TITLE IX OF THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT:
POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT

by

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The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the individual student author and do not necessarily represent the views of either The National War College or any other governmental agency. References to this study should include the foregoing statement.

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"From Aristotle to John Dewey, political scientists have extolled popular participation as a source of vitality and creative energy, as a defense against tyranny and as a means of enacting the common wisdom. By involving many in the affairs of the state, participation should promote stability and order; and by giving everyone the opportunity to express his own interests it should secure the greatest good for the greatest number. The community should gain, furthermore, by drawing on the talents and skills of the greatest number of people..."

Herbert McClosky, Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences

"A very great change in our economic well-being is necessary before we can meet these responsibilities of national freedom... This essential economic change will not, and cannot, take place in isolation. It depends upon, and it brings, social and political change... Tanzania is attempting to achieve change by deliberate policy, and to maintain stability by involving all the people in both the direction and the process of change. We are under no illusions about the difficulty of the task we have undertaken."

Julius K. Nyerere
October 2, 1969
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. THE NATURE OF TITLE IX</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. LEGISLATIVE ACTION IN 1969</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. FOCUS ON LATIN AMERICA</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. THE OPERATION OF TITLE IX</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. THE PROBLEM OF INTERPRETATION AND</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPLEMENTATION OF TITLE IX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOOTNOTES</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

The experience of U.S. foreign assistance in the 1960's has contributed to a general recognition that more emphasis must be placed in U.S. foreign assistance on political and social factors affecting development. This emphasis has been incorporated into Title IX of the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act in provisions enacted in 1966, 1967 and 1969. Title IX stresses measures to maximize the participation of the people of developing countries in the task of development through the encouragement of democratic private and local government institutions.

Title IX is drawn in broad terms which have presented uncertainties about the interpretation to be given to the legislation in the conduct of development assistance programs. The impression is sometimes gained that the legislation devalues the objective of economic growth in favor of measures to promote political and social development in the developing countries. There is a question of how development assistance can be directed to achieve Title IX objectives, what precisely these objectives are, and how they relate to other U.S. foreign assistance purposes. In approaching these issues, this paper examines the legislative background of Title IX and measures taken by the Agency for International Development to pursue the objectives of the legislation. The relation of Title IX to the objectives of social change and civic development in the Alliance for Progress is also
reviewed. In the concluding chapters, problems of interpretation and implementation are examined and tentative conclusions about the impact of Title IX are drawn.

The paper concludes in particular that the greatest scope for implementation of Title IX objectives lies in the promotion of popular participation through appropriate rural development strategies in recipient countries. A theme unifying Title IX and other goals of foreign aid is seen to be in efforts to wear down the enclave nature of many of the developing countries in the political, economic and social spheres.
TITLE IX OF THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT

Utilization of Democratic Institutions in Development

Section 231. (a) In carrying out programs authorized in this chapter, emphasis shall be placed on assuring maximum participation in the task of economic development on the part of the people of developing countries, through the encouragement of democratic private and local governmental institutions.

(b) In order to carry out the purposes of this title, programs under this chapter shall—

(1) recognize the differing needs, desires, and capacities of the people of the respective developing countries and areas;

(2) use the intellectual resources of such countries and areas in conjunction with assistance provided under this Act so as to encourage the development of indigenous institutions that meet their particular requirements for sustained economic and social progress; and

(3) support civic education and training in skills required for effective participation in governmental and political processes essential to self-government.

(c) In the allocation of funds for research under this chapter, emphasis shall be given to research designed to examine the political, social, and related obstacles to development in countries receiving assistance under part I of this Act.

(d) Emphasis shall also be given to the evaluation of relevant past and current programs under part I of this Act and to applying this experience so as to strengthen their effectiveness in implementing the objectives of this title.
I. THE NATURE OF TITLE IX

A. Content of the Title

Title IX of the Foreign Assistance Act (FAA) enjoins the Executive Branch in the use of development assistance funds to promote maximum participation by the people of these countries in the task of development. This goal of popular participation is usually understood by the Executive Branch and Congress to have three elements. First is the meaning that people should participate in the decisions affecting their lives and welfare. Second is the notion of engaging the energies and commitment of people in the task of development. Third is the idea that people should benefit from development through equitable sharing of goods, services, and opportunities afforded by the society.

Under the legislation, the objective of broadened popular participation is to be sought through encouragement of democratic private and local government institutions. These include cooperatives, labor unions, trade associations, village and municipal governments, and civic associations. The concept is that a variety of institutions at all levels--local, state, and national--can provide people with a voice and political leverage to express their choices and can serve as channels for effective government response to these choices.

Title IX derives from a perception by many economists, political scientists and decision makers in the United States that the modernization
of new nations involves not only economic development but what is more important political and social development. This perception leads to the view by political scientists that the overriding problem for developing nations is the establishment of effective and legitimate political systems. As such, Title IX involves political concepts of broad popular participation, democratic institution-building, and civic education and training in skills required for effective political participation. The relation of Title IX objectives to requirements for social change and reform is also recognized, particularly in the Alliance for Progress programs and its programs to promote social and civic development.

The legislation also provides an emphasis on indigenous development of institutions required for social and economic progress. This has led to recommendations for measures to encourage indigenous development of law, civic institutions, local government, and the legislative as well as executive branches of government.

Title IX also provides an emphasis on development research to examine the political, social, and related obstacles to development in recipient countries. In carrying out research, and in helping develop local institutions, there is a legislative intent for increased use of private non-governmental organizations both in the United States and in recipient countries.

Within the Executive Branch, Title IX is seen as a mandate to place emphasis on more consideration of the social and political factors of development in U.S. foreign policy and programs. Within the Agency
for International Development (A.I.D.), Title IX is seen as a new dimension to development assistance planning and programming. In shaping U.S. country assistance programs the effort is to influence and support recipients' development policies and programs to the realization of Title IX objectives under the major guideline of encouraging more people to participate in the modernization process.

B. Legislative Background and Intent

Title IX was first enacted by Congress in 1966 some five years after the establishment of A.I.D. and the passage of the basic legislation governing U.S. foreign assistance. The title was introduced by Representatives Donald Fraser (D - Minn.) and Clement J. Zablocki (D - Wis.) and supported by F. Bradford Morse (R - Mass.) in the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. In its initial version, Title IX was a succinct statement providing that in carrying out programs of development assistance:

emphasis shall be placed on assuring maximum participation in the task of economic development on the part of the people of the developing countries through the encouragement of democratic private and local government institutions.

In its origins, Title IX stems from earlier legislative emphasis on programs to reach the common people of the developing countries. It relates back to a mandate in the Mutual Security Act to encourage free enterprise and private participation in development and to the Humphrey amendment of 1961 directing foreign aid support for cooperatives, credit unions and savings and loan associations. It also relates to legislation in the FAA directing A.I.D. to emphasize programs in agrarian
countries which reach the people of the rural area and to the Zablocki amendment of 1962 emphasizing community development programs to promote responsible government at the local level. As will be brought out later, the scope and relevance for Title IX implementation in many countries appears to be greatest in the formulation and execution of rural development strategies.

In adopting Title IX, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs observed:

...the great potential for planning and implementation of development activities, contained in the mass of the people of the developing countries, is still largely untapped, which slows down the achievement of the objectives of the foreign assistance program...the failure to engage all of the available human resources in the task of development not only acts as a brake on economic growth but also does little to cure the basic causes of social and political instability which pose a constant threat to the gains being achieved on economic fronts.

The Committee suggested that the objectives of Title IX could best be achieved by fostering cooperatives, labor unions, trade organizations, community action groups, and other institutions which would provide a training ground for leadership in democratic processes. In general, it saw the achievement of Title IX goals through institution-building at all levels—local, state, and national. It further suggested:

a) A change in the approach of A.I.D. and higher priority to measures for encouraging popular participation;

b) A strengthening of the capabilities within A.I.D. to identify in cooperation with aid recipient countries existing and latent democratic forces which can aid in the development process;

c) Increased reliance on non governmental organizations to enlist popular participation in development;
Evaluation by A.I.D. of American assistance not only in economic terms but also in terms of the extent to which U.S. aid encourages democratic processes.9

The Committee also put A.I.D. on notice that it intended to keep close check on how "this new Title IX is to be carried out."

This review was pursued in the spring of 1967 in hearings on Rural Development in Asia undertaken by the House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs under the chairmanship of Representative Zablocki. During the hearings, the need to stress political development received considerable emphasis. The former Ambassador to Thailand, Kenneth T. Young (currently with the Asia Society), in particular urged a policy of political development based on nine points:

a) deference to Asian ways,
b) enlargement of leadership and political environment,
c) coordination of all U.S. programs to place primary focus on political development,
d) assignment of priorities among political tasks,
e) use of familiar institutions rather than new ones,
f) use of private agencies and funding,
g) a communications strategy for political development,
h) acceleration of research, and
i) Congressional support.10

Dr. Samuel Huntington, head of the Department of Government, Harvard University, urged the creation of an office in the U.S. Government which would have a primary responsibility for political development. He recognized that the United States could only marginally affect political
development in other countries and viewed the U.S. role as advising on the prerequisites and requirements of political organization and in providing technical and material assistance for political organizational development.\textsuperscript{11}

The A.I.D. Administrator, William S. Gaud, testified:

\ldots I have a large question in my mind with respect to this whole business of the developing countries achieving political maturity through programs directed at political development and an even larger question...how effectively anyone from the outside can approach the problem directly.

Mr. Gaud noted that A.I.D. had an extensive study of the whole question underway and that he preferred to reserve himself on the issue of direct action for political development. He stated, however, that the U.S. should work as far as possible toward increasing popular participation in development and do whatever is possible to encourage the growth of democratic and free institutions in the developing countries. He supported added emphasis on local government institutions and voluntary associations but said that he was "not at all clear, however, that we should establish in the Agency a unit for political development."\textsuperscript{12}

The A.I.D. study on the implementation of Title IX was submitted to Congress in May 1967 shortly after the Zablocki hearings. It outlined an approach which has largely conditioned U.S. assistance programs to reach Title IX objectives since then. The report proposed a policy framework based on: a) a pragmatic country-by-country approach based on the differing needs and capacities of aid recipients and using popular participation as the major guideline; b) pursuit of all Title IX activities in open cooperation with host governments; and c) avoidance of
a project-oriented basis for Title IX in favor of pursuing its objectives as part of the overall country development program, viewing development as a "multi-faceted process involving inter-connected social, economic, and political factors." Four problems were identified: the need for people of unusually high qualifications; the need to emphasize research on social and political obstacles to development; the need to enlist other U.S. government agencies in the achievement of Title IX objectives; and the need for evaluation.13

Title IX was considerably expanded in 1967 as a result of the House review of efforts to implement the mandate. New sections of the law introduced by Representative John C. Culver (D - Iowa) are shown on page 2a as sections 281(b), (c), and (d). At the same time, Title IX provisions were incorporated into other sections of the Foreign Assistance Act concerning: a) the general statement of policy governing the use of development assistance; b) the statement of the purposes of development assistance; and c) the specification of self-help criteria to be used by the executive branch in determining the eligibility of countries to receive U.S. aid.14

Emphasis on Human Resources and Institution-Building

Section 281(b) includes the requirement to recognize the differing needs, desires, and capacities of the people of respective countries in pursuing Title IX objectives. According to the House Committee Report, the intent of this provision relates to the need to pay more attention to the development of human resources in the programs for recipient countries. The Committee also pointed out that A.I.D. should also strive to find new
and imaginative ways of engendering in the masses of people the desire to become involved in development, either individually or through group action.

