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UNITED STATES TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN EAST ASIA

CONTENTS

Foreword	1
1. Introduction	1
2. Definition	1
3. Origins	2
4. The AID Program in Public Administration	4
a. Education and Training	5
b. Participant Training	5
c. Government Improvement Projects	6
d. Research	7
e. Methods of Providing Technical Assistance	7
5. Limiting Factors	8
a. Host-Country Factors	8
b. United States Weaknesses	9
6. Favorable Factors	10
a. Host-Country Developments	10
b. United States Factors	11
7. Current Assessment	12
a. Cambodia	12
b. China	12
c. Indonesia	13

d. Korea	14
e. Laos	15
f. The Philippines	15
g. Thailand	17
8. Future Developments	18
9. The Need for Further Studies	19
10. Conclusions	20
Notes	22
List of Collaborators and Consultants	26

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UNITED STATES TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN EAST ASIA

By Frank M. Landers in collaboration with Harry W. Marsh

FOREWORD

This paper is a by-product of an effort in the East Asia Bureau of AID, to review and assess the United States experience of providing technical assistance in public administration in Asian countries.¹ It is confined primarily to those countries presently included in the Bureau. References to Vietnam (now a separate Bureau) and to other countries in the region are incidental. Because the currently available data is not deemed to be adequate for the purpose, there has been no attempt to evaluate the reasons or causes for specific successes or failures.

Although the paper is partially the result of discussion with a number of AID personnel, the responsibility for all statements not otherwise attributed is that of the author. In no way are the views expressed herein a statement of official AID policy. It is hoped that review and discussion of the paper will stimulate additional studies of this subject.

1. *Introduction*

For nearly two decades the United States has been providing technical assistance in public administration in Asian countries as a part of its overall foreign aid program. At present (FY 1969), this program is being reduced to the lowest point since its inception. Part of the current reduction is the result of the BALPA² exercise, although most of it is a reflection of the evolution of a successful program.

2. *Definition*

One of the problems in considering the role and effectiveness of an activity such as Public Administration is that of developing a definition that will achieve universal acceptance and usage. The term "Public Administration" means different things to different individuals. Judging from past and present usage, the term appears to have expanded from one that was relatively narrow to one that is quite broad in its current application. Specifically, and traditionally in its former, earlier usage, the term was generally accepted as connoting the central staff services--accounting, budgeting, organization and methods, personnel, space and records management and procurement--along with a number of related areas such as revenue (tax and customs administration), statistics and public and business administration education. In AID, for administrative (backstopping) purposes, Washington headquarters usage included such other activities as Economic Planning, Banking and Credit, Debt Management and Tariff Policy.³

Currently, there continues to be confusion as to the proper definition and role of Public Administration. To some, it is simply another sector of the

development process along with Education, Agriculture, Health, Industry, etc. To others, it is synonymous with the entire management process and, in the foreign aid field, it is now used interchangeably with the term "Development Administration." Too frequently, the former view is held by many program officers and mission directors, with the result that there is little or no input of public administration in some mission programs. Where this happens, the technical advisors in the "other sectors" either have to provide it, or its absence becomes a major factor in failures to reach project goals. A very common complaint throughout the AID operations in Asia has been the "lack of management capability" in many sectoral efforts.

Today, public administration is concerned with, and is an intimate part of, the total development process, including development loans, in many of which there is a requirement that the borrowing nation employ an American firm to install accounting systems and other management safeguards, if a reasonable input of this discipline is not provided--either by AID advisors or by host country sources--the overall AID efforts are quite apt to be less successful than otherwise.

3. *Origins*

The genesis of technical assistance in public administration in Asian countries is not susceptible to easy or clear description. It developed as a part of the economic and military assistance programs which, in turn, grew out of the larger involvement of stopping or containing communism. This lack of a clear record of the motivations that led to the initiation of public administration activities makes it difficult to develop bench marks by which to measure their effectiveness. Some flavor of its beginnings may be obtained from a brief look at a number of survey reports which pre-dated public administration activities in Asian countries:

In the spring of 1950, the U.S. Economic Survey Mission to Southeast Asia (The Griffin Mission) visited Burma, Indochina, Indonesia, Malaya, Singapore, and Thailand, and submitted a series of five reports. Public Administration, as such, was considered only in Indonesia and the conclusion was that, in view of existing distrust of Western-U.S. capitalism, there should be a request to the United Nations for this type of assistance ⁴

Formal recognition of the need for technical assistance in public administration to Asian countries by the United States may be said to date from the report of the Bell Mission to the Philippines in October 1950. ⁵ The report succinctly analyzed the Philippines' economic problems, described the causes of the difficulties, and prescribed a series of corrective measures. It emphasized the significance of the role of public administration by noting that:

A special effort must now be made to improve public administration in order to give the people confidence in the Government. It is particularly important at this time because the economic development program will of necessity place even greater responsibility on public administration. The success of the development program may depend more on the efficiency and honesty of the public service than on any other single factor.

In 1952, the Public Administration Service (PAS) reported to the Government of Thailand on strengthening public administration in that country. ⁶ It

listed the ten major problem areas of Thailand's administration as being: Capital Budgeting; Revenue Administration; Budgeting and Accounting; Purchasing; Municipalities; Use of staff; Fixing responsibility; Organization; Changwads (Provinces) and Amphurs (Counties); and Files and Records.

PAS also published in that year a report, by Walter Sharp of Yale University, on the Associated States of Indochina.⁷ Sharp noted that:

Vastly improved public administration will be essential before the three Associated States can become stable and prosperous members of the family of independent nations. Although relatively rich in natural resources and possessed of ample manpower, they are woefully lacking in competent personnel for managerial, fiscal, and planning functions, as well as for the direction of technical services. They have inherited from their colonial status a heavy, slow-moving bureaucratic pattern of administration which is wasteful of men and money, characterized by confusing central-field relationships. The elements of an effective budget and tax system are not understood, and tax evasion and fraud are reported to be widespread. *If these conditions are not corrected, the new governments will not be able to plan effectively for economic and social progress, let alone organize, coordinate and implement long-range development programs. Unless they can provide greatly expanded economic and social services for their populations, they are unlikely to win the popular support necessary for survival against the threat of communism under Viet-Minh auspices.* [Italics added.]

