that the rich one-third of the world will be smaller proportionately than it is now; by the year 2000 it will constitute only 13% of the world. This means that those nations will continue to have an infinitely greater standard of living and they will continue to widen the gap between their standard of living and that of the poor of the world because more than 90% of the world population increase will have happened in the poorest part of the world.

If we assume that this growth will cause a lag in development, then the obvious consequences are that the rich will become richer and the poor will continue pleading for a better share of the world's resources.

In the debate over the relationship between North and South, we must remove all that language and all those adjectives which constitute a sense of threat to the rich because it will be futile and, above all, it

generates nothing but hate. There is no way that the poor are going to get assistance from the rich merely by trying to evoke a sense of sympathy. I think those in the North who are committed to help the poor in the South should show to their own people the greater benefits more rapid and more balanced development amongst the poor will bring to them. Even today, the recession in industrialized nations of the world could be very quickly cured if they were to help the poor of the world to expand their purchasing power. Because there are so many poor, if our purchasing power was expanded even marginally we would generate the demand that would bring greater production and prosperity in the world. The global view of population planning should be taken into account, but don't let it mislead us into laying the blame for our misfortunes at somebody else's door.

Above all, don't let it mislead us into continuing to believe that there is something which can be done by the rich in order to assist with effective family planning. What they can do is very small, namely, to help train a few people, to help give us some of the equipment needed. But the bulk of the work—99% of the effort required—must be originated and carried out by the poor nations of the world themselves. In Africa, this is certainly true.

Overpopulation is not merely the number of persons per square kilometer in a particular country, or the number of persons per square mile in another. That has been one of the terrible aspects of the ignorance with which we are burdened and which stops rational thinking about family planning in the continent of Africa. Many Africans will tell you to look at all of this very rich soil, unexploited, unutilized, only waiting to be developed. Where is the population problem? Why don't we merely send the people to clear all these forests and cultivate more? In one sense, what they say is true. If we could immediately have the resources, the capital, the know-how, to put to good cultivation all the arable land of Africa, then, of course, we would have no population problem. It would be resolved.

But we know that there is no way that such magic can be performed. We know that the development of new technology is going to be a slow process. We know, even more importantly, that a change in production of agriculture will not be able to instantly cope with the present rate of population growth. Therefore, we need to organize these two developments so that our families do not grow faster than we can take care of them—even with the resources we have, even with the new technology we have available to us in Africa. □

Mwai Kibaki is vice president of the Republic of Kenya. This article is adapted from his remarks at the July Parliamentary Conference on Population and Development in Nairobi.

There is no better way to propagate knowledge than in neighborhood discussions.



Salvador Mesh is a young farmer in San Antonio, Belize. He grows corn and raises livestock. Until last year, Mesh had always wanted to raise hogs, but never had the opportunity.

In 1980, Mesh was one of five farmers selected by the Belize Agricultural Society for a feeder pig project. Today, he raises high-quality swine that bring a good profit in the market and provide him with a supplemental income as well as a new source of nutrition for his family.

Salvador and the Belize Agricultural Society are beneficiaries of an innovative grant program developed by the Partners of the Americas. Now in its third year, the small Partners grant program makes awards of up to \$5,000 for small-scale community-level development projects approved by the local partnerships in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Partners President Alan Rubin reports, "We have found that approaching things in a small-scale manner generates excellent results. The 53 partnerships are a built-in, low-cost marketing mechanism already in place to identify and assist workable community development projects. Other activities of the partnership add on a multiplier effect of \$12 worth of goods and services for every dollar invested by the Partners."

In 1979 and 1980, Partners received funding for small grant projects from the International Minerals and Chemical Foundation, which helped establish the Partners/IMC Foundation Agricultural Development Fund. The IMC foundation has since been joined by such contributors as the Charles S. Stewart Mott Foundation, the Xerox Corp., the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and AID. A total of 39 small grants have been awarded, one of which went through the Belize-Michigan Partners, to the swine industry project.

The Belize-Michigan Partners work with other organizations on the project, embodying the Partners' positive approach to institutional linkages.

A LITTLE GOES A LONG WAY

by Alexanderina Shuler



Workers in Bolivia read about a Partners effort to rehabilitate a textile mill.

Partners of the Americas fund small projects, get large returns.

Farmers selected for the pilot project received training from the Extension Service of the Belize Department of Agriculture in pig raising, then were lent the money for materials to build the pens to house an initial 10 piglets. Costs were to be repaid from the sale of pigs. The feed, developed from local materials in cooperation with Heifer Project International, Michigan State University Extension Service and the Michigan Partners, also was to be repaid by the sale of the first batch of pigs.