Section 281(b) also directs the Executive Branch to shape foreign aid programs to use the intellectual resources of the recipient nations to develop indigenous institutions required for development. In commenting on this provision, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs stated that:

the development of an infrastructure of self-sustaining, viable institutions on the local, provincial and national levels is necessary to achieve increased popular participation and to enhance the success of development undertakings.15

It noted that additional institutions can help further the development process but should not be simple transplants from the West but should be "tailored to the conditions prevailing in particular recipient countries." A further clarification of this provision was provided by Representative Culver during the Hearings on the FAA of 1968. He pointed out to the A.I.D Administrator that the intent was to create an opportunity in some of the recipient nations to apply their own intellectual resources to the tailoring of political institutions more suitable to their own needs. He suggested assistance such as the establishment of centers for the study of institutions, or other help to bring together intellectuals, scholars, lawyers, and the like to consider in a serious way local problems.16

Emphasis on Civic Education and Training

Section 281(b) further directs the Administration to support education and training in skills for effective participation in government and political processes. This would include the training of local and district officials and citizens in their rights and duties with respect
to the community and with respect to relations with central government. It would also include programs such as those developed in the Alliance for Progress for sensitivity training of peasant leaders and the work of the U.S. League of Women Voters to train leaders in community development, literacy, health and nutrition. Here, however, the sense of the Congress is to limit activities to those requested and largely carried out by the recipient countries. The House Committee cautioned:

Aid's role should be that of providing support for locally initiated projects, encouraging educational and other institutions to become active in this field, and promoting joint collaboration between public and private institutions within the same geographic region.17

Emphasis on Research and Evaluation

Section 281(c) directs A.I.D. to give priority in the allocation of research funds to examine the social, political, and related obstacles to development in countries receiving aid. In its May 1967 report to the Congress on Title IX implementation, the Agency had noted that the allocation of research funds should be an essential part of the effort to carry out the Title IX mandate. It stated its position as follows:

Title IX cannot be effectively implemented on an ad hoc project-oriented basis. Although in particular countries certain new projects undoubtedly will be undertaken, these must systematically reinforce more broadly-based assistance strategies in the Title IX field. This in turn will require a substantial research effort to determine what sort of democratic development can be expected in these countries.18

A.I.D. also indicated that such research should include the evaluation of past experience and the formulation of meaningful criteria for appraising further efforts. The House Committee for its part called
attention to studies conducted under its aegis which suggested that improved knowledge of conditions affecting the attitudes and motivations of the populations of developing countries could significantly improve aid programming of Title IX goals. 19

Emphasis on Political Development

The emphasis to be placed on political development in Title IX was addressed during the 1967 House hearings by two of its principal supporters. Congressman Donald M. Fraser enunciated a view that U.S. aid should be concentrated on building the institutions and political and social infrastructure as well as the physical infrastructure which offers the best hope to the people of the developing societies for meaningful participation in all phases of their national life. He noted that the bill urges in a modest way that the Executive consider ways in which the skills required for political work might be encouraged and suggests that the initiative might come from the developing nations themselves. He argued that

The United States and the West are most generously endowed with creative concepts about the ways in which societies can be organized to advance the welfare of people. We have much to share with other nations, although we have much to learn...The principle of giving people the right to organize for social, political and economic ends is sound and productive. Decision making powers conferred on those who face the problems stimulates the growth of responsibility and the skills of social organization. The right of majority rule and protection of the rights of the individual have universal appeal...Yet we eschew communication and dialog at this level. We carefully strain out politics and political controversy in our relations with other nations...20

Congressman F. Bradford Morse addressed the question in similar terms. He makes the point that economic development alone will not bring
about the broad-gauge development to bring the new nations into the twentieth century as effective societies. Accordingly, we must pay more attention to human resources, which means in short "political development." But he concludes, the right approach is set forth in the short and simple text of Title IX:

...in turning our attention to political development we should in no way insist on any particular system nor attempt to impose particular political institutions. The encouragement of popular participation is the key. 21
II. LEGISLATIVE ACTION IN 1969

In considering progress on Title IX during the hearings on the fiscal year 1970 Aid Bill, the House further addressed two problems which had been raised by the A.I.D. report cited earlier.

Problem of Qualified Personnel and In-Service Training

A.I.D. had noted that its past emphases had led to heavy reliance on personnel in the economic and technical areas of development. "The need to focus on popular participation, democratic institution-building and social modernization...calls for a widening of A.I.D.'s analytical and technical capabilities." In similar vein, an M.I.T. study reported that A.I.D. would require more people grounded in the social and behavioral sciences. The M.I.T. report recommended both recruitment and in-service training of existing personnel.22 As a result, the House adopted legislation in the fall of 1969 directing the Administration to provide for systematic in-service training for government personnel in Title IX objectives and in the political and social aspects of development. The new section was not retained, however, when the Senate version of the Aid Bill was retained in conference. The legislative intent, however, was expressed in the House report which stated its expectation (as A.I.D. officials had testified) that in-service training programs would be carried out by A.I.D., and its intent that such programs should include personnel from the Department of State, U.S.I.A., and other agencies carrying on overseas operations.23
Use of Other Public Agencies to Promote Title IX

In its early review of the implementation of Title IX, A.I.D. noted that action in support of the new provisions should not be solely the responsibility of the Agency. It pointed out that in addition to activities which might be performed more effectively by non-government channels, the policy implications of Title IX concerned the entire U.S. foreign policy community.\(^2\) The question of the role of other public agencies was also raised in an article inserted into the Congressional Record of June 19, 1969. The article, written by John Schott, who is a former senior A.I.D. official, and currently a member of the M.I.T. Center for International Studies, stated:

For its successful implementation, Title IX should become a responsibility of the wide range of U.S. public and private agencies which are involved in one way or another in the foreign aid business. As the principal coordinator of U.S. foreign policy instruments, the State Department should assume a predominant role, ideally orchestrating the instruments reposing in the U.S.I.A., the Department of Defense, the Peace Corps and A.I.D. to make sure each performs in a complementary and mutually reinforcing way a developmental (rather than purely strategic or propagandistic or otherwise self-serving) role in the LDSs.\(^3\)

Subsequently the House Committee of Foreign Affairs included in its 1969 report to the House the conclusion that "the policies and emphases set forth in Title IX are the responsibility of the Department of State and the departments and agencies concerned with the formulation and implementation of U.S. foreign policy. It is not applicable to A.I.D. alone."\(^4\)

As part of the Country Team concept, Embassies are, of course, closely involved in the formulating of overall country assistance strategies.
To this extent the engagement of Embassy political officers in the analysis of political and social factors in a country’s development would not appear to raise serious question. In testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs in July 1969, Secretary Rogers noted that the overseas Missions had been fully informed on the content and significance of the Title IX legislation and assured the Committee that he would insure that the necessary guidance would be further provided if necessary. But with respect to the dialogue and communications with host government officials which Congressman Fraser advocates (see supra p.12), State has not clearly indicated what role its political officers should play in the implementation of Title IX. Very few foreign service officers in the Department have received training in Title IX concepts and approaches with the exception of a few working directly on Aid programs in the Latin American Bureau and elsewhere. Moreover, Embassy Political officers have full-time jobs now, and the diplomatic function of interpreting domestic political developments in the light of U.S. foreign policy interests is different from the task of strengthening domestic democratic institutions and promoting popular participation in the countries to which they are assigned. There is some middle level support in the Department for more accent on analysis and direct action on Title IX but to date the main burden has rested upon A.I.D. to follow through on the Title IX Mandate.
III. FOCUS ON LATIN AMERICA

A. **Focus on Latin America and Social and Civic Development**

Title IX objectives have greater relevance to the programs of the Alliance For Progress than for the other areas of the world. The development objectives for the Alliance were from its initiation set forth as a coordinated effort for structural and social reform. The objectives urgency include progress on land use, health, housing, education, rural development, as well as accelerated economic growth, improved living standards, and viable economic institutions. These objectives were set forth in the Charta of Punta del Este in 1961 and were subsequently re-endorsed in numerous declarations of the Hemisphere's leaders. The political objective of strengthening democratic political processes was also recognized. The first of the twelve goals of the Charta stated this purpose as: "to improve and strengthen the democratic institutions through application of the principle of self-determination by the people."

Despite the Alliance's emphasis on social and economic reform, most of U.S. foreign assistance to Latin America in the sixties went into industrial development, economic infrastructure, and budgetary and balance of payments support. Little social progress was made. Latin American countries did step up economic growth and the Alliance goal of a 2.5% or
rate of per capita income growth was reached in 1968. Improvements in fiscal systems helped generate significant increases in government revenues essential for public programs for social development. Public administration was strengthened and modernized. School enrollment increased by 55%, although because of rapid increases in school-age population the increases were not enough to reduce the numbers out of school.\textsuperscript{30} On balance, however, only a relatively small component of the hemispheric development effort and U.S. assistance for it was directed at urgent problems of reform and development. There has also been concern in Congress and by the public that U.S. foreign aid to Latin America has served to buttress reactionary anti-democratic regimes (Haiti and military governments), and served to enrich and entrench the more favored groups in these countries.\textsuperscript{31}

Progress in the Alliance programs was reviewed in hearings conducted by the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs under the chairmanship of Daniel F. Fascell (D - Fla.) in the spring of 1969. The Subcommittee's report of July 1969 noted that in spite of nearly eight years of fairly consistent and well conceived effort, the peaceful social and economic revolution envisioned in the Charter of Punta del Este "is only beginning to take hold." Substantial U.S. assistance of some $8.3 billion over seven years had produced only modest development gains. Little U.S. aid had been seen by the masses of Latin American people and structural reforms which were supposed to be the cornerstone of the Alliance had not taken place. The Subcommittee recommended adoption of a new
strategy of development in order to quicken the pace of change and internal
reform. In particular, it concluded that

above all in accordance with the concepts outlined 3 years ago in
Title IX of the Foreign Assistance Act, /effective development under-
takings/ have to seek to broaden people's participation in the pro-
cess of change.32