While indicating that "the political climate in Vietnam and Cambodia is now relatively favorable for the inauguration of a technical assistance program in public administration," Professor Sharp recognized the strength of French influence. Accordingly, in his prescription of a program, he suggested the use of non-American personnel who, in addition to fluency in French, would be thoroughly familiar with French administration and, hopefully, acquainted with oriental cultures.

Less than three years after the Bell Mission report, and during the last stages of the protracted Korean armistice negotiations, the "Tasca" economic mission submitted a report on how to strengthen the Korean economy.

The report recognized the urgency of the economic situation and recommended the immediate provision of \$300 million. It had few references to matters falling within the field of public administration. It did note, however, the need for "improvements in tax administration." and the services of ". tax experts, administration specialists, accountants." It also recommended that the United States and United Nations military and civilian establishments should assist tax (collection) efforts by withholding income taxes from salaries.

About the same time as the Tasca Report, PAS was preparing a series of reports to the Government of the Republic of China (Taiwan). These included recommendations for the improvement of:

Governmental Machinery and Processes
for Economic Development

Financial Administration, and
Personnel Administration⁹

Although the reports outlined difficulties and weaknesses in the organization and operations of the Chinese Government, neither PAS nor any other organization was commissioned to undertake any corrective actions. Later, the AID Mission, with direct-hire advisors, financed several bilateral projects that were based on the survey reports.

On the basis of these illustrative materials, it is reasonably clear that, in the opinions of the Western surveyors and critics, most Asian countries had serious defects in a number of administrative areas, and that the correction of these defects was critical if the countries involved were to improve their capacity to successfully operate effective governments. These, in summary, can be used as an outline, or definition, of the field of activity that was labeled Public Administration. The principal areas of weakness might be listed as follows:

- Defective (usually too centralized and uncoordinated) administrative organization and procedures
- Civil Service systems, or practices, characterized by:
 - Lack of education and training
 - Absence of merit in appointment and promotion
 - Low official salaries
 - Corruption
- Finance Administration marked by:
 - Inadequate budgeting
 - Incomplete accounting
 - Inequitable revenue system and administration
 - Ineffective auditing
- Incomplete and ineffective planning
- Wasteful procurement
- Lack of records management
- Absence of autonomous local government
- Unreliable statistics
- Political interferences with administration

4. *The AID Program in Public Administration*

The general nature and scope of AID's technical assistance activities in public administration need not be described in detail. It may be useful, however, to touch briefly upon some major aspects and elements.

Overall, the gross commitments of the United States for economic assistance to the countries now grouped as East Asia in the period FY 1948 through FY 1967 amounted to \$7.2 billion. Technical Cooperation (Development Grants) accounted for \$522.2 million, or roughly 7.3 per cent of the total.¹⁰ Significantly, only \$33.7 million, or less than a half of one per cent of the total gross and only 6.3 per cent of the Technical Cooperation commitments were for Public Administration. This is believed to be somewhat low because of the variations in classifying and reporting.¹¹ It is also noted that, in contrast to other activities, public administration has consisted essentially of advice and training, with a very low commodity component.

TABLE I

GROSS COMMITMENTS - UNITED STATES ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE *

FY 1948 - FY 1967

(IN MILLIONS)

FY	TOTAL	TECHNICAL COOPERATION DEVELOPMENT GRANTS...	% OF TOTAL	PUBLIC ADMIN.	% OF TC/DG
1948	\$ 26.5	\$ ---	---	\$ ---	---
1949	379.8	---	---	---	---
1950	-10.7	---	---	---	---
1951	157.7	1.8	1.1	**	---
1952	152.8	3.3	2.2	**	---
1953	251.3	14.3	5.7	**	---
1954	1083.9	13.9	1.3	**	---
1955	666.1	21.4	3.2	3.1	14.5
1956	548.7	30.4	5.5	1.9	6.2
1957	541.1	31.8	5.9	2.0	6.3
1958	497.0	32.5	6.5	2.8	8.6
1959	517.2	32.0	6.2	3.5	10.9
1960	435.9	32.9	7.5	3.9	11.8
1961	393.6	57.2	14.5	2.6	4.6
1962	271.6	51.6	19.0	2.2	4.3
1963	299.8	46.6	15.6	3.2	6.9
1964	185.6	39.0	21.0	2.3	5.9
1965	225.1	31.0	13.8	1.5	4.8
1966	266.4	35.6	13.4	2.2	6.2
1967	270.3	46.9	17.0	2.5	5.3
TOTAL:	\$7165.4	\$522.2	7.3	\$33.7	6.3

* From records of Statistics and Reports Division, Office of Program and Policy Coordination, AID.

** Public Administration activities were classified as Technical Support in the years 1951-54.

TABLE II
 GROSS COMMITMENTS - UNITED STATES ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE
 BY 1948 - FY 1967
 (IN MILLIONS)

COUNTRIES	TOTAL	TECHNICAL COOPERATION	PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
BURMA	\$ 74.5	\$ 3.5	\$ ---
CAMBODIA	270.1	29.6	.6
CHINA	1418.5	63.1	2.6
INDOCHINA	825.6	--	---
INDONESIA	332.1	96.1	6.1
JAPAN	233.0	12.6	---
KOREA	2819.3	80.3	8.6
LAOS	537.0	53.7	.7
MALAYSIA	20.0	--	---
PHILIPPINES	306.7	62.1	5.6
THAILAND	465.1	101.3	9.4
REGIONAL	73.2	19.9	.1
TOTAL	\$7165.4	\$522.2	\$33.7

* From records of Statistics and Reports Division, Office of Program and Policy and Coordination, AID.

A substantial portion of the amounts included in the commitments for Public Administration were for activities such as Banking, Economic Planning, and other areas which, in the field, are supervised by other than public administration personnel.

Four countries--Thailand, Korea, Indonesia and the Philippines--accounted for \$29.7 million, or 88 per cent of the \$33.7 million of commitments for Public Administration.

Activities in China, Laos and Cambodia, along with those on a regional basis, accounted for only \$4.0 million or 12 per cent of the total commitments for Public Administration. There were no activities classified as Public Administration in Burma, Japan, or Malaysia.

One thing is abundantly clear: *the United States has spent relatively small amounts in its efforts to help strengthen, or improve, the administrative machinery and operations of Asian governments.* In contrast with some other regions, as, for example, the drive for tax reform in Latin America, there has been no deliberate push for reform in governmental operations.

a. *Education and Training*

AID and its predecessors assisted in the establishment of twelve institutions or schools for teaching public and business administration, or conducting in-service training, in seven countries (including Vietnam) during the period from 1952 through 1965.¹² Eight of these were set up as collegiate units in major universities. Originally, one was attached to the Office of the President, two came under the Prime Minister and one was within the Ministry of Home Affairs. Two of the installations were exclusively for business administration (Korea and Yonsei Universities), one (in Japan) was for industrial management (Waseda University), and one (Chengchi University) was for a combination of public and business administration.