After six months the pigs were marketed at above-average prices, enabling participating farmers to repay their loans, with cash left

over. A second group of piglets has since been raised and marketed, and now the farmers have their own permanent breeding stock. The Belize Agricultural Society has received numerous requests from farmers who want to participate in the program, and is using the program as a model for extension activities.

Partners of the Americas is a private, voluntary technical assistance organization linking the citizens of 44 U.S. states with those of 24 Latin American and Caribbean nations in "partnerships." Partnership committees are composed entirely of volunteers who work with their counterparts in carrying out proj-



AID helped fund this automotive workshop in an Ecuadoran vocational school.



This cane production project in Colombia is an example of the small grants program.

ects in agriculture and rural development, health, education, community development, rehabilitation and special education, energy, arts, sports and journalism.

Partners was born out of the Alliance for Progress in 1964, as the Alliance's private citizen component. The organization started under AID management, which formed and guided the first 38 partnerships and provided funds for travel grants for project activity.

In 1970, AID transferred its functions to the National Association of the Partners of the Alliance, bringing the Partners program under private, non-profit management. That

year, the organization's name was changed to Partners of the Americas. Since, 15 additional partnerships have been created, for a total of 53. AID continues to support the program, and the Partners have diversified funding to include 35 U.S. corporations, foundations and other government agencies.

Partners received an AID grant last year to establish six new partnerships in the Caribbean, in addition to the existing six. Three have already been created in St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Dominica and the other three will be established by 1983, in Montserrat, St. Kitts/Nevis and Antigua.

1979 marked a major change for Partners, as it moved away from its exclusive role as a provider of volunteer technician travel funds, and into a new role as granting agency. In 1981, Partners will make available to the partnerships \$159,000 in small grants for projects, and it will invest an additional \$112,000 in existing regional resource centers for community education and for delivering appropriate technology to meet the needs of disabled persons.

Competition for Partners small grant funds is stiff and the criteria are tough. Project proposals must demonstrate long-term continuity, educational benefit, capacity-building components and strong multiplier value. Emphasis also is placed on cooperation with other organizations, or on activities that will add a new phase to an on-going project.

Input from Latin American and Caribbean partners enables the funds to go where they are most needed and where a small amount of money can have significant impact.

Linking up with other organizations to bring added resources to a project is a key part of Partners' work. For example, the Minas Gerais (Brazil)-Colorado Partners were awarded a \$4,000 grant in 1980 to work with two local community organizations in the poverty-stricken Jequitinhonha Valley, where agencies had been working to establish a



A small grant enabled these women to start a sewing co-op.

farmers' cooperative. The money bought the materials to build a market center and storage facility for the cooperative. A Colorado cooperative marketing specialist worked with the project for several weeks, helping design the long-term plan for turning over management and ownership of the cooperative to local farmers.

According to the most recent AID evaluation of Partners of the Americas by former Ambassador William Stedman last November, "The program continues to complement AID's development objectives by carrying out small but meaningful projects for low-income beneficiaries in agriculture, health and education. Partners has established strong links between institutions and their professional staffs in most states and countries and scores of development projects have been carried out."

Some other examples of the uses of Partners small grants:

In cooperation with the Peace Corps, the Ecuador-Kentucky Partners launched a vegetable produc-

tion project with a 1979 grant. Two demonstration sites in rural provinces were selected for trial growth and demonstration. Dozens of varieties of seeds were tested to determine which were most suitable for the areas. The 120 farmers involved in the project have doubled, and in some cases tripled, yields due to new seed bed techniques, fertilizer practices, crop rotation plans and better use of pesticides and insecticides. An estimated 450 persons have participated in extension activities. Results of the project are being made available to local growers, and word-of-mouth has created heavy demand for information. Additionally, seed and agro-chemical import companies have expressed interest in using the project results to determine future importation of seed varieties.

In Curitiba, Brazil, 30 women formed a sewing cooperative and with a \$2,845 grant from Partners purchased 11 sewing machines and cloth to make dish towels. In the year since the co-op began, an additional

10 women have joined the group, which has produced 2,500 dish towels per month to sell to local stores. Each woman makes about \$60 per month, about 75% of the Brazilian minimum wage. Participants report their additional income has improved their families' standards of living as well as their own sense of self-esteem and self-reliance.

In addition to the small grant program, the Partners' national association coordinates and assists the work of its 53 partnerships. The partnerships themselves carry out hundreds of development projects each year, financed by in-kind donations, local corporate funding and local fundraising activities. Each year 5,000 individuals travel back and forth between their Partner areas to work on projects. Of these, 4,000 are financed by the partnerships themselves. □

Alexanderina Shuler is editor of "Front Lines," AID's internal newspaper.