The same conclusion had been reached by the Executive Branch. In
its presentation to Congress in May 1969, A.I.D. noted that the priority
effort in U.S. assistance to the countries of the hemisphere would be the
areas of agriculture, education, and private investment, seen as the sectors
where social and civic development were most urgently required and where the
potential for tapping the energies of the people was most evident. A.I.D.
stressed that the underlying concept behind these priorities must be seen
as encompassing far more than economic growth; that as accompaniments to
economic growth there must be increasing justice and social equity for the
Latin American citizen through widened access to opportunity for rewarding
and profitable activity that; "the citizen must be able to participate
more fully in the civic and social institutions through which decisions
are made." Accordingly, the Agency proposed to experiment with ways in
which U.S. experience with civic and social participation might be adapted
to the Latin American setting "in those cases where new and innovative
efforts in these fields are sought and supported by the Latin Americans
themselves." In its appropriation request, the Administration proposed to
earmark 10% of the funds for the Alliance directly for Social and Civic
Development, 20% for education, and 25% for agricultural development. The
balance was earmarked for program and production loans, and other.33
A challenging statement of the Latin American development problem was sounded by George C. Lodge, former Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Affairs and currently Professor at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration in the July 1969 issue of Foreign Affairs. Mr. Lodge has an unusually deep and perceptive grasp of the problems of the outcasts of Latin American society and of the stranglehold of the power structure by elite groups which virtually defies the process of change except by violent means. What to do? In his words, the central issue is radical structural change. More important than technology or increased food production is the question of land reform, of markets, of credit, of motivation and commitment, and of organization. Since "the bonds that tie peasants to their traditional marginal existence are not to be undone by government dependent on the existing power structure," Lodge proposes a variety of self-sustaining largely non-governmental engines of change. These are the private associations, the peasant leagues, the cooperatives, the farmers associations, the credit unions, and the labor unions of Title IX. But Lodge recommends a complete overhaul of the Aid mechanism for Latin America:

a) An approach in which the bulk of U.S. aid would be channeled through a new multilateral Alliance;

b) A non-governmental foundation established by the U.S. Government to work directly to develop and support local organizations to pressure for radical change and peaceful revolution of Latin American political and social structures.34

In another perceptive essay, Covey T. Oliver, formerly head of the Latin American Bureau in the Department of State, argued in the April
1969 issue of *Foreign Affairs* that our sights should be on the people and their basic needs. We should seek ways of helping them without entrenching their self-appointed rulers, for example, by doing as much as possible through municipal and other local government entities. He warned that advocates of violent change should recognize that gradual development can arrive at the goals faster; that in fact Latin American peasantry is conservative. Oliver also pleaded for an honest foreign policy: if a reactionary regime comes to power, we should recognize it and continue aid only if it assists the common people directly. We should not give such regimes reason to believe they can enjoy a high priority for foreign assistance by "ignoring the goals of social and political development."35

The Rockefeller Report on the Quality of Life in the Americas (August, 1969) also stressed the shortcomings of Alliance programs in responding to the needs and aspirations of the people. It pointed to the challenge throughout the hemisphere to the legitimacy of the democratic political system. A key issue noted was whether the political and social institutions of the area could hold the confidence of young and old alike. At the least, the report states, "the patterns of our cooperation and mutual assistance should...move toward broadly participating government systems which represent the interests of each citizen." The report points out that the U.S. cannot determine the internal political structures of any other nation, except by example and that our ability to influence the course of events of other nations is limited. "Our style" may have a more important effect in the Hemisphere
than what we actually do there. It calls for a more pragmatic approach to internal political developments in Latin America with the maintenance of close ties on a country by country basis, and a more multilateral approach in which responsibility for the development process would be shifted increasingly to the other American nations. It recommended establishment of an Economic and Social Agency in the executive office of the President, primarily to increase authority and flexibility for action and to divorce operating policy from political negotiations. Subsidiaries to the proposed Agency were suggested in the fields of education, science and culture, and rural development.36

In his statement on the Rockefeller Report, President Nixon made clear his determination to undertake an action program and to implement a mature partnership with the countries of the hemisphere, with the basic aim of improving the quality of life. In his November 1969 speech to the nation on "Action for Progress in the Americas", the President outlined three major points: a firm commitment for continued U.S. development assistance; a belief that future patterns of support should be in terms of Latin American initiatives, probably best achieved within the inter-American system; and a dedication to making people the center of concern, and to helping meet their economic, social, and human needs.37

B. Inter-American Social Development Institute

The focus of U.S. public interest in 1969 on the problems of relations with the Hemisphere led the House Committee on Foreign Affairs to re-examine the direction of U.S. foreign assistance for Latin America.
Based on its hearings in the fall of 1969 and the report of its Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, it concluded that new arrangements were required to direct foreign aid to the need for social and civic change in these countries. Accordingly, the Committee recommended the establishment of an Inter-American Social Development Institute designed to "assist in rectifying these needs" and in restoring the necessary and proper balance between the economic and social objectives on inter-American cooperation and development." The legislation proposed by the Committee (as the Fascell amendment) was passed by the House and Senate in January 1970. It provides for the establishment of a non-profit Government corporation managed by a non-salaried board of Directors appointed by the President. It envisioned the Institute operating primarily through private rather than government channels, very much in accordance with its earlier stress on the use of non-governmental organizations to promote Title IX objectives. It expected that the proposed Institute would provide a means to make available private, governmental, and international resources on a continuing long-term and non-political basis for Latin American undertakings. It also emphasized the prospect of tapping the resources and experience of over 800 U.S. voluntary agencies currently involved in social development in Latin America. The Committee also suggested that a number of A.I.D. programs should be transferred to the Institute. It cited as examples, such A.I.D. activities as the promotion of cooperatives, credit unions, savings and loan associations, demographic research and
related population programs, civic development including peasant leadership training, civic education, legal reform, and trade union development.  

The legislation (Section 401, FAA of 1959) specifies the purposes of the Institute to:

- support self-help efforts to enlarge opportunities for individual development;

- stimulate and assist effective and ever wider participation of the people in the development process; and

- encourage the establishment and growth of democratic institutions, private and governmental, appropriate to the requirements of the individual sovereign nations.

The legislation also places primary emphasis on enlargement of educational opportunities at all levels, food production and agricultural development, improvement of environmental conditions (health, child care, family planning, housing) trade union development and other social and economic needs of the people. In large degree the Institute appears to be an alternative to the 1969 A.I.D. request for grant funds to foster civic and social development in the hemisphere, reflecting a House view that the Institute answers the question of how to emphasize use of non governmental institutions in development and may provide a more effective means of promoting civic and social development in areas where A.I.D. programs can be developed only with difficulty. However, support of Title IX goals will need to continue to be a principal ingredient in the formulation of over-all U.S. country assistance programs in the Hemisphere.
IV. THE OPERATION OF TITLE IX

In putting Title IX to work, A.I.D. early determined to incorporate Title IX objectives in over-all country programming and strategy. In the words of the Agency's Administrator, Mr. William S. Gaud, in March 1968, this meant weighing Title IX considerations:

- When we decide on the over-all composition of a country program;
- When we prescribe the negotiating instructions for a program or an agricultural sector loan;
- When we decide on a particular capital assistance project;
- When we undertake and evaluate technical assistance activities; and
- When we support the development efforts of private institutions.

This is a process that can take hold only gradually. It takes time to effect significant changes and shifts in programs, both in terms of the understanding of U.S. personnel of the new goals, in terms of determining opportunities in a given country to pursue them, and in terms of reaching understanding with host government officials on new directions in development planning and programming. Family planning programs which also involve sensitive questions of national policy took several years to develop in most countries where they are underway today. The process of directing U.S. assistance programs to emphasize Title IX objectives has similarly taken several years.
Training and Orienting Personnel

A major concern for A.I.D. has been to train on-board and new personnel in the objectives of Title IX and in the social and political aspects of the development process. This training has been underway for sometime. In 1967, conferences were organized for Latin American Bureau officers in Mexico and Virginia. In 1968 and 1969, regional title IX seminars for Aid Directors, senior staff and Embassy political officers were held in the Philippines, Tunis, Guatemala, Bolivia and Roanoke, Virginia. The seminars were arranged with the assistance of the Brookings Institute to include academic specialists, Congressmen, and Washington A.I.D. officials. Summary reports of the seminars prepared by Brookings have been widely distributed by A.I.D. Additional seminars were being planned in the latter part of 1969 to examine Title IX implications in the key sectors of education, agriculture, and local government. Regular orientation is provided by A.I.D. to new officers and consultation is arranged for briefing and debriefing of field personnel in Washington. A.I.D. has also arranged with the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy to provide a continuing training facility for A.I.D. and State Department officers in Title IX programming. In 1969, six A.I.D. and one State Department officer were assigned to the School for a year's study.

A.I.D. Washington Organization for Title IX

In terms of organization, A.I.D. established a central Title IX office in the spring of 1968 which is responsible for over-all programs and policy coordination on Title IX matters. The office has taken the
lead in arranging for training and research in the Title IX area, and in providing guidance to the field for country program analysis. Similar offices have been established in each of A.I.D.'s Washington regional bureaus.

In the summer of 1968, A.I.D. also sponsored a six-week forty-man study session organized by M.I.T. to examine ramifications of Title IX and practical approaches to pursue its objectives. Senior A.I.D. and State Department officials, leading non-government authorities, and members of Congress attended the conference. The M.I.T. report was published in November 1968 and transmitted it to all A.I.D. Missions in February 1969 as guidance for carrying out country analysis for programming. 41

Research Into Political and Social Obstacles to Development

An initial research grant was made in June 1968 to the Fletcher School to carry out Title IX oriented political-economic analysis at the country and sector level, as well as for training, as noted above. A second grant related to Title IX was made by the Agency in 1969 to the University of Wisconsin Land Tenure Center to strengthen its research program on land reform, land reform legislation, and other factors affecting land use in Latin America. A research grant made to Northwestern University provides for the development of specific and measurable criteria for determining economic, social, and political participation in developing countries. A review of this research, carried out by Professor Adelman and her associates—"on the nature of the simultaneous relationships among the instruments and goals of national development and modernization"—is set forth in the papers on the proceedings of the
American Economic Association in December 1968. Tentative conclusions drawn by Adelman and her colleagues from comparisons of performance of 74 underdeveloped non-communist nations over the period 1957-62 are:

a) the reduction in economic inequalities between various sectors and regions of underdeveloped countries produced by long-run structural transformations of the economy appear to be more closely associated with the instruments of development policy (i.e. more effective in promoting development) than the goal of more rapid growth per se;

b) by contrast, the wider opportunities for purely political participation appears for the typical underdeveloped country not very predictably related to available instruments of national policy. Only at the upper levels of development does greater popular participation appear to be significantly related to available instruments of policy.

c) when the development goals of the average underdeveloped nation are ranked according to the dependability of the relationship /positive correlation/ between means and ends, a wider distribution of income ranks first, economic growth ranks second, and greater political democracy ranks third.

Issue has, however, been taken with the procedures used by Dr. Adelman and her associates. One criticism suggests that the inductive theoretical approach used involves more caveats than the researchers admit, and that the research is an example of "correlation hunting" based on arbitrary selection and definition of variables, and on the manufacture of data on which the correlations are based. It appears, however, that continuing effort is required to develop models of social, political and economic change which include meaningful analysis of the interactions among the economic and non-economic variables. Late in 1969, A.I.D. let a further research contract with the Harvard University for International Affairs. The Harvard project will examine cause-effect relations
between economic and political development, specifically in terms of patterns of participation in developing countries. It will provide cross-country comparisons of such relationships, and of the politicization of urban and rural poor.