Ten of the twelve units were assisted by contracts with five different American universities; the other two were assisted by direct-hire personnel. Interestingly, all five of the American universities involved were from the Middle West.

The University of Michigan, which undertook the first of these contracts in the Philippines, had two others--one in Japan and the most recent one in Taiwan. Indiana University had two--in Thailand and Indonesia. The University of Minnesota and Washington University each had two units (under single contracts). Michigan State University had only one such contract in East Asia (Vietnam) although it was undoubtedly the largest and most complex of all and included a variety of other activities.

In terms of the countries involved, Korea was the site of two contracts involving four units, Indonesia had three, including the two handled directly by AID personnel. The other five countries had only one such AID-financed contract each.

b. *Participant Training*

In the period FY 1950-1967, some 17,869 participants arrived in the United States from countries in the East Asia region.¹³ Of these, 1816 or slightly over 10 per cent were classified as public administration trainees. The relative importance of public administration in AID's participant training field fluctuated somewhat, but has increased in recent years, and was as high as 28 per cent in 1966. Part of this increase has been caused by an expansion in the numbers of those being trained in economic planning, fiscal and monetary policy and other areas.

Among the several countries of the region, Korea has given public administration the highest relative importance in the participant program. It had 331 trainees in this field out of a total of 1727, or 19.2 per cent. Indonesia (15.7 per cent), Thailand (14.6 per cent) and the Philippines (13.6 per cent) were the other large consumers of this type of training.

On the basis of reports from only four countries (Korea, Thailand, Philippines, and Laos), and for varying periods, the most common fields of public administration training were "Public Finance," "Tax and Customs Administration," "Organization and Management," and "Census and Statistics."

c. *Government Improvement Projects*

The most common activity in the technical assistance program has been the project designed to improve the effectiveness of a particular aspect of the host government organization and operations. As yet, no complete, definitive record of these project activities has been prepared.

To give some indication of the apparent areas of interest, however, a tabulation of 64 "different" projects in seven countries for the period FY 1957-1965 may be cited.

The six most numerous of these projects, which accounted for 40 of the of the total, were:

Fiscal Analysis and Economic Planning	8
Census and Statistics	8
Budget, Accounting and Auditing	7
Organization and Management	7
Public Administration - General	6
Tax and Customs Administration	4
	<hr/>
SUBTOTAL:	40
Other	24
	<hr/>
TOTAL:	64

As a caution against using these data too freely, it is noted that some "public administration" projects actually showed up under other classifications (example: the Graduate School of Public Administration at Seoul National University in Korea, was set up, and is reported under the "Education" contract of the University of Minnesota, which also covered Agriculture, Medical and Engineering schools). Also, a number of "general" projects, such as "Technical Assistance to ROKG Operations" in Korea, and "Overall Technical Assistance in Public Administration" in

the Philippines, covered a wide variety of individual sub-project activities such as Personnel, Local Government, Organization and Methods, etc., in a period when AID was funding and reporting its activities under umbrella-type "projects."

For whatever additional value it may have, it is reported that in this same period (1957-1965), the number of projects ranged from a low of 3 in Cambodia to 15 in China, with an average of about nine for the seven countries. However, it is further noted that 10 of China's 15 projects were shown in FY 1957 and did not appear in any other year in the period tabulated.

d. *Research*

Initially, and for a period of years, research activities in public administration were largely by-products of the efforts to establish schools or colleges for the teaching of public administration. American professors, attached to these undertakings, prepared a number of descriptive or analytical evaluations of cultural and other problems as they sought to carry out their project assignments. In brief, most of the "research" was project-oriented; very little was directed at broader aspects of the host country's public administration.

A natural and important development in the research field was the increase in the number and quality of master's theses arising from the development of the schools of public administration.¹⁴

A development of special interest to public administration was the program of the USOM in Korea known as the EPB-USOM Trust Fund Research Program. Started in 1964, the program was designed to encourage Korean scholars and researchers to concentrate on problems of interest and concern to the Korean Government. The program made it possible for public administration professors and other academics to do useful research instead of having to "moonlight" in several other universities in order to earn a living. As a natural result, with their greater knowledge about such problems, Korean professors increasingly have been employed as consultants by their government.

One particularly significant by-product has been the shift of a number of Korean professors from a position of non-involvement to one whereby they are better able to understand the problems of the government and have some ability and willingness to assist in solving them. This, coupled with fairly substantial raises in faculty salaries these past few years, has helped to ease some of the anti-government feeling among Korean intellectuals.

e. *Methods of Providing Technical Assistance*

Throughout the history of the American foreign aid program, there has been a decided difference of opinion as to the most effective methods of providing technical assistance. One phase of this revolved about the use of AID's own, direct-hire personnel as contrasted with personnel from other participating federal agencies, or from contractors - both profit and non-profit. Those favoring greater reliance upon direct-hire (or

participating agency) personnel point to the allegedly higher costs of contracts and the need for "in-house" expertise. The use of contracts, however, has persisted because of their ability to get into the field faster and allegedly with "better" personnel as well as the problem of personnel ceilings.

This is an important subject that needs thorough researching; it is far too complicated to be treated satisfactorily in a paper as brief as this necessarily must be.

5. *Limiting Factors*

In any program as large and diverse as AID's, there are inevitably a number of factors that hinder or prevent the attainment of objectives. Most of these today are well recognized and neutralized by personnel who are more experienced than during the period when the technical assistance program was developing in Asia. At that time, however, and because of the general lack of experience in dealing with Asian culture, they were serious limitations on accomplishments.

a. *Host-Country Factors*

Among the many host-country factors adversely affecting technical assistance in public administration were those arising from *cultural differences*, including the attitudes of a family-based society, the view of government as an agency of oppression and exploitation, public office as an opportunity to enrich one's self and family, and the wish to avoid "loss of face" or embarrassment to self and foreigner; *political differences*, including a lack of stable and responsible governments, an over-centralization of authority, and a distinct preference, on the part of the leadership, for problems of national sovereignty and prestige; and *administrative weaknesses*, including a serious lack of trained and experienced officials, low salaries, widespread corruption, poor coordination, inadequate management and housekeeping and excessive legalism. A number of Asian countries exhibited a tendency to retain, or even exaggerate, some of the less desirable administrative concepts and practices of former colonial powers.