I take it for granted that the supreme national interest of the United States is to manage the nuclear stand-off with the Soviet Union so as to prevent a suicidal war between the super powers. This must be the bedrock purpose of national security policy for the indefinite future.

My question, however, is: Is that the whole of the modern security problem? And my answer is: Not by a very long shot! Indeed, my general thesis is that our security is significantly endangered precisely by the present lack of a national security concept that is relevant to the political, social and strategic realities of the 1980s and 1990s. I believe our doctrine is dangerously limited and there are important threats to national security that are grossly neglected in policy, planning and public debate.

But first, I suppose I ought to state for the record my view that nobody of sound mind can ignore the reality and dangers of traditional international conflicts, of political extremism, of militant fanaticism, and of military ambitions lying around loose in an unstable world that is armed to the teeth. We have no choice but to look to our armed forces for military protection. And I have no prescription for them, other than the rather obvious observation that our armaments should be whatever is needed to perform the roles and missions of the armed services and, equally obvious, the roles and missions of the armed forces can only be defined rationally by derivation from the foreign policy objectives they are meant to support.

What I want to do, rather, is to come down as I can on the realities and dangers of certain non-military threats to national security at this moment in history. Obviously security has never depended entirely on military force. Diplomatic skills, economic capacity, technological innovation have been related closely to military effectiveness for a long time—not to mention such abstractions as leadership and troop morale as

NATIONAL SECURITY AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Military might is only part of the formula for peace.

by Thomas W. Wilson Jr.



they affect military capabilities.

But, of course, one can carry the point about non-military aspects of security to the absurdity of arguing that, in one way or another, it covers every aspect of society and every attribute of the culture. This is idle obfuscation and a cop-out on the real problem.

In my view, what we must now crank into a working concept of national security for the rest of this century are four categories of current threats to the security of this country that are wholly neglected in traditional security analysis, presumably because they do not take a military form and are, indeed, indifferent to military power.

First, a threat to the viability of the planetary biosphere. As Lester Brown (president of Worldwatch Institute) started pointing out a couple of years ago, the basic biological systems of earth that, over the millenia, created conditions favorable in life—and which have since supported the only life we know of in the universe—are now deteriorating under the growing impact of the total activity of the human race. There are other physical threats to systems integrity—to the ozone layer, to the climatic system, to threatened species, coastal zones and genetic diversity. But the deterioration of croplands, pasturelands, forests and

fisheries means that the most elementally strategic of all strategic systems are vulnerable, threatened, weakened and without adequate defenses as things stand today.

The point is very simply: It is a logical absurdity to believe that any state can find national security on a planet that is itself insecure. There simply is no such thing as national security under these conditions, so I shall not labor the point any further.

Second among contemporary non-military threats is the vulnerability of critical global services. One could argue about just how to define these and just what to include in the category. For present purposes, however, it is enough to ask whether anyone can imagine security without international communications by mail, telegraph, telephone, radio and television—all of which depend upon international agreements, arrangements, institutions and rules of the game. Can we think of what it would be like in this world if a commercial airliner could not land at any major airport in the world with assurance of reliable navigation guidance, communications, fuel supplies, repair facilities and standard ground services of many kinds? Where would weather forecasting be without the World Weather Watch?

The point here is not to make an inventory of critical utility services in the modern world. The point is that man-made technological systems, like natural biological systems, also are globally integrated—that they, too, are subject to overload, breakdown and direct attack—that we, as a nation, are deeply dependent upon their functioning reliably and effectively—that national systems are integral components of global systems—and that it is very difficult even to think about national security in a world without working technical services serving as a kind of vital metabolism for the international community. It follows that a modern concept of security should embrace the integrity of the technosphere as well as the biosphere.



U.S. industry depends on Third World minerals.

The rising number of refugees also threatens stability.



And perhaps this is as good a place as any to dispense with the curious canard which holds that international cooperation and organization are needed more by the small and weak than by the large and strong among nations. With a moment's reflection it is perfectly obvious that the bigger and richer and stronger and more advanced any nation is, the more dependent it is upon international services—and the more vulnerable it is to their interruption.

Third among the non-military threats is the danger of chaos—or worse—in the global commons.

For one thing, Antarctica is the only continent unpolluted by arms or military installations; it is a community wholly devoted to the pursuit of scientific knowledge; it is home to international enterprise in which cooperation is institutionalized and secrecy is forbidden. The treaty formalizing these uses of Antarctica expires soon and there have been some ominous noises about backsliding to the pursuit of competitive national claims and to a free-for-all over marine and other resources of the region.