**Fostering Indigenous Consideration of Political Development**

At the beginning of 1970, A.I.D. was preparing to explore the feasibility of assistance through U.S. non-governmental organizations to help countries requesting assistance to strengthen their democratic political institutions in the areas of law, legislative branch development, civic institutions, and local government. The Agency has done little work in these areas and more initiative has been urged by leading political scientists and members of Congress.

In many developing countries outmoded systems of law and legal institutions appear to be inhibiting factors to development. In some the legal systems impede rather than encourage the development of industry and commerce. In others, the legal institutions provide at best an inadequate framework for reliance on the rule of law and equitable protection and advancement of human rights. The FAA authorizes the Agency to provide development assistance in support of the modernization of laws in such countries, and A.I.D. has provided limited assistance in the past to countries requesting help. In has, for example, contracted (in 1969) with the International Legal Center for services to support and strengthen legal education activities and research in the Seoul National University School of Law and in the Korean Legal Center. More recently, A.I.D. has had under consideration
contracts with U.S. universities for broad research and teaching programs in law and development. Under such contracts, the programs would include studies on the role of law and legal institutions in modernization, and where requested, technical assistance to recipient countries.

Critics of the foreign assistance program have pointed to an over-emphasis on the strengthening of the executive branches of government in aid programs, and the need for legislatures of the new nations to organize themselves more effectively to carry out their constitutional functions. Work in this field might include advice and assistance in the establishment of legislative reference libraries, the organization of staff services, and the like. A.I.D. is planning a feasibility study to determine the usefulness and acceptability of such a program in selected host countries. Similarly, it has been suggested that aid should be provided to help organize civic institutions in cooperating countries to bring together public officials, business, farm and labor leaders, professional leaders, and scholars to study and advise on issues of public policy. Civic institutions are effective sources of political power and influence in the United States and other developed countries—the examples of the Brookings Institute and the Committee on Economic Development come to mind—and in some developing countries. For example, the Economic and Social Conference Study Board in Turkey is considered to have been effective in exploring issues of national policy in that country. The Agency is also planning a feasibility study on the scope for action in this area. In each case, the approach planned is through
non-governmental bodies. The basis is the host government initiative in requesting help and the underlying concept is assistance in providing a framework and an opportunity for local solutions.

**Overview of Title IX Implementation in Country Assistance Programs and Strategies**

A comprehensive and official review of Title IX implementation in foreign assistance programs is not presently available. A review presented by former A.I.D. Administrator, William Gaud, provides a comprehensive statement of developments up to 1968 and is contained in the hearings of the 1968 Aid Bill. A substantial quantity of information on the current direction of A.I.D. programs is available in the hearings on the FY 1969 Aid Bill and in the presentations made by the Agency for the hearings. A review of this material shows that increasing emphasis on Title IX has been taking place in all regions.

**The Alliance for Progress**

This is particularly so in Latin America where substantial elements of the population have been locked into poverty and hopelessness and bypassed by the developments of the last decade. In this connection, the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs observed in its July 1969 report on the Alliance programs that:

> during the past two years an increasing portion of U.S. aid resources have been applied to the task of funding and implementing breakthroughs in education and agriculture, to the development of local institutions, and to the promotion of broader popular participation in the processes of change as well as in its fruits.

The shift in the programs in Latin America towards emphasis on broadened participation and other aspects of Title IX legislation is evident in the
proposed FY 1970 Aid programs for the Alliance. Examples are a comprehensive program in Ecuador to stimulate increased participation in the development process by rural and urban masses; a program in Panama aimed at the small farmer, local government, reform in government administration, and regional development; and similar efforts in Guatemala and the Dominican Republic.

The major programs in Latin America also appear to have been turned around to emphasize people and their participation in development. In Brazil, a few years ago critics observed an over-emphasis on industrialization and stabilization and a corresponding neglect of agriculture and education which deprived the largest portion of the population opportunities to progress with the rest of the society. This has since changed. During the summer hearings on the FY 1970 Aid Bill, the Deputy U.S. Coordinator for the Alliance, Mr. James B. Fowler testified that the program emphasis for 1970 represents a shift from economic infrastructure and stabilization loans towards Title IX goals of civic and social development. He cited the proposed $45 million education sector loan as the long range key to improved income distribution in the country, a $35 million agricultural sector loan to be used in support of projects such as land reform in the impoverished northeastern region, and a $29 million loan to support improved local government and urban development to stimulate popular participation and confront the social dislocations created by rapid urban growth. In the case of Colombia, which is the second largest aid recipient in Latin America, Mr. Fowler noted that A.I.D.'s program supports a much larger
Colombian effort for social and civic development. He cited as an example the Colombian Community Action Program initiated in 1958 and now extending to all the counties of the country with popularly elected boards in rural and urban neighborhoods participating in decisions on local projects for schools, water systems and the like. Another example given is the Colombian Agrarian Reform Institute which has achieved a distribution of land and titles to an additional 50,000 peasant families per year, and a new program just beginning to organize beneficiaries of the Agricultural Bank and the Institute into associations empowered to elect members to the boards of these institutions.50

Africa

The modest level of U.S. assistance to Africa (one-tenth of total appropriations) is designed to demonstrate U.S. support for the African countries and for the acceleration of their economic development. The FY 1970 technical assistance portion of the program is concentrated on development of the manpower base and on modernization of the rural sector. Capital assistance is used primarily to improve transportation and communication links within and among the countries, and also basic agricultural facilities and services. The accent is clearly on human resources development and on rural development and relates closely to the objectives of broadened popular participation in development by the masses of people of the African continent. Within this framework, A.I.D. has emphasized Title IX consideration in on-going and planned activities. A review of the FY 1970 program shows that,
in addition, programs in two countries are being re-directed towards Title IX goals. In Liberia, development efforts in the fifties and the sixties left the preponderant rural areas largely untouched while the modern sector and elite groups enjoyed substantial progress and growth through foreign investment, export trade, and development programs. An early rural development project which addressed many of the Title IX objectives was at best only partially successful and was phased out in 1964. The FY 1970 program is again addressing the problem of the neglected hinterland. Objectives of this program include: a) expansion of farm production and improvement of economic conditions in the rural areas; b) improvement in the quality of education, health, and family planning services; and c) improvement in government administration. Long-range development is seen to require broader participation by the rural population and the emergence of a modern market economy. Past efforts to accomplish this have been frustrated by the disinterest of the Government. The predominantly rural population has not benefited equitably from the country's past growth. As a result there has been considerable urban migration and unemployment, and domestic food production has declined. It is hoped that this new effort may prove to have full government support over the long haul required to make it work. 51

Ethiopian planning includes a major new emphasis on broad rural development to mobilize human resources, technical skills, and funds. Assistance is planned for programs to begin in two limited areas to help subsistence farmers make the leap to commercial agriculture and to
establish a resource base for local development of schools, roads, health services, and the like. The Government's new five year plan also stresses agricultural development and the transformation of subsistence agriculture into the monetary economy. Although security is an overriding concern, the government has increased budget funds for the development program.52

During the hearings on the FAA of 1969, the acting Assistant Administrator for Africa, Mr. Robert S. Smith, provided information on efforts to involve the "intellectual resources" of aid recipient countries "to encourage the development of indigenous institutions required for sustained economic and social progress," as required under section 281(b) of Title IX. One such effort is a project to establish a research and experimentation center at Liberia's Cuttington College on rural development, including pilot projects on the problems of social change. Another is an effort to engage the faculty and students of the Haile Selassie University in the planning and implementation of rural development projects. In furnishing this information, the Agency noted several problems in encouraging greater use of host country intellectual resources:

There is sometimes a lack of trust between academic personnel and African government officials. Both groups share some suspicion of the motives of foreign scholars who request data and other assistance to conduct their research. These problems can only be overcome on a step by step basis.53

The same report notes A.I.D. efforts to encourage expanded use of indigenous intellectual resources through multi-lateral instruments such as the U.N. Research Institute for Social Development which has an active program concerned with the popular participation aspects of development, and through seminars organized with the Research Liaison Committee of
the U.S.-African Studies Association. In addition, the Organization Commune Africaine et Malagache (OCAM) organized a conference in March 1969 on "Popular Participation in Development." The conference focused concern on shortcomings in rural development programs and the need for self-help measures and the need for training of government officials and leaders to achieve more effective communication and greater participation.54

After a decade of experience with independence marked by palace coups and revolution, African leaders appear today to be moving away from the orthodox development strategies (high growth rates, generation of savings and investment, export promotion etc.) toward emphasis on measures to promote national integration and consensus in their countries. Higher priority in many country development plans is being given to a wider distribution of benefits and to programs which respond to expressed needs of the people. In Tanzania, for example, the government is stressing more self-reliance, decentralization of authority to involve villages in decision-making and responsibility for local development, and for primary and vocational training to expand opportunities.55 And in Nigeria, the new development plan places much more emphasis than in the past on equity goals for wider distribution of the benefits of development.

Other Regions

Frequently cited examples of development emphasis on popular participation in other regions are programs carried out in the Philippines, Thailand, Pakistan, and Turkey.
The Philippines

A modest aid program ($6.7 million proposed in FY 1970) provides technical assistance for a) agricultural and rural development; b) health, nutrition, and family planning; and c) public safety. Rural development has been speeded through an integrated program called SPREAD--Systematic Program for Rural Economic Assistance and Development--established as an effort to demonstrate a comprehensive approach to the improvement of rural Filipino life. The project combined programs to improve rice and corn production. It included efforts by private enterprise, government agencies, and municipal councils, and aimed to increase farm productivity and opportunities for farmers to develop individual responsibility and initiative. Another goal was to increase local government planning ability and implementative capability.