Limitations frequently cited in the first decade of the assistance program were: (1) the predilection to the theoretical and philosophical rather than the practical; (2) the too strong influence of politics and nepotism in the selection of persons to be sent abroad for training; and (3) the tendency of many trainees to be more interested in "junketing" than in studying.

Perhaps the most serious limitation on host-country ability to use foreign aid effectively has been the failure to make realistic assessment of their problems and to undertake indigenously conceived and meaningful programs of improvement. Instead, in too many countries, there has been a tendency to agree readily to proposals by the aid givers in order to continue the input of foreign assistance and not offend the givers. Because they agreed to undertakings which, in many instances, they did not consider to be really urgent or important, there frequently

was little real support and the results were less than they could have been.

Stated another way, few Asian countries have made the full political commitments necessary to achieve reform and improvement in their administrative organization and procedure. To some extent, this may be reflection of a lack of dissatisfaction with the existing machinery and operations by those in control; more recently, it may be a result of an increasingly nationalistic feeling in some Asian countries.

b. *United States Weaknesses*

Although the United States was in the role of offering "expert" advice and assistance to Asian countries, the program had weaknesses that tended to hamper or defeat some of the efforts. In public administration, as in other disciplines, the initial weaknesses stemmed from a general lack of experience with Asian cultures and the naive assumption that all these countries needed was a strong dose of the good old American "know-how" that could easily be administered by any technically competent person.

Other common problems included: irrational personnel policies which rotated overseas assignments so fast it was difficult to develop a cadre of experienced country experts; inability to finance and to understand the need for long-term efforts; too abrupt starts and stops in projects; inadequate personalities and failure of some advisors to adjust to overseas living; and, since AID was created, an abnormal devotion of time and effort to preparing, revising, and redoing elaborate program statements, the value of which to the field is doubtful.

High on the list of weaknesses in AID's public administration efforts would be the following:

- The lack of a firm, consistent recognition by AID/W Mission directors, and even some public administration advisors, of the need for fundamental changes in host country administrative attitudes and practices, as prerequisites to broader political and social changes.
- The fear of being accused of "interfering" with the internal management of the host government.
- The belief evidenced by some Mission directors and AID/W officials that administrative reform was neither feasible nor necessary because, with economic growth achieved by the infusion of United States capital, the host country would bring about those reforms that were essential.
- The tendency of many project goals to be too grandiose and overstated. Too many project descriptions suggested that practically all problems--at the highest levels--would be solved in a few years. Yet ten years later, the same Mission would be trumpeting similar proposals.
- The pressure for projects that offered quick "payouts," with the

resulting preferences for structures versus institutional development and attitudinal changes that require years to achieve.

--The too frequent failure on the part of the United States public administration advisors to get the host government to do the job itself rather than having American experts try to do it.

A serious weakness in AID's program in public administration, and a criticism that has been levied at the profession as a whole has been the lack of innovation and boldness.¹⁵ Because of this, the whole field of development planning has been preempted by the economists who almost have made "economic planning" synonymous with national development.

6. *Favorable Factors*

It is relatively easy to catalogue the limiting factors of weaknesses in large, complex operations; it is somewhat more difficult to objectively describe the elements that produce favorable results. Again, the ensuing discussion is not intended to be exhaustive but rather to be illustrative.

a. *Host Country Developments*

In most Asian countries there has been, and is, a strong desire for education. This can be seen in practically all fields. It is the principal reason that the educational aspects of AID's public administration assistance program generally have been successful.

Another element has been the rise of a large and growing body of younger, increasingly well-trained and motivated public officials. In some cases--as in Korea, Thailand, China and Indonesia--a number of these younger, more innovative officials have come from the military. Many, however, have been developed through the educational units, schools of public administration, or in-service or participant training programs, including a number who had earlier been viewed largely as junketeers. Still others have grown within the bureaucracy as a result of on-the-job stimulation from returned colleagues or from contact with AID and other advisors. Regardless of the the origin of their motivation, it is relatively easy today to find large and increasing numbers of Asian government officials who are displaying rapidly growing competence, and even more important, the desire to bring about more effective administration.

In all of the countries with which AID has worked, it has been possible to find a few individuals of outstanding personality in the government and the universities who have helped to spark the effort to raise the level of administration. These individuals made it easier for AID advisors and contractors to carry out their assignments.

Another element, the existence of which is essential, is that of political stability. While from a long range objective Americans advocate a democratic society abroad as well as at home, AID's public administration personnel have recognized that, practically speaking, it was more urgent to have a stable political--and governmental--situation. This is not to say

that we should, or would, enjoy or favor stability at the expense of human liberty as it occurred in some countries. Instead, it is a frank recognition that in a turbulent, faction-torn political situation, it is almost impossible successfully to seek any improvement in the ability of the government to organize and provide public services.

Fortunately, political stability is becoming more prevalent in most Asian countries--even those subject to communist-inspired guerrilla activities. This increasing stability, with a corresponding decline in the rate of turnover of cabinet officials, is having a salutary effect upon administration.

Finally, a development directly arising from some of the foregoing is the emergence of professional organizations dedicated to raising standards of conduct and performance. Typical of these are the Personnel Officers Association of the Philippines (POAP), the Association of Governmental Accountants of the Philippines and the Korean Association for Public Administration (KAPA). The first and most prominent of the regional groups was the Eastern Regional Organization for Public Administration. The brain-child of Carlos Ramos, director of the Institute (now College) of Public Administration at the University of the Philippines, EROPA, the birth of which was quietly assisted by AID, is now ten years old. It has already begun to spawn special activities in most Asian member countries. A recent example of this development was the creation (at the General Assembly in Teheran) of the Development Administration Group (Asia). This group was responsible for the substantive program at the EROPA Assembly in Kuala Lumpur in June.