From the ice packs of Antarctica to the stony surface of the moon

there is danger that a generation of efforts to bring law and order to the great global commons could go down the drain. There is no time here to speculate on all this for the future of nations and peoples; it is enough to note the current existence of these non-military dangers to the future security of the United States. For without ground rules governing the uses of Antarctica, outer space, the moon and the high seas, the whole notion of security in this world starts unraveling at the seams.

Fourth, and finally, I come to the threat that is the most difficult to envisage in a national security context, but which is, in the end, the most fundamental danger because it underlies the others.

I refer to the threat of political paralysis—of a general failure to cope with contemporary problems—of institutional breakdown and ultimate collapse of the political process at national and international levels. And it is here that we come to the connection between international development and the national security of this and other nations. If we are not to have war we must live in peace, and if we are to live in peace we must avoid potential conflict

Western manufacturers must be able to continue exporting their goods.



when we can and resolve or manage conflict when it materializes. And the avoidance, management and resolution of conflict is the heart of the political process.

Now, when the capacity to make political decisions—to choose between alternative courses of action—to act in time and in ways that bring political purpose to bear upon the course of events, when that capacity

breaks down or becomes paralyzed, a pre-condition for living in peace disappears. Over and over again, we have seen how paralysis leads to political polarization. And with polarization, the potential for conflict resolution or management is all but destroyed. For when conflict is polarized, the middle ground is abandoned—and it is only from the middle that conflicts can be medi-



Uninterrupted international communications are essential to national security.

ated. So communications break down; debate turns to diatribe; the poles are manned by extremists; the political process sticks on dead center; and the only remaining path for the resolution of conflict is violence.

How much evidence do we need of degeneration from political paralysis to polarization of conflict to mindless violence—what with Ireland, Lebanon, Iran, Cambodia, Ethiopia, El Salvador? How much warning do we need of the connection between polarization almost anywhere and the security of the United States—given the strategic importance we attach to the Middle East, Southeast Asia, the Horn of Africa, the Caribbean?

Right now we are very close to a state of general paralysis in our capacity to cope with the agenda of issues that have top priority for a large majority of nations.

The emergence of a new majority in the United Nations is a political fact of life that, in my view, has been much underrated. The new majority, of course, cannot force anyone to do anything. But that does not leave it helpless. For the majority can influence the shape of the global agenda—and it has. It can internationalize subjects that formerly were considered to be domestic subjects—and it has done that too. The majority can politicize subjects that have been dealt with previously at the technical level—and this also has happened. Indeed, the new majority can shift the mainstream of day-to-day international affairs; it has, in fact, brought the subject of economic and social development in from the fringes to the center of the main arena of global politics.

Another word for development, of course, is modernization. After leaving its Western origins, the urge for modernization spread through the rest of the world until it became a universal phenomenon just a few years ago when it was adopted as the centerpiece of Chinese policy by the heirs of Mao Tse-tung. So there

is nothing surprising about the fact that this subject is now squarely in the middle of the global agenda—as top priority for a large majority of the nations of the world.

We have been learning that, while modernization necessarily means many things at different times and places, it is an engine of social change. It therefore confronts political leadership with excruciatingly difficult choices as to what must be changed in the name of social progress and must be maintained in the name of cultural continuity—a universal urge for the one contesting a universal need for the other.

Thus, the management of modernization

can be seen as a central political task of our times—and a pervasive test of political capability at national and international levels. If the institutions of governance can cope with this problem with reasonable effectiveness, there is every reason to hope for a relatively painless transition to the next stage of an evolving world community. But if our political institutions—faced by the unprecedented complexity of interdependent nations and integrated problems—either collapse or become paralyzed, then we can surely expect an accelerating slide into revolving chaos, tyranny and violence. And this is what international development has to do with the security of the United States of America.

How does a nation defend itself against violence that is a child of political paralysis? There is only one answer, it seems to me, and it is not to be found in geo-political theory. The antidote to stalemates and paralysis is initiative and action. I believe it is now imperative—from many points of view and explicitly from the security viewpoint—for the United States to engage in positive political action on the global agenda that is mainstream politics for the world majority today—positive action that alone will guard against the dangers of stagnation leading to polarization in human affairs.



Unless population growth declines deprivation, hunger and turmoil may worsen.