Initially, in 1966, two provinces were selected as pilot areas and a wide range of activities started or speeded up. These included the start of the successful Filipino rice program, establishment of local planning councils, help on taxation to build larger local resources bases, expanded credit for small farmers, and provincial road building services. Results were mixed but on the whole favorable. By 1969, twenty-three provinces had joined the program and a number of municipal mayors have asked for similar assistance. Farm income rose measurably in the pilot areas. Governors who adopted the program found that it enhanced their voter appeal. There is growing awareness among Filipino political leaders that increasing the welfare of the people may be the "key to political power." 56

According to an evaluation prepared by the
Stanford Research Institute, the rural development program and particularly its rice program component is an outstanding example of systematic planning leading to the achievement of economic, participation and equity goals in the demonstration provinces (where 19% of the farmers were participating in the program). 57

Thailand

As part of Thai government measures to deal with insurgency, a comprehensive program has been underway in Thailand for several years to foster local self-government and development, and to improve the central government’s responsiveness to rural needs. The history of Thai interest in stronger local government dates back to 1956 following a visit by the Prime Minister (then Field Marshal Pibulsongram) to Europe and the United States where he observed the effectiveness of popular involvement in local self-government. 58 A.I.D. support was initiated in 1963 in cooperation with the Thai Department of Local Administration. Since inception this agency has provided training for over 60,000 persons, including 12,000 in 1969. Starting in 1966, a Developing Democracy Program was undertaken by the Government with U.S. assistance to organize and train local self-government councils in the insurgency areas. According to the most recent report, 59 a total of 609 village councils (sapha tambol) have been trained with 300 more scheduled to start training early in 1970. The objective of the program is to increase decision-making capability, develop basic local government skills and encourage local initiatives. It is reported that in most cases, the councils are meeting regularly, are carrying out local development projects and are considering other
matters of local concern. Increasing Thai Government recognition of the need to stress participation and local initiative in development is reflected in the following statement by a high Thai official at a conference on economic development organized in Chiang Mai in the latter part of 1969:

Thailand has made considerable progress toward the construction of infrastructure which is easy to see and to measure. But a second type of development which is the real objective and which is more difficult to achieve is to reach the people, to improve their living conditions and to involve them in the process.60

This Thai observation is interesting in the light of recommendations of a group of experts of the U.N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East which met in Bangkok in 1966 to consider methods of inducing social change in over-all development. The group noted that the tendency of countries in the area to overemphasize capital and natural resource development and to neglect new technology, human resources, and institutional development. It observed that this has led to pockets of modernity and prosperity in the midst of "generally prevalent primitive technology," the same point observed in the dualistic development in Brazil (see supra p. 32). The group concluded that popular participation would not be forthcoming so long as the benefits of development were not widely available or appreciated and so long as social institutions remained impervious to change. Local development in the eyes of the group was an essential element of the strategy to be followed. The group attached particular importance to utilizing the administrative and political system at the local level as channels of communication between the government and the people.
Generally speaking, recipient countries in the Near East and South Asia are seeking ways to broaden participation in the gains of development by more equitable tax policies and by social and economic programs aimed at the poor and discontented. At the same time, more rapid growth is considered essential to provide more resources to enable governments to move in these areas. In Pakistan, development efforts in the fifties and up to the mid-sixties were directed at maximization of economic growth through investments in infrastructure and industrialization. Starting in the mid sixties, Pakistan began to stress food and agricultural development, with fertilizer and pesticide distribution turned over to the private sector and domestic production of fertilizer by private firms encouraged. However, emphasis on economic growth was continued and insufficient attention was paid to massive social problems in the country. This neglect is considered to have contributed to the change of government in March, 1969. Some two weeks before the attempted assassination of Ayub Khan, for example, the Government planning commission had warned: "Growth is not an end in itself and must be accompanied by social justice. On the eve of the fourth plan, the conflict between economic dynamism and social justice has become fairly sharp. The nation may well have to accept a less ambitious growth target for the fourth plan to combine it with other social and economic objectives." Commenting on this at the hearings of the PAA of 1969, Mr. Maurice Williams, Assistant Administrator for the Near East and South Asia advised that the government and the U.S. aid efforts were being adjusted towards the need to address socio-economic problems.
Greater equality of opportunity and better distribution are also the announced objectives of the fourth plan which also calls for increased priority to education and, for the first time, emphasis on medical care and social welfare. But as Mr. Williams noted:

It is a devil's dilemma for them, because they started from such a low base. You need more production before you can spread it around and cover all the things that need to be covered. But they were lagging on this, and they now appear to be taking steps to adjust their approach.63

Over-all, the aid program in FY 1970 in Pakistan emphasizes agricultural production, family planning, and private industrial production, and a free market economy. The program encourages the government to give continued high priority to economic development and helps it to deal more effectively with the social problems which it has only recently recognized.64

An earlier effort by A.I.D. in Pakistan involved a major and apparently successful Title IX initiative in East Pakistan to address problems of rural unemployment and development. The effort included a large rural works program started in 1963, financed in part from PL 480 local currency funds. The program was carried out in a framework to develop local leadership, local self-help and government-citizen cooperation. As such it related closely to the effort of the Ayub Khan Government to foster Basic Democracy. Institutionally, the program led to the formation of eighteen district, 411 county and 3,519 village level committees. Between 1964 and 1965, it was reported that over 40,000 local self help projects, emphasizing roads and drainage canals, were carried out. In the past four years, the introduction of small aid-financed
pumps has reportedly done much to increase the acreage under irrigation through double-cropping in East Pakistan. The number of pumps in use increased from 3,000 to 14,000 by 1969 and the Government plans to increase the number to 24,000 in 1970. During approximately the same period, a striking development on a private basis took place in West Pakistan with the installation by farmers of some 30,000 tube wells in the period 1963-68. These wells had a substantial impact on improving farm income and production, although the impact was greatest for landholders with 25 acres of land or more.

**Turkey**

The Aid program in Turkey in FY 1970, as in recent years, is directed toward achievement of self-sustaining growth which the Government hopes to attain by 1973, at the end of its second five year plan. The main element of the U.S. program is assistance: a) to help maintain financial stability; b) to help increase foreign exchange earnings through tourism and exports of agricultural and forestry products; c) to increase farm output; d) to help modernize Turkish management in business, industry and Government through improved managerial techniques; and e) to develop skilled manpower.

A.I.D. is trying to promote increased farmer participation in development in two main programs: the Mexican wheat campaign and the On-Farm Water program. In the Mexican wheat campaign, the Turkish agricultural extension services conducted meetings in villages throughout principal wheat growing areas of the country which led to the participation of 60,000 farmers in 1967 and of nearly 200,000 in the fall of 1968. A substantial
expansion of farmer participation was expected in 1969 as well as a substantial increase in output (which poor rainfall precluded in 1968). In the On-Farm Water program, two alternative approaches were considered. The first would have led to an expansion of the national Soil and Water Conservation Agency to carry out the land improvement work for the farmers using force account techniques. The second, recommended by A.I.D. and finally adopted, has been to train technicians of this Agency to encourage and help farmers prepare their fields themselves. In addition to tapping the energies of the rural population in this way, the program is expected to lead to the development of private production of land-shaping and other irrigation equipment.\[65\] Up to 1967, the Soil and Water Conservation Service had been able to level only about 30,000 acres of land per year. But Turkey has an irrigation water supply sufficient for some 4.2 million acres and water for another 1.2 million is expected to be available shortly. Under the program, it is hoped that hundreds of thousands of farmers will be motivated to expand the land under effective irrigation dramatically.\[66\]

**Stanford Research Institute Study**

On commission by A.I.D., the Stanford Research Institute carried out a series of case studies of projects in three countries, Somalia, Ecuador and the Philippines. The stated purposes of the study were:

1. To help develop program guidelines for achieving more broadly based and effective participation by the people of developing countries in economic and social development.
2. To recommend ways to establish a review and reporting system, including qualitative as well as quantitative indicators that will facilitate assessment of progress toward Title IX objectives.

3. To identify the most effective assistance instruments to increase participation in development.

4. To define the ways in which and the conditions under which A.I.D. should seek to relate its Title IX activities to those of non-governmental organizations.

The S.R.I. country reports that became available in November 1969 addressed the first two purposes of the study. A useful categorization of objectives of foreign assistance was presented in the S.R.I. country surveys in the following terms (abstracted):

1. Economic development objectives, which relate to the increase in productivity and in the output of goods and services, achieved primarily through investment and technical inputs usually under national policies for the maintenance of financial and balance of payments stability.

2. Equity objectives, i.e., the aim to reduce disparities in the distribution of goods, services or opportunities. These objectives are designed to provide increased opportunities or benefits specifically for disadvantaged members of society and include more equitable distribution of land ownership or income as well as the elimination of discrimination.

3. Social Development objectives, i.e., the concern with factors which affect the quality of life within the community and the interactions among people. The objectives include the provision of health services, water and sanitation facilities, housing, education and the general right and opportunity for social mobility. They also include the development of a plurality of institutions concerned with modernizing the society and the interaction among them.

4. Civic and Political Development objectives, i.e., a concern with how institutions are created to articulate, aggregate and present citizen demands on the society, and how the institutions perform their role of supporting and presenting the needs of the citizens. In planning and programming, this category requires careful definition of target populations to be served by the institutions and a systems
approach for the identification and coordination of institutions required to meet civic and political development goals. Other aspects of these objectives are cited as citizen participation through actions and communications to political elites via elections, political parties, interest groups and communication media.

The S.R.I. approach also specifies a topology of four types of participation with some discussion of measures for determining levels and changes in participation (abstracted):

1. Decision Making Participation, which entails a diffusion of authority and responsibility within the society;

2. Implementive Participation, which is concerned with which individuals or groups carry out a program or action, and with the voluntary or coercive nature of the participation.

3. Distributive Participation which refers to the recipients of goods and services, opportunities and benefits available in the society;

4. Integrative Participation which concerns the legitimacy or acceptability of particular institutions as beneficial by members of a target population. (Thus a police force might be considered as beneficial if it maintains law and order, or not if it supported inequities or an unfair administration of justice.)

Based on the S.R.I. draft reports it would appear that there is scope to improve the effectiveness of U.S. development assistance projects by incorporating analysis of potential effectiveness in promoting popular participation in the preliminary project and program design stage. The addition of tests of participatory effectiveness along with tests of economic efficiency in many instances can help clarify the alternatives, as was the case in the Turkish On-Farm Water Project cited above. The S.R.I. case studies suggest further that incorporating participation criteria may contribute to the
over-all effectiveness of particular projects in meeting economic development goals. A sharp definition of target population—who is supposed to be benefited—in a rural credit development program may help focus efforts in the right direction and amount early in the game (the formulation of the project and expected results will clearly differ if the aim is to provide credit for larger farmers owning their own land and irrigating than if it is designed to assist smaller dry land tenant farmers). In summary, the S.R.I. case studies suggest that systematic programming aimed at multiple objectives can help developing nations and aid donors make more rational decisions in the allocation of resources and help achieve more effective participation of people in development.67
V. THE PROBLEM OF INTERPRETATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF TITLE IX

The Problem of Interpretation

The broad language of Title IX has led to uncertainties as to how the legislation should be interpreted and put into effect. The Title IX Division of A.I.D. cites three categories of interpretation. The first of these involves an emphasis on a people-to-people approach in aid programs. The second is seen as calling for a major new emphasis on political development. The third interpretation—and the one adopted by A.I.D.—views Title IX as an added dimension to development programming in which participatory goals take a place along side economic growth and other foreign aid goals in shaping U.S. aid programs.

As brought out earlier (pp. 5-6, supra), Title IX does involve a Congressional re-emphasis of earlier legislative concern for a people-to-people approach in U.S. foreign aid. This concern sees aid directed more to help the poor of the developing countries and to foster a grass-roots capability of people of these countries to help themselves. This approach is seen as essential to the process of generating economic growth by tapping all available human resources in the development process, and by alleviating social and political instabilities which could threaten gains on the purely economic front.
The people-to-people aspect of Title IX would also suggest a project-oriented approach involving specific activities such as rural credit, agricultural cooperatives and community development in particular recipient countries.