Stimulated by the success of EROPA, a number of Asian personnel administrators appear to be moving towards a regional, cooperative association. Also developing is a formal association of tax officials. This movement towards regional cooperation is extending into other disciplines. As an example, the officials of the several Asian countries involved in family planning programs are preparing to set up some form of regional machinery. Incidentally, this group is clearly recognizing the need for a strong input of public administration in its activities.

b. *United States Factors*

Among the favorable factors on the American side were the rapid increase in knowledge about Asia, its cultures, and its problems; the recognition that it takes time for an advisor--including those employed by contract--to become acquainted with these cultures and problems; the realization that administration is an essential element in all activities; a greater awareness that the Asian public administration problems must be solved by Asians using largely Asian concepts; and a determination to become more selective in the provision of technical assistance.

Although initially AID advisors and contractors knew very little about the problems of Asia and how to provide meaningful technical assistance in their solution, the agency did succeed in closing these gaps. Of course, this process has not been an instant one nor has it been uniformly successful. There has been an increase, however, in the length of time key individuals have stayed in particular countries; individuals

more often have been kept within the region rather than being shunted about the world, and the number with direct, long-term experience in two or more countries is much greater than ten years ago.

Increasingly, within the field missions, there has been a trend towards inter-disciplinary activities. As a case in point, the public administration training activities in Thailand are interwoven into the accelerated rural development program. Similarly, in the Philippines, the efforts to stimulate provincial governments involves public administration to such an extent that the distinctions between it and other disciplines are hard to discern. The emergence of the term "Development Administration" is but a reflection of these trends. In Korea, it has long been the practice within USOM to have committees representing all divisions review loan proposals and evaluate and review major program elements.

A factor of some influence in "educating" United States advisors was the series of regional conferences on problems of Asian administration held by AID and its predecessors.¹⁶ These meetings, accompanied by TDY visits within the region, helped to bring about a greater understanding of some of the problems and techniques most helpful to their solution. In a sense, the present seminars, under the sponsorship of SEADAG, can be viewed as an extension of these regional conferences.

7. *Current Assessment*

It is believed that a substantial part of the present, improving level of administrative competence in a number of Asian countries can be attributed to the AID program of technical assistance in public administration. As yet, there have not been enough studies and evaluations to provide the basis for precise statements. Until these are available, it will be necessary to rely on the judgement of a number of individuals who have been involved in these activities over the past decade or two. Their views are reflected in the following capsulized treatments of the several Asian countries.

a. *Cambodia*

This is still largely a rural, agricultural, non-industrialized country with governmental administration and procedures functioning in a traditional role and not too effectively. The AID input in public administration has been limited and concerned chiefly with budget, statistics, and O&M. There have been very few public administration participants (13 out of 420) and a small input of advisory services. The AID impact on Cambodian administration has been helpful but limited. It is probably impossible for United States advisors to be effective until the present military-political conditions are cleared up.

b. *China*

After taking refuge on Taiwan, the Government of the Republic of China initially devoted most of its energies to the problem of returning to the mainland. By the mid-1950's, it began to concentrate on the development of a sound economy on Taiwan. Its success was primarily a reflection of the abilities of the large number of experienced officials who had come from the mainland and the substantial economic and military assistance of the United States.

While the need for major improvements had been evident for some time,¹⁷ AID's public administration input was nominal, was restricted in scope and hampered by the fear of "interfering" with the host government. The major efforts were for participant training (146 in public administration out of 1749) and technical advice in tax, budget, finance, personnel administration and statistics. Some effective work which was done in the form of management education and executive development of managers in the business community, through the Michigan-Chengchi contract and the China Productivity Center, clearly contributed to the dramatic industrial growth of recent years. Yet, as an analytical evaluation put it, "In conformance with Mission policy not to use aid as a direct means of including political reform the program was low-pressure in character, launched with hesitancy and agreed to with equal hesitancy by the Chinese Government."¹⁸

It may be that the foregoing view, written by an economist who was primarily concerned with economic impact, plays down the contribution of the public administration program a bit too much. To some extent this is true, but not sufficiently to provide the basis for any major claim on behalf of public administration.

c. *Indonesia*

The reaction of the Indonesian people from colonial rule, and the variations and swings in political affairs in the years since, along with the preoccupation of President Sukarno in a number of grandiose political schemes, have made it extremely difficult to mount and sustain an effective program of technical assistance in any field. The great shortage of trained or experienced personnel provided the first major target of the AID program in public administration. In addition to assisting in the establishment of the Public Service Center at Gadjah Mada University in 1958 and the Local Government Training Academy and the National Institute of Administration in 1959, AID sent 502 participant trainees to the United States in the period of 1952-1965. A striking example of effective training is the "management development" program which has been carried on by Syracuse University. A large part of the present modest Indonesian efforts to improve administrative practices is directly traceable to these participants, many of whom are now occupying positions of importance.

In the period of 1957-1965, AID had seven different public administration projects in Indonesia. Four of these were on training. The other three related to fiscal management, central government administration, and local government. All of them had large training components. During that period, the Indonesian Government was not particularly receptive to advice and counsel from the United States technical experts, and several contractors experienced great frustration in their efforts to be of assistance.

If the present government can contain and minimize corruption, and is receptive, it could profitably use a substantial technical assistance program in public administration.

d. *Korea*

The current surge of Korea into a role as an effectively run and increasingly influential Asian country is a remarkable achievement. Scarcely a generation ago, Korea was setting up its own government with very little experienced native talent after 40 years under the Japanese and three years of United States military government. It survived a destructive war, as well as a decade of turbulent politics capped by four changes of government--two of them violent. Today, Korean administration is good by Asian standards, is getting better, and with wise political leadership could easily become the best in Asia.¹⁹

At the time of AID's greatest input of public administration technical assistance (1955-1962), the Korean Government was not really interested. Although there were increasing numbers of young officials who understood the problems and were beginning to make some progress from within the ROKG, the political leadership was not anxious to have foreign technicians get too close a look at the inside of government. Most of the AID activities in public administration were conceived and advanced by AID technicians; they were accepted by the ROKG as part of the overall AID input.

Currently, the "payoff" on past AID investments in education and training is one of the clearest evidences of the long-term benefits of the public administration efforts. Thus, in 1958, when the Graduate School of Public Administration was set up at Seoul National University as part of the Minnesota contract, and Washington University began its contract to assist Yonsei and Korea Universities in Business Administration, neither of these subjects were being taught in Korea. In 1967, there were 23 schools teaching public administration and 36 with formal programs in business administration.²⁰ After a relatively dormant period in which it was gaining strength, the Graduate School of Public Administration, now under the dynamic leadership of Dean Hahn Been Lee, is becoming a center for research and will undoubtedly play a very influential role in the future development of Korean Administration. Similarly, Korea and Yonsei Universities are leading the way in helping the emerging business community to develop better management practices.