In principle, there are many ways to break the present deadlock and surely there is no single solution. But there is one place to start that appears more and more compelling to me—one place that seems to offer the most practical handle on the present predicament and the best chance to start reversing the dynamics of social and human degradation in a world getting dirtier, hungrier, more crowded, more quarrelsome and more prone to violence as the years go by. This point of attack that seems most promising is to turn from talk to deeds by mounting a serious, systematic world action program to contain, reduce and ultimately eliminate chronic malnutrition among

children, women and men in the world at large. The moral, humanitarian and ethical foundations are universally approved; ideologically the case is unassailable; technically the task is feasible; governments already are committed to the goal in principle; and the key institutions already are in place. Of course, the subject is incredibly complex, but three major studies in the past year—the Brandt Commission, the World Development Report by the World Bank, and the Interfutures study by the OECD—all made very similar recommendations on what to do about it. There is no need for action to defer to further study. So what is missing? The obvious answer is that there is not enough of the basic ingredient called “political will.” I, for one, have enough optimism left in my soul to believe that a wider public perception of the relationship between world hunger and national security might help generate a perceptible rise in the level of political will for turning the tide against the silent spread of chronic malnutrition in the world around us. For, as I have argued here, the political, social and strategic realities of the 1980s are such that national security now requires, in addition to military protection, the security of strategic systems in the biosphere, reliable critical services in the technosphere, law and order in the global commons, and a political capacity to cope with the most pressing contemporary world problems. In these final decades of the twentieth century, international development and national security are too closely linked to stake our future on a dangerously narrow military base. □

Thomas W. Wilson, Jr. is former adviser to the U.S. secretary of state and to the U.N. secretary general. This article has been adapted from an address he delivered at the 1981 International Development Conference in Washington, D.C.

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World Bank President A. W. Clausen yesterday (Oct. 2) endorsed an expansion of the lending capacity of the International Development Association from \$12 billion to as much as \$19 billion over its next three-year term beginning in 1984 despite clear pressure from the United States to limit the growth of such subsidized aid to the Third World.

—Hobart Rowen
Washington Post

MELBOURNE—Representatives of 41 British Commonwealth nations today (Oct. 4) called on the rest of the world to support urgent new talks between rich and poor countries to deal with worsening global disparities.

The appeal came in a joint declaration by leaders of the Commonwealth, which groups Britain and its former colonies. Issued in the Australia capital of Canberra during the leaders' weekend retreat, the document, called the "Melbourne Declaration," asked "real and significant changes commensurate with the urgency of the problems we now face."

—William Branigin
Washington Post

For over 30 years, the tiny British colony of Belize slowly gathered the recognized attributes of nationhood, including its own government, army, flag, currency and national anthem.

Amid the toasts and cheers that followed independence on Sept. 21, a lingering doubt floated among the foreign delegations who had traveled here for the occasion: Belize had become an independent state, but was it viable as a nation?

WHAT THE MEDIA SAY...

The question was, perhaps, not original. Over the past quarter century, dozens of colonies in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean have become independent and then struggled for survival, while some "mini-states" in the United Nations have even fewer resources, smaller territory and fewer people than Belize.

But in the case of Belize, concern has been sharpened by the fact that the new nation is part of Central America and Belize's failure to stand on its own could become a new factor of instability.

—Alan Riding
New York Times

One of the remarkable things about Latin America is its ability to move ahead despite the recession. The region's increased purchasing power means that its economic development has been inching—and in a few cases leaping—ahead making it an increasingly valuable customer for the things the United States' exports.

For example, the Commerce Department estimates that U.S. sales to Latin America in 1981 will show an annual rate of increase of

just over 30%. Although the rate was below the 1980 increase of 40%, which reflects the expansion of the economic downturn in such customers for the region's imports as Germany, Canada, Britain, Japan, the Netherlands and others. The U.S. economy likewise is not up to par, but it is one industrial power where the economists report signs that it is one on the road to recovery.

—Ben F. Meyer
Arkansas Gazette

There are supporters of foreign aid in Washington who have painfully learned one rule: You're damned if you do and you're damned if you don't.

Take Pakistan, for example. Prompted by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Administration is seeking a new security relationship with Pakistan, including the sale of F-16 fighter planes. But last week there were reports of "suspicious" activities at Pakistan's nuclear reactor, near Karachi, which indicated that the possibility that nuclear fuel may have been diverted for non-peaceful purposes. The "irregularities" were denied by Pakistan but they reportedly have been detected by the International Atomic Energy Agency. They could jeopardize the \$3.2 billion aid package the Administration is pushing because Congress must first waive a law which bars aid to countries suspected of developing nuclear arms. Pakistan has refused requests for improved surveillance safeguards; this threatens the Administration's nonproliferation policy.

—New York Times

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