There is also considerable popular appeal to popular participation and people-to-people programs in foreign aid. This appeal relates to the concern of policy makers in the Administration and in the Congress to find a rationale for aid that makes sense to the American people. Public opinion polls in the sixties show that most Americans support foreign aid providing that it is directed to those who need it, and not to enrich the rich. It is instructive to recall that during the Marshall Plan, objections to the program among the U.S. public and the press were often advanced on grounds that the programs were enriching the commercial and business groups of Europe. This is also a question in developing nations today. Inevitably, the rise of entrepreneurs able to marshall resources and organize a community for development will entail large profits to those with the talent to pioneer in new industry and business. While U.S. values admit of the profit motive and large returns to innovators, it is difficult in the area of public opinion to square this with the notion of foreign aid to help the poor improve their lot. Americans also view favorably grass roots programs which relate to the deeply held American belief that if a man is given an opportunity to help himself he will respond. The need for an humanitarian basis for foreign aid was brought out by Representative Findley (R - Ill.) in questions directed at Secretary
of State Rogers during the hearings on the 1969 Aid Bill. Congressman Findley suggested, a propos of a rationale for aid and of Title IX, that it would be better to try and sell the aid program in the United States and abroad on humanitarian grounds of meeting the basic needs of the people involved, and that it would be better to get away from the notion that we are going to remake the image of the developing nations in our own or are going to create replicas of our free institutions.69

The latter view of Congressman Findley contrasts with that of advocates of Title IX within Congress and the academic community who see the legislation as a mandate for a much more activist role by the U.S. in the political development of modernizing countries. One proponent of the legislation suggests that it may constitute one of the significant watersheds in the history of U.S. foreign aid inasmuch as it is the first explicit legislative injunction to a U.S. foreign aid agency to concern itself directly with the political--not just the economic--development of lesser developed countries.70

Professor Samuel Huntington cited earlier (pp. 7-8, supra) noted in 1967 House hearings on foreign aid that programs of economic development by themselves promote only economic development...the promotion of political development and political stability requires different programs and the modification of programs designed originally simply for economic development. Professor Huntington proposed therefore more attention to and new activities directed at political development. He also recommended amendment of Title IX by the addition of the words "and democratic political parties", since the growth of peaceful
political participation in modernizing countries requires the creation of strong political parties.  

It is clear from the review of the background of Title IX that the legislation is concerned with the social and political factors which may impede development. It emphasizes accordingly research and training to increase understanding of these factors. It also authorizes use of foreign assistance for civic education in skills required for effective participation in political processes. As Representative Culver indicates (p. 10 supra) it provides a mandate for encouraging countries to use their own intellectual resources to explore the adequacy and to strengthen their own political institutions. And, the legislation clearly instructs A.I.D. to emphasize popular participation and democratic institution building - both of which are well recognized aspects of the political development process.  

However, an interpretation of Title IX as a mandate for direct involvement in the political development of other countries would appear to exceed the intent of Congress and go beyond action recommended by many political scientists outside the government. Thus the language of the legislation carefully avoids explicit mention of political development. And the House has been careful to caution the Administration to support measures under Title IX only in support of requests by recipient governments. Similarly, the Administration has followed the principle that support for civic development—which, however, appears to be a euphemism for political development—in Latin America should be provided
only where requested by the recipient countries (p. 18, supra). Many academicians consider that the legislation should be interpreted restrictively, and primarily in terms of the promotion of popular participation in development.\textsuperscript{73}

The equating of political development with Title IX has on balance been interpreted by A.I.D. in terms of increasing opportunities for popular participation in the various forms of association for mutual aid in achieving legitimate aspirations.\textsuperscript{74} As one of the sponsors of the legislation put it (p. 13, supra), the encouragement of popular participation is the key.

A.I.D. has in practice adopted an interpretation of Title IX which it considers broader than the two categories just reviewed and which in essence calls for more explicit consideration of political and social factors in program analysis and design. Title IX is thus seen by A.I.D. as more than a special interest amendment to be satisfied by earmarking specific sums for special Title IX activities. As noted by the former A.I.D. Administrator (p. 25, supra), the Agency early decided to incorporate Title IX objectives when deciding on the overall composition of a country program and when deciding how to shape and direct particular technical and capital assistance programs. This has in practice meant reshaping approaches adopted in sectors such as agriculture, education, public health, public administration and industry to give more weight to participatory goals. As the S.R.I. country studies pointed out (p. 45, supra), there are significant opportunities for reinforcing both purely economic and participatory goals through
more comprehensive and systematic planning in which tests of participatory effectiveness are applied alongside the more conventional tests of economic feasibility. While this "rounded" approach provides more emphasis on political and social factors of development, A.I.D. has not considered Title IX as reducing its concern for economic development, but rather (and hopefully) as enhancing that concern.75

Economic Growth and Title IX

In the long run it can scarcely be argued that programs which bring more people effectively into the development process will not contribute to economic growth. In the short run, however, economic growth goals may conflict with goals of participation and social justice. Where investment is required to broaden the production base, diversions for social purposes (education, welfare, health, unproductive roads to help integrate the country) may be counter-productive to efforts to spur national product growth. However, Governments may be obliged by political necessity to respond to popular demand for social needs at the cost of current growth, as was the case in Pakistan in 1969 (p. 37, supra). It would appear that such decisions can only be reached through domestic political processes of the country concerned. U.S. assistance would appear to have scope at most for formulating options for government policy and in providing assistance for programs of social justice as well as those which generate growth.

The short run compatibility, or incompatibility, of economic development and participatory goals is most critical with respect to the equity and distributive aspects of popular participation in development.
In many countries, patterns of income distribution, for example, are inequitable and sound policy would dictate efforts by Governments to adjust tax structures and tax collection policies more fairly. The problem is that too often the political authorities involved are those who benefit from the prevailing inequitable distribution, which is another argument for broadened participation of less favored groups in the political processes of the country. The problem still remains, moreover, of reconciling equity goals with those of economic growth, recognizing that in most developing countries currently available resources are too limited to satisfy the needs of the population as a whole. A.I.D. programmers tend to treat this problem on the basis that as a practical matter equity and distributive aspects are most easily handled through a more equitable distribution of a growing economic pie. The A.I.D. program in Ecuador, for example, places great emphasis on popular participation, human resource development and opportunities to develop democratic institutions in the country. But the primary thrust of U.S. and other external assistance is economic growth:

It is only through economic growth that larger shares will be available for the majority of persons who now receive inequitable shares and participate inadequately in the goods, services and opportunities of Ecuadorian society.  

Of course, economic growth does not in itself insure larger shares, and must be accompanied by Government measures to insure more equitable distribution of expanding income. In Latin America, generally, the Administration's view has been that as accompaniments to economic growth there must be increasing social justice and equality for the Latin
American citizen through widened access to opportunity for rewarding and profitable activity (p. 19, supra).

The Problem of Implementation

Policy guidance for Title IX implementation within A.I.D. dates back to March 1967 and was cast in the following terms:

- "Political Development" should not become a separate goal of the Agency, nor should the response to Title IX be conceived within a grand strategy of political development.

- The development process should be viewed in broader terms than hitherto, involving social, economic, cultural and political factors, each of which needs to be considered systematically if orderly self-sustaining growth is to be induced.

- The A.I.D. approach should be formulated on a country-by-country basis in concert with economic and social objectives and in open concern with recipient governments.

- No single type of activity nor any specific instrument of foreign aid should necessarily be emphasized except as determined on a country-by-country basis.

- A unifying theme should be the wearing down of the enclave nature of many of the developing societies in the political, social and economic spheres.

Within this policy framework, it was felt within A.I.D. that country programs might involve:

- no new activities, but a reprogramming of on-going activities to emphasize participatory goals, the likely political effect of capital projects like feeder roads or power grids, and the institutional capacity of recipients to maintain democratic development;

- intensifying certain traditional A.I.D. activities such as cooperatives, savings and loan associations and other pluralistic non-governmental groups;

- Initiating new activities such as the development of local taxation authority, local government training, development of more effective mass media and the fostering of rural institutions (within a framework of market towns);
- use of program loans and other influence to encourage changes in the social and political framework where obstacles to development exist (similar to changes encouraged by A.I.D. in sensitive areas as taxation, import liberalization, and agrarian reform).

The review of country A.I.D. programs in the preceding chapter shows that country efforts to promote Title IX have used each of these approaches, and have in addition been largely centered about rural development policy and programs. This experience of the past two to three years suggests in fact that the greatest scope for Title-IX implementation lies in the rural areas and with appropriate rural development strategies. This suggestion is also borne out by current thinking on economic and political development.

In the first place, Title IX seeks to maximize popular participation in the development process as a means to foster economic growth and improved standards of living. If large segments of the population are not able to break out of traditional, low-yielding methods of economic activity into effective participation in the modern economy, clearly basic human and economic resources of the developing nations will remain under-utilized. Moreover, despite increasing urbanization it is the rural sector where the bulk of the population of most developing nations still lives. It is here that by far the poorest of the poor, the most apathetic and least committed are found. These are the people who should be the targets for efforts to engage them in development and to help them raise their productivity, production and income. However, a question from the economic point of view is posed. Should the development emphasis go to the modern
sector to lay a basis for movement and in the hope of spread effects in the traditional enclaves? Or should an increasing proportion of available resources go to direct measures to mobilize and energize the traditional sector? The answer depends on the structure of the economy, on the efficiency of development in the modern sector in inducing change and growth in the traditional sector and on the potential for absorption of any large scale unemployment. Analysis of this question is considerably beyond the scope of this paper. However, the experience of the sixties appears to point to the following:

- although efforts to develop the modern sector have contributed to an increase in average rates of growth in developing countries,

- there have not been the hoped-for spread effects to bring about corresponding growth in the traditional and largely agricultural sectors; and large-scale unemployment has persisted in some countries despite high rates of growth.

- Direct action appears required to energize the population and generate growth in traditional sectors;

- such action is, moreover, essential if food and other agricultural production is to be increased to meet the needs of growing populations.

- and broader participation, particularly in the traditional areas, is required to strengthen the political and social organization of developing countries as a pre-condition for stability, economic growth and modernization.

In the fifties, the major development question was whether it was feasible at all to achieve growth in economies which had never or rarely experienced it. Development was seen as an intractable problem. The unresolved problem of development economists was
to formulate a theory of growth which could show, with some predictive force, how such sustained growth could be achieved. The experience of the sixties shows however, that the goal of sustained growth is feasible. It is significant that in a five year period centered about 1958/59, when most of the effort went into industrialization and infrastructure and agriculture was neglected, only a third or so of developing countries where U.S. assistance was concentrated registered annual per capita growth rates of 2%. By contrast, according to World Bank data, the developing nations as a whole exceeded this 2% level of growth during the sixties. A problem for the seventies would appear to be to achieve a further expansion of growth rates, up to 3-4%, both to keep pace with the rising expectations of the people of the third world and to cut into the gap between the rich and poor nations.