Korea also has the most elaborate in-service training facilities in Asia, along with an increasingly good training program.²¹ In participant training, as noted earlier, it assigned the largest percentage (19.2) of its participants in U.S. training to public administration studies. Many of these, plus the thousands who were exposed to in-service training, along with hundreds of former military officers who were trained at U.S. military schools, are playing increasingly important roles in present-day developments.

A particularly helpful boost to Korean public administration was provided through USOM-EPE Trust Fund Research program previously noted. It was very important in supporting the efforts of the Administrative Improvement Research Commission, the Korean "Hoover Commission" which functions under the leadership of Soung Jae Lee, long-time Minister of Government Administration.

The AID public administration program in the period since 1962 was deliberately aimed at stimulating policy-level Korean officials to recognize and solve their own problems. There was a corresponding decrease in the number of American advisors and in the "nuts and bolts" type of assistance. It was effective largely because of the sharp increase in the receptivity of the Military Government and, since 1963, of the Third Republic. A dramatic case in point occurred in the area of tax administration. Since 1945, the United States Military Government, subsequently UNKRA and then AID, provided technical advisors who worked to improve Korean tax administration. They enjoyed nominal success but never could achieve a real breakthrough until 1966, when President Park intervened. Park listened to AID admonishments that American assistance was declining while Korean budget requirements were skyrocketing. He directed a reorganization (abolished the Bureau of Taxation and created an Office of Tax Administration), placed one of his personally trusted assistants, Nak Sun Lee, in charge, and directed him to collect taxes.

The results, with no major changes in the tax system, were spectacular. Revenues from internal taxes went from 42 billion won in 1965, to 70 billion in 1966, to 104 billion in 1967, and are estimated at 144 billion in 1968. A similar if less striking development took place a year later in customs administration where, with some well-timed advice from an AID customs technician, revenues increased from 17.6 billion won in 1966 to 25.6 billion in 1967, and were estimated at 33.3 billion in 1968. In both instances, presidential (political) intervention made it possible to give effect to the technical advice that had been offered over the years.

e. *Laos*

Although AID has had a modest input of public administration assistance, the Mission generally defers to the United Nations and France as the principal influences in this field. Under the AID program, there were few participants (10 out of 111) and a commitment of less than \$1 million out of a total of \$537 million. The largest share of the AID projects were for Customs, Procurement, Budgeting and Banking. In the absence of any careful, recent evaluation, it does not appear that the AID provided assistance in public administration has had very much impact. As in the case of Cambodia, there is little point to undertaking a major effort until the situation in Southeast Asia is cleared up.

It is worth noting that AID followed Professor Sharp's advice in both Laos and Cambodia by recruiting and assigning (as far as possible) advisors with fluency in French and some background in French administrative concepts. While this was helpful, it was not decisive in facilitating any breakthroughs.

f. *The Philippines*

As the Asian country most intimately related--over the 20th century--to the United States, it might be expected that the Philippines would

reflect favorably the impact of AID's assistance in public administration. The program, although interrupted prematurely in 1959-1960, has been relatively substantial, involving expenditures of about \$9 million plus 13 million pesos.²² It contained all elements, including the establishment of what is recognized as the most successful Asian College (originally Institute) of Public Administration, a substantial number (385 out of 2838) of participants in public administration, a modest amount of commodities, and a very large input of technical, advisory services. Included was an expensive array of contract services by both profit and non-profit organizations.

The major part of the early United States input of public administration assistance came during the Magsaysay administration. It reflected the drive and dynamism of the President and his chief advisor in this field--the then Budget Commissioner, later Secretary of Finance, and now Senator, Dominador R. Aytona. During this period AID financed a number of contracts covering the Institute, wage and position classification, reorganization, and budget and accounting.

A 1962 attempt of the public administration advisor to encourage the mounting of a Filipino program of self-improvement was lost because of a lack of understanding by a new Mission Director. The latter subsequently became convinced of the need of a strong input of public administration assistance and reestablished a sizeable program of AID advisory assistance, using direct-hire and participating agency (tax and customs) personnel.

Although the degree of administrative specialization and professionalism is much higher today than it was 15 years ago, partly as a result of American aid,²³ there have been no major breakthroughs or outstanding successes other than that of the College of Public Administration. This failure to achieve major improvements is directly attributable to the corrosive influence of political interference and the destructive effects of the corruption which has handicapped Philippine politics and administration. In the 23 years since Philippine independence, the Republic has not seen a single president reelected, although practically all were originally successful campaigning on platforms of cleaning up politics and corruption.

The current outlook, however, is one of cautious optimism. Since 1959, the Joint Legislative-Executive Tax Study Commission, with an exceptionally able staff, has been studying Philippine taxation and administration. In the face of substantial opposition, this cooperative effort is beginning to be felt. President Marcos, who served in the Philippine Senate before being elected in 1965, reportedly is giving increasing support to better tax and customs administration, although actual collections continue to lag behind the modest increases in GNP. If he is reelected and is able to broaden the effort to improve administration, he will have ample assistance from the large number of competent, technically-trained personnel whose hands thus far have been tied by politics. If there is no solid, continuing political support for cleaning out political interference in administration, the Philippines face serious trouble. In short, the

Philippine Government has a vast backlog of technical competence which has been frustrated by a failure at policy or political levels. It was in recognition of this that the USOM recently decided (BALPA II) to discontinue seven technicians slots and restrict the public administration activity to that of a senior generalist, plus some efforts in provincial and urban development and short-term specialists. Unless this is also supported by a more realistic approach to the problem of improving Filipino administration, there will be little chance of any real breakthroughs.

g. Thailand

The one country in East Asia that did not experience colonial rule, although it was substantially influenced by British concepts and practices, Thailand offered a unique opportunity to test the effectiveness of technical assistance. Its public administration had, in the words of the PAS Report, "many features which are praiseworthy," including a large number of trained, capable, and devoted individuals in high official posts, an ongoing Civil Service system, training in public administration at several universities, an established practice of sending students abroad for training, and prestige status for public officials.

The Thai Government, both before and after the last military coup in 1957, welcomed the public administration program and appears to have made good use of it. United States commitments for these activities in the period up to FY 1967 have been greater than those in any country (\$9.4 million out of \$101.3 million for technical cooperation). A University of Indiana contract to assist the establishment of an Institution of Public Administration at Thammasat University was one of the earliest (1956) and appears to have been adequately successful.

In participant training, Thailand sent 421 of its 2891 trainees for study in public administration. It has been the principal Asian beneficiary of assistance in city planning. Since 1955, it has had the sustained and well-received assistance of Public Administration Service in budgeting, accounting, revenue administration, and a variety of organization and management improvement efforts in a number of ministries. It has profitably utilized the advisory services of the Bureau of the Census and has built up a high degree of capability in statistics. Since 1965, it has been assisted in the development of a position classification system and other personnel operations by the California State Personnel Board.

The in-service training activities of the Institute of Public Administration have been comprehensive. They included executive development courses for 220 top government executives; training of all governors; the establishment of the District Officers Academy (1964); and a special program covering all central government officials in the provinces. Approximately 12,500 officials were exposed to some form of training.

Other important AID public administration programs have included economic and fiscal policy assistance to the Minister of Finance

and a sizeable program designed to strengthen the organization and operations of the several levels of local administration. A development of significance is the recent (1965) establishment of the National Institute of Development Administration as an adjunct of the Institute of Public Administration. Financed with the assistance of the Ford Foundation, the NIDA will focus on business administration, economic development, statistics and related areas.

Weaknesses still exist in several areas, such as a lack of effective auditing, a substantial amount of corruption, a not too equitable tax system and administration, and weak administration in a number of public corporations. On the other hand, the Thai Government has generally provided good logistical support and funding and an adequate supply of local manpower.

On balance, it appears that AID public administration program has been helpful and that it has started developments which will enable the Thai Government to sustain a continuing improvement in its public administration. Because of this impressive level of achievement and the BALFA II pressure, the AID program in Thailand contemplates the rapid phasing out of most of its technical assistance in public administration. It plans to continue special efforts in training and in local government, especially tying into the Accelerated Rural Development program, which is the principal thrust of the AID program in Thailand.

8. *Future Developments*

It has already been noted that AID is tending towards a more selective policy in its provision of technical assistance in public administration. This it might achieve in the following manner:

- a. In each Mission, provide a public administration unit of one or two senior generalists whose functions will be:
 - 1) to keep the Mission advised as to the administrative problems of the host country and its ability to handle them;
 - 2) to assist other elements of the Mission to ensure that their activities favorably affect the administration of the host government;
 - 3) to keep in touch with the host government and provide advisory assistance directly and by the use of short-term, TDY specialists, having first made sure that the host government was ready to use them effectively, and
 - 4) to review with the host government and university authorities the need for participant training and the plans for the use of trainees after their return.
- b. Attempt to see that all AID advisers, regardless of professional specialty, have a good understanding and reasonable knowledge of sound administration in order to effectively help their counterparts.

- c. Recognize that, except in a few countries such as Indonesia, Laos, and Cambodia (when the political-military situation permits), there is little need for routine technical assistance. Instead, there must be an effort to get the responsible authorities of the several countries to make firm political decisions to move ahead on administrative improvement. In the years ahead, the United States can provide a continuing support for this by working with, and through, the several regional organizations. A small staff of experienced public administration generalists, could also assist the several Missions with specific problems of government management as they arise.
- d. Stimulate and assist research activities by both Asian and American scholars and research organizations, with emphasis upon development and consultative groups.
- e. Encourage Asian nations to directly obtain the services of American and Asian research, development and consultative groups.
- f. Finally, on a modest basis, assist a few American universities to expand and sustain programs of cooperation with Asian universities in providing for exchanges of graduate students and faculty.

9. *The Need for Further Studies*

Work on the preparation of this paper has demonstrated the need for additional research before it will be possible to draw conclusive lessons from the AID experience of providing technical assistance in public administration in Asian countries. There is a substantial amount of data in AID records that have not been pulled together and analyzed. This should be done before it is lost permanently. To do it in any meaningful way requires much more time than has been given to this paper.

Illustrative of the subjects that would offer good research and evaluation studies in East and Southeast Asia are:

- a. Evaluation of various aspects of in-service and participant training in public administration.
- b. institution-building - Colleges of Public Administration.
- c. Institution-building - Colleges of Business Administration.
- d. Relative merits of contract, PASA or direct-hire.
- e. In-depth studies of administration in specific countries.
- f. Title IX and local government in specific countries.
- g. Comparative regional studies of:

--Personnel Administration

--Budget Administration

--Planning Administration, and

--Other special areas

10. *Conclusions*

Depending upon one's own degree of experience and views, the conclusions that can be drawn from the foregoing are numerous and variable. The following may be suggested:

- a. The United States--over the last 18 years--has made a modest, somewhat erratic, and not high-priority contribution to the improvement of public administration in a number of Asian countries.
- b. Although this effort generally did not receive major support in the sense and proportions provided in a number of other areas, it achieved some substantial, lasting results, the full impact of which is still subject to evaluation.
- c. Initially, few technical advisors in public administration--under contract, participating agency service agreements or direct-hire--had the kinds of background and understanding of oriental culture that would enable them to avoid mistakes and delays in achieving project goals.
- d. Over the years, however, the public administration advisors, along with their colleagues in other disciplines, acquired the experience and cultural awareness that enabled them to understand the nature of the host-country problems and to successfully attack them.
- e. The most effective, long-term efforts were those devoted to educational and training programs; they continue to pay off in the increasing numbers of competent young officials moving up through several bureaucracies.
- f. A major factor in achieving good results in Asian administration has been the increasing insistence by AID and the corresponding receptivity of the several host governments, that Asian initiative replace American assistance.
- g. The recent reduction in public administration activities in East Asia is partially a recognition of the fact, reported by public administration advisers, that most of the principal countries have developed reasonably adequate degrees of technical competence.
- h. Further improvements in Asian administration are largely dependent upon political decisions in the several countries. To the extent that the political leadership desires and supports administrative improvement, it will be achieved. Failure to do so will make it more difficult to achieve a stable government and a viable economy.

- i. AID should plan to be of assistance in the continuing struggle to improve Asian administration by maintaining an adequate input of public administration advisory assistance, including at least one generalist in each country mission; by discreet assistance to regional Asian organizations working in this field; and by a small, continuing program of observation and training in the United States for higher level officials and public and business administration professors.

- j. AID should pay increased attention to encouraging the political and business leadership of the several countries to support and advance efforts to improve their administrative capabilities as one of the prerequisites to a more effective, and hopefully, more democratic national operation.