With respect to the conventional wisdom of the fifties and early sixties that spread effects from the modern sector would induce change into the traditional sector, Professor Wilfred Malenbaum, University of Pennsylvania, notes that newer views on the nature of economic development hold that rapid growth in the modern sector is not compatible ipso facto with continuous expansion of a nation's growth rate. The core of the development task, he maintains, must be to assure change in the traditional parts of the economy. The development effort must stir those forces which govern the use of labor and other productive resources in the unchanged parts of the nation and must serve to integrate the traditional and modern parts of the economy. In Malenbaum's view, only government can fill the entrepreneurship role of
generating a more intensive use of the developing nation's resources by modernizing the traditional sector and tying it more closely to the smaller and more advanced parts of the society. He proposes an "inter-relations model" for development in which the government carries out specific programs in the traditional sector directed at social and institutional deterrents to change and with constant attention to changes that will expand the ties with the modern sector. 81

A current view of the role of agriculture in the development process was presented by Professors Fei and Rais in the December 1968 proceedings of the American Economic Association. Based on a review of Western European economic history, they note that the modernization of agriculture is a long-term issue which must be reasonably solved first if successful transition to maturity is to take place. They conclude that for developing countries the modernization of traditional agriculture is inseparable from the domestic industrialization process and from the importation of modern technology and assimilation. 82

The A.I.D./M.I.T. Report on the "Role of Participation in Development" makes the point too that:

...the Third World generally needs to put a high priority on agriculture, because this is often the sector where the most growth can be gotten for a given investment, because of the world food problem, and because it contains the subsistence sector which needs to be reduced to develop a national political life."83

In terms of political development, it is the rural areas where the central government's authority is usually least evident; least responsive and least relevant to the concerns of the citizen. One writer thus
notes: "at the rural level the situation is usually one of neglect, not domination...governments tend not to reach the village in regular and meaningful fashion." \footnote{84} Professor Samuel Huntington points out that the countryside plays the crucial swing role in modernizing politics, and that the way in which the peasants are incorporated into the political system shapes the subsequent course of political development: "...if the countryside supports the political system and the government, the system itself is secure against revolution and the government has some hope of making itself secure against rebellion." Huntington further notes that: "a government can, if it is so minded significantly affect the conditions of the countryside so as to reduce the propensity of peasants to revolt...While reforms may be the catalyst of revolution in the cities, they may be a substitute for revolution in the countryside." \footnote{85}

A precondition for such changes is, of course, improved two way communication with the cultivators and other rural groups. As Dr. Malenbaum notes:

the governments of developing countries need to convince the people in the traditional sector that they and their economic activity are of fundamental importance to the national effort and that the leadership at all levels throughout the country is identified with their efforts. \footnote{86}

It is apparent that central Governments may find the task of responding to the needs and desires of the countryside a severe strain on a limited administrative base and on limited resources. One writer suggests a propos of agricultural innovation and community development in rural areas, that such programs can be started selectively and experimentally,
providing the government both a basis of experience and time to develop its administrative and political structures to extend progressively its influence and services to the countryside. However, it would appear that there usually are significant opportunities for better use of the Government's organizational and administrative structures as a link between the government and the people, for strengthening and developing local self-government and for supporting the growth of non-governmental rural institutions of a social and economic nature with leverage on and influence in the political system.

In terms of economic development in the rural sector, experience with the "green revolution" indicates that an appropriate mix of national policy (as to price, credit, incentives to enter the market system, etc.), agricultural promotion efforts, and promotion of popular participation can lead to substantial increases in farm output and farmer incomes in a short time. Evidence suggests that such increases can reach 5-6% per year. A CENTO study concluded moreover that given appropriate national programs of research and promotion, rate of growth of food production in Turkey, Iran and Pakistan could be sustained at a level of 5% for ten to twenty years. A similar view has been stated in the case of India, by Max Millikan, the late director of the M.I.T. Center for International Studies. In examining and formulating rural development strategies, however, it is important to consider to what extent the policy adopted affects the small farmer as well as the large one. In a number of countries, substantial increases in farm production could
be achieved by relying on the modernization of large farms. However, unless programs are geared to reach and modernize the small farmer, as was done in Taiwan and earlier in Japan, rural development risks leaving the bulk of the rural population worse off, still not integrated into the economy, or worse migrating off the land to swell the ranks of urban unemployed.91

The foregoing has postulated that the opportunities in developing countries for maximizing the participation of the people, improving their economic and social situation and strengthening the political structure through the establishment of democratic institutions with political leverage are most evident in rural development programs. In addition, it would appear that rural development may in turn have significant impact on overall national development goals. Two thoughts come into play. The first relates to the impact of economic gains in the rural sector per se on overall growth rates and on other development objectives. The second relates to the potential for multiplier effects throughout the economy as a result of developing intersectoral relations between the rural and modern sectors.

The calculus of the potential impact of increased agricultural growth on overall national income may be approximated by assuming:

- Improved performance in the farm sector can increase farm growth rates from say 2% to 5-6% per year,

- The proportion of national income derived from farming is about one-third of the total, as it is in many developing countries;
National per capita income has been growing at the rate of 2% per year, primarily as a result of growth in the modern sector.\footnote{92}

Under these assumptions, per capita national income growth would rise by some 1-2\%\textsuperscript{7} one-third of the rise in agricultural growth\textsuperscript{7} to 3-4\% per year. Rates of growth at this level would, of course, considerably compress the time required for many developing countries to reach self-sustaining growth. A related aspect of rural development is the concern in many countries to limit population growth. In many, if not most such countries, the key to reduced population growth appears to lie in the rural areas which are the most difficult to reach with family planning programs. Development in the villages, and expansion of trade and commerce between urban and rural areas, will facilitate the conduct of family planning programs. In addition, increases in rural standards of living may be expected to lead to family decisions to reduce the number of children.

With respect to sectoral interrelationships, a previous section has touched on the problem of limited spread effects from the modern urban and industrial sector as a means of inducing change in the predominately agricultural rural sector. It appears in fact that the dualism of the modern versus the traditional sectors has been aggravated by development emphasis on industry, infrastructure, and urban development which has led in some countries to increasing rather than decreasing gaps in the social and economic levels of the two. Brazil and Pakistan are two examples. By contrast, current economic thought holds that growth in the traditional sector can have significant...
multiplier effects in domestic industry, commerce and finance. One economist notes for example that "the benefits of technological progress in agriculture are rapidly and automatically passed on to non-farmer processors and consumers as the cumulating increase in the number of farm innovators increases total farm supply and reduces average market prices." And further that we have "a tested and relatively painless method whereby the inevitable 'painful' or sacrificial process of domestic capital accumulation can be set in self-sustaining motion and progressively accelerated in a traditional economy."93 Another economist, commenting on the Fei-Ranis Report cited earlier (p. 58, supra), notes:

It is increasingly apparent from a study of the current developed countries...that the creation of extensive trading relationships among sectors, especially between rural and urban groups is not only essential for socially satisfying economic development but is a powerful growth-creating force.94 However, he suggests that more critical than the need for a network of market towns and transportation, which Fei and Ranis stress, may be the prevailing patterns of income distribution have low growth stimulating effects. It is clear, in any case, that expanding income in the countryside broadens marketing opportunities for the industrial and urban sector, permitting domestic industry, commerce and transportation to operate at higher and more efficient levels of capacity; and that increasing efficiency in the farm sector will lead to lower prices for farm products in the cities, to an increased potential for agricultural products for export to easy critical foreign
exchange shortages, and to supply domestic industry with raw material requirements. In addition, as agriculture is modernized it may be expected that the process will help to absorb unemployment by a significant expansion of labor intensive secondary activities such as marketing, transportation, credit and many services required for commercial agriculture. 95
VI. CONCLUSIONS

1. Title IX has been interpreted by some of its advocates in the Congress and in the academic community as a legislative mandate to the Executive Branch to undertake more direct measures to address problems of political development in developing nations. The equating of political development with Title IX has, however, been interpreted by A.I.D. principally in terms of increasing opportunities for popular participation in development. The legislative background of Title IX indicates that the primary purpose of the amendment may be summarized as:

   a. To contribute to economic development by encouraging greater participation of the people of developing nations in the task of development; and

   b. To recognize and take increasing account of the non-economic factors of political and social development in the modernization process in shaping and directing U.S. development assistance to recipient nations.

2. While the Foreign Assistance Act and A.I.D. manual orders have always included reference to the importance of political and social factors in development, Title IX appears to have served a valuable purpose in re-emphasizing this importance and on the need to place increased emphasis on popular participation in aid programs. In carrying out the legislative mandate, A.I.D. appears to have quite rightly focussed its efforts to achieve Title IX goals in terms of a "rounded"
approach under which participatory goals and democratic private and local government institutional development are incorporated in overall country plans, and policies and in individual country projects and programs. Over the past two to three years, it would appear that considerable progress has been made in this direction, particularly in Latin America where the needs for social change and where social and political impediments to development under the Alliance for Progress have stood out sharply.

3. As a general rule, and at least over the long run, maximizing popular participation and stimulating economic growth appear to be mutually reinforcing objectives under the Foreign Assistance Act. More active involvement of the people of developing nations in the planning and execution of development can stimulate production and raise incomes and standards of living. Increased participation through self-sustaining democratic institutions can strengthen the social and political fabric of developing countries, and can serve to bring about an increased sense of common purpose and foster social and political unity. Measures to accelerate economic growth can correspondingly support increased participation by providing an increase in limited goods, services and opportunities for the underprivileged of these poor societies.

4. A review of U.S. development assistance programs indicates that the achievement of Title IX objectives are most often cited in connection with rural development assistance programs. A variety of practical and theoretical considerations support the view that it is
precisely in the rural areas where the greatest need for maximizing popular participation in development exists and where, at least in many countries, the greatest scope for constructive programs to foster economic and political development, and national integration, lies. Despite rapid urbanization, the traditional rural sectors of developing nations usually contain the bulk of the people. It is here that the least engaged and the poorest of the poor are to be found. These are the people whose energies and talents need to be tapped, where human resources are least developed and where the Central Government's authority and services are most lacking.

Experience with the green revolution supports the view, moreover, that appropriate national policies and government programs can enable farmers and rural populations generally to expand their production and incomes substantially in a relatively brief period of a few years. In addition, current economic thought points to the conclusion that development of the "traditional" rural sector, together with a concomitant development of trade and other intersectoral relations with the "modern" urban and industrial sector will have feedback effects inducing faster rates of growth in the modern sector and in the economy as a whole.

Other things being equal, it therefore appears as a matter of priorities that in A.I.D. country planning for the incorporation of Title IX objectives in its programs, first attention should be given to the country's rural development situation, and to the adequacy of rural strategies and programs underway. While rural development is emphasized
in A.I.D. programming, the Agency has not emphasized this aspect of Title IX in guidance to the field, although it very early concluded that the wearing down of the enclave nature of many developing economies would be a key element and unifying factor in Title IX implementation.

5. The encouragement of democratic local government is a stated objective of the Title IX legislation and one which appears to have received less consideration and emphasis than might have been expected in view of its potential to rural development and to efforts by governments to foster national integration. A.I.D. has undertaken only a handful of initiatives, mainly in administration programs or in connection with efforts to deal with insurgency threats. The importance of stronger, more effective and responsive local government is being increasingly recognized by the developing countries themselves. It would appear desirable for A.I.D. to give this aspect of Title IX considerably more emphasis. One step which A.I.D. could usefully undertake at an early stage is to collect and evaluate experience which is readily available from a number of countries.