-- NOTES --

- 1 This subject has been covered on a world-wide basis by Edward W. Wiedner, in his monograph, *Technical Assistance in Public Administration Overseas: The Case for Development Administration*, Public Administration Service, Chicago, Ill., 1964, 247 pp.
- 2 Under presidential order, all United States overseas establishments are making reductions in personnel and activities as a means of reducing the pressure on the balance of payments. Under Phase I, all Missions are to achieve overall reductions of 15 percent by June 30, 1969; Under Phase II, in 15 countries (The Philippines, China [Taiwan] and Japan in East Asia) there must be a total reduction of 35 per cent by September 30, 1969.
- 3 AID Manual Order No. 1095.2, dated October 26, 1967, reads as follows:

Public Administration

720 - *Government-wide Organization and Management*

Covers projects aimed at improving organization and management in fields which are government-wide in application, scope or effect, whether at Federal, State or local levels. Includes "Hoover Commission" type surveys of public administration problems, organization or management projects which cut across more than one governmental agency, organization and management of economic development programs excluding development planning (795) and government-wide organization, analysis, and planning.

730 - *Public Personnel Administration*

Covers projects dealing with recruitment and testing, classification and pay, motivation and morale, personnel legislation, human relations, and other civil service activities.

740 - *Organization and Management of Particular Ministries*

Covers projects aimed at improving management of particular ministries, programs, or levels of government such as improving organization and methods in substantive (agriculture, health, education, etc.) ministries, organization and management of government functions, etc. Activities designed to provide substantive support of a governmental organization are classified under the specific related activity.

750 - *Public Budgeting and Finance Administration*

Covers projects dealing with government budgeting, accounting, auditing, fiscal analysis and economic planning, taxation, public debt management, tariffs, customs administration, and

government banking and credit activities.

755 - *Development Planning*

Covers projects related to the development of effective national development planning processes in the developing countries.

760 - *Administrative Services*

Covers projects aimed at improving government administration, records administration, library administration, and office management services such as business machines, filing, microfilming, mail and messenger service, printing and reproduction, space and lighting, ventilation and forms control and design.

770 - *Organization and Administration of Institutes or Schools for Public or Business Administration*

Covers projects designed to improve facilities for training and education in public and business administration and associated activities involving research and consultation services, including university-to-university contracts in the fields of public and business administration.

780 - *Statistics - General and Census*

Covers projects to improve general government statistics and census statistics. Other activities in the fields of statistics are classified under the appropriate related functional field.

790 - *All Other Public Administration*

Covers public administration projects not classified under any other specific functional field.

4 Letter from Mr. Samuel P. Hayes to Mr. Harry W. Marsh, August 13, 1968. Mr. Hayes served as deputy chief of the Mission.

5 Report to the President of the United States, by the Economic Survey Mission to the Philippines, October 9, 1950. Earlier, the United States had provided a variety of technical assistance in public administration (and other disciplines) to a number of Asian countries through its military occupation or cooperating forces. In Washington, individuals such as Donald Stone, Alvin Rosenman, MacDonald Salter, Harvey Sherman and Robert Culbertson strove earnestly to "sell" the value and role of public administration in the foreign aid program.

6 "A Program for Strengthening Public Administration in the Kingdom of Thailand," PAS, Chicago, May 1, 1952, 43 pp.

- 7 "A Public Administration Improvement Program for the Associated States of Indochina," PAS, Chicago, October, 1952, 54 pp.
- 8 Report to the President by Dr. Henry J. Tasca, Special Representative for Korean Economic Affairs; dated June 15, 1953.
- 9 Summaries of the reports were obtained from Mr. Herman Pope, Executive Director, PAS, July 1968. The PAS "survey and reports" were financed by the Mutual Security Administration and the Foreign Operations Administration which succeeded MSA in the middle of the contract negotiations. The delays and "adjustments" of these contract negotiations reportedly helped to dampen the prospects for any follow up.
- 10 Data from Statistics and Reports Division, Office of Program and Policy Coordination, AID.
- 11 There were some commitments for public administration projects which are shown under Technical Support for years prior to 1955. These additional amounts, however, are not believed to be in excess of another \$5 or \$6 million, so that the outside total for public administration would not exceed \$40 million. It will also be noted that most of the \$825.6 million shown for Indochina was committed prior to FY 1956 and was largely for Vietnam, as compared with Cambodia and Laos. It is further assumed that none of these funds were to Technical Cooperation, or Public Administration, as they were grants to French forces in that area.
- 12 Mary E. Robinson, *"Education for Social Change, Establishing Institutes for Public and Business Administration Abroad,"* Washington, D.C.; The Brookings Institution, May, 1961.
- 13 Data from reports of the Office of International Training, AID.
- 14 By the way of illustration, the Graduate School of Public Administration, Seoul National University, produced 504 masters theses from 1960 through 1966. *Bibliography of Korean Public Administration*, Dong Suh Bark and Jai Poong Yoon, July, 1966.
- 15 Hahn Been Lee, "Administrative Reforms and Innovations in Asia," a background paper for the EROPA Seminar, Kuala Lumpur, June, 1968.
- 16 Regional meetings were held in Manila in 1957 ("Establishing Sound Public Administration - and Development of Administrative Leadership"); in Saigon in 1960 ("Economic Development and Fiscal Reform"); and in Honolulu in 1963 ("Role of Local Government in National Development").
- 17 See PAS reports, cited in footnote #8.
- 18 Neil Jacoby, "U.S. Aid to Taiwan: A Study of Foreign Aid, Self-Help and Development," New York: Praeger, 1964, 364 pp.
- 19 Frank M. Landers, "Technical Assistance in Public Administration, USOM/Korea - 1955-1967," Seoul, Korea, 1967.
- 20 Landers, op. cit.

- 21 William B. Berg, "Recommendations for Continued Progress in Training Programs of Korean Government Officials," USOM, Korea, Seoul, July 1967.
- 22 Frank M. Landers, "U.S. Technical Assistance on Public Administration: An American Official's View," *Philippines Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. 6, No. 2, April, 1962. Expenditures from 1951 through 1960 were reported as \$7.2 million plus 10.9 million pesos, exclusive of Philippine Government expenditures. It is estimated that United States expenditures since 1960 have been about \$2 million plus 2 million pesos.
- 23 Jose V. Abueva, "Administrative Reform and Culture," paper given at EROPA General Assembly, Kuala Lumpur, June, 1968.

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