6. A problem in the implementation of the Title IX mandate is the need for guidance for use by country missions. The instructions and materials circulated to date consist of a series of airgrams and background reports distributed over a period of years. While these provide valuable guidance to Mission directors and program staff, field planning and programming would be facilitated, and more emphasis would be provided to Title IX goals, by an authoritative statement of planning and programming requirements, probably best
handled in the A.I.D. program manual series. Country programming and attention to Title IX could also be strengthened by more emphasis on training of middle level personnel, and on research using host country research facilities. One approach to broaden Agency and Mission competence to deal with Title IX objectives would be a series of regional study sessions for middle managers and personnel from Embassies. Much more could be accomplished in the way of research carried out within the host country, using local university and other research facilities, as has been done in Thailand and the Philippines. Such research would have the merit of involving country authorities and resources in identifying problems and courses of action in their own country.

7. While the main thrust of Title IX is seen to be the promotion of popular participation and the consideration of political and social factors affecting economic development, a subsidiary theme of Title IX is efforts by the Executive branch to support measures by recipient governments to strengthen their own democratic political institutions. Congressional supporters and members of the academic community have urged more emphasis on specific Title IX projects aimed at U.S. assistance in areas such as law and legal institutions (specifically provided for under the FAA), legislative development and indigenous civic institutions. The author of the language of section 281(b) of Title IX has pointed out that the intention of the language was to encourage use of foreign aid in support of local efforts to mobilize indigenous intellectual resources to delve into the adequacy of domestic political and social institutions. The Congressional intent
appears to have been to provide such support largely through non
governmental agencies, although one sponsor of Title IX has urged
the Executive Branch not to shy away from constructive dialogue with
recipient governments of the adequacy of their political institutions,
and on contributions which the U.S. and western experience might make
to political development.

On the other hand, some observers in the academic community
and Congress feel that it is unwise to place too broad an interpreta-
tion on Title IX; that the U.S. should avoid direct assistance in
political change, particularly in relation to political parties. Argu-
ments against action in this area are based on the inadequacy of know-
ledge, risks of U.S. government involvement, and in the appropriaten-
ness of U.S. efforts to remake other nations in our own image.

On balance, it would appear desirable for the United States
to encourage more use of domestic intellectual resources to address
local political and social problems. This assistance should in general
be provided only upon request of host governments, and insofar as
possible by non-governmental agencies cooperating with local civic
and professional groups. From a programming point of view, action
taken by the U.S. government should be based on frank exchanges with
the government and on a common understanding of the desirability of
dealing with such social and political problems which appear to be
deterrents to the development goals and efforts of the host govern-
ment. Where the issue of sensitivity appears, it would appear desir-
able for the Ambassador as the head of the country team to determine
to what extent a dialogue on social and political problems should be pursued with the host government and others in the country, and what U.S. assistance might be appropriate. Embassy officials can contribute to such dialogues and assist in the analysis of the importance of such problems in the development process. In general, where the U.S. has a concern for, and provides support for a country's development effort, it would appear in its interest for its diplomatic and other overseas personnel to encourage movement toward more effective democratic political processes as an alternative to totalitarian solutions. This would appear a necessary adjunct to the long term U.S. goal to help developing nations focus their leadership and energies on constructive development to achieve a community of nations where peace and the rule of law may more readily prevail.
FOOTNOTES


4. Representative Morse in remarks inserted in the Congressional Record of February 27, 1967 entitled "The Trick is People," noted in this connection:

...we have a great deal to offer, perhaps primarily at the private level. There is much that these private groups can do to help in Latin America and elsewhere...we need the organizational capacity to collect the results of their efforts and share their conclusions with others. In 1966 we tried to institutionalize this process by requiring AID to "establish an effective system for obtaining adequate information with respect to the activities of an opportunities for non governmental participation in the development process..."

The legislation quoted by Congressman Morse appeared in section 601(b)(2), FAA.


6. Section 601(a), FAA.

7. Section 461, FAA. The section reads:

Sec. 461. Assistance to Countries Having Agrarian Economies.-- Wherever the President determines that the economy of any country is in major part an agrarian economy, emphasis shall be placed on programs which reach the people in such country who are engaged in agrarian pursuits or who live in the villages or rural areas in such country, including programs which will
assist them in the establishment of indigenous cottage industries, in the improvement of agricultural methods and techniques and which will encourage the development of local programs of self-help and mutual cooperation. In such a country emphasis shall be placed upon programs of community development which will promote stable and responsible government institutions at the local level.

The last line is the Zablocki amendment of 1962.


9Ibid.


11Ibid., p. 117.

12Ibid., pps. 192, 210, 218.


14Sections 102, 207, 208, FAA.


18A.I.D., Report to the Congress on the Implementation of Title IX, op. cit., p. 6.

19House Report on the Utilization of Democratic Institutions in Development, op. cit., Studies referred to by the Committee included: a) the 1967 House Subcommittee hearings on "Rural Development in Asia" (op. cit.); b) "Modern Communications and Foreign Policy" (Report No. 5 of the House Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements, House Report No. 362, 1967); and c) "Behavioral Sciences and National Security" (1966 Hearings of the Committee).


An earlier recommendation for a Latin American Development Institute by a group of 25 Republican Congressmen appeared in a special report on Foreign Assistance published in the Congressional Record, March 15, 1966. The study pointed out: "...development which does not reach the people is not progress in human terms...non violent progress in many of the developing countries is impeded by the inability of their governments to administer and accommodate change /so that/ U.S. foreign aid must place new emphasis on the need for the growth of popular participation in the programs of the developing countries and in the capacity of recipient countries to perform effectively..."

Two recommendations of the study group bear specifically on Title IX:

26. The Republican and Democratic parties, acting in concert, should undertake a carefully devised but vigorous program of support for development in Latin America, including greater contact between United States and Latin politicians, help in the establishment of legislative reference services...and establishment of a Latin American Institute for Democratic Development.

27. ...state governments should seek to establish their own programs for popular participation in development with individual countries in Latin America.


40Brookings Institute, Advanced Studies Program, Summaries of Executive Seminars on Title IX of the Foreign Assistance Act: Tunis, December 1968; Roanoke, November 1968; and Bogota, March 1969.


Section 211(a)(7) of the FAA requires A.I.D. in extending assistance to consider the degree to which recipient countries are making progress toward respect for the rule of law. Section 207 of the Act extends the area of development assistance to the modernization of existing laws to facilitate economic development.

Three areas frequently cited as meriting action are: 1) the improvement of law schools whose students will be among the future leaders of the developing world and whose potential for legal and social and political research remains untapped; 2) the modernization of law to meet developing needs; and 3) the adequacy of the judiciary and legal systems to deal with the problems of justice. See John Hoskins, Political Development Assistance - The Maturization of a Policy, National War College, February, 1968. Also, The Role of Popular Participation in Development, op. cit., pp. 82-84.


This is the point made by Representative Culver to Aid Administrator Gaud during the hearings on the 1968 FAA. See p.10 of the text.


Committee Print, New Directions for the 1970's - Towards a Strategy of Inter-American Development, op. cit., p. 7

One author has concluded that industrialization in Brazil "has occurred with little or no impact on the traditional agrarian society where the bulk of the people live. The majority of the country has been excluded from the development process and the Brazilian economy now represents a near perfect example of a dual economy." See James B. Kelly, The Economic Development of Brazil Since World War II, National War College, May, 1969, pp. 49-51.


Tbid., p. 1218.

52 Ibid., pp. 45-47.


54 Ibid.


56 This paragraph on Title IX aspects of the Philippine Aid program is based on Aid Administrator Gaud's review of Aid Activities in the House Hearings on the FAA of 1968, op. cit., and on discussions with Mr. Calvin Cowles, formerly Assistant Mission Director for Programs in USOM/Manila, in December 1969.


60 As reported in a conversation with Mr. George Marotta, A.I.D., Program Coordination Staff, December 1969.

61 According to testimony by Mr. Maurice Williams before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs during its Hearings on the FAA of 1969, House Committee Print, Part IV, pp. 748, 749, 753, 784 and 786.

62 Quoted by Representative Culver in the House Hearings on the FAA of 1969, Ibid., p. 785

63 Ibid., p. 785

65 Ibid., pp. 15-21.

66 A.I.D., Front Lines (House Journal), February 1970


71 This statement was made by Professor Huntington, to the House Sub-Committee on Asian and Pacific Affairs during hearings February 28 - March 9, 1967, op cit. Professor Huntington has defined political development in terms of three crucial aspects: a) the rationalization of authority, meaning the replacement of traditional, religious, familial and ethnic political authorities with a single, secular, national political authority; b) the differentiation of new political functions and the development of specialized structures /or institutions/ to perform these functions; and c) increased participation in politics by social groups throughout society (which may enhance control of the people by the government as in totalitarian states or which may enhance control of government by the people as in some democratic ones). See Samuel Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies (New Haven, 1968), pp. 34-35.

72 "From Aristotle to John Dewey, political philosophers have extolled popular participation as a source of vitality and creative energy, as a defense against tyranny and as a means of enacting the common wisdom. By involving many in the affairs of the state, participation should promote stability and order; and by giving everyone the opportunity to express his own interests it should secure the greatest good for the greatest number. The community should gain, furthermore, by drawing on the talents and skills of the greatest number of people. Some philosophers have claimed that participation benefits the participants as well as the larger community. It ennobles men by giving them a sense of their own dignity and value, alerts both rulers and the ruled to their duties and responsibilities and broadens political understanding." See Herbert McClosky, "Political Participation," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 12, pp. 252-264.

74 This conclusion is cited in the Roanoke Executive Seminar on Title IX, op. cit.

75 Princeton Lyman, op. cit., p. 4.

76 S.R.I., Country Study on Ecuador, op. cit.

77 A.I.D., Internal Memorandum to the Administrator, by Gustov Ranis, Assistant Administrator for Program Coordination, dated March 20, 1967. The memorandum is included in the A.I.D. Title IX Reference Digest.


79 A.I.D., Foreign Assistance Program - Annual Report to Congress for Fiscal Year 1963, October 1964, p. 4. The report cites a study of development in 26 countries receiving foreign aid. For the most recent five year period, 9 countries were shown to have per capita annual growth rates averaging 2% or better; 10 countries showed growth rates of 1½% or better; and seven showed growth rates of less than 1½%, including 4 whose growth lagged behind population increase.

80 Pearson et al., Partners in Development (Praeger, 1969), pp. 12, 55. The report of the Commission on International Development notes that the average rate of growth of developing countries is better than generally realized; despite high rates of population growth, national income per person in the 1960-67 period averaged about 2.5% per year.


86 Wilfred Malenbaum, op. cit., p. 61.

88 For an essay on the need for and possibilities of democratic political development of traditional societies, see Edgar Owens, Political Development and Economic and Social Growth (mimeo.), U.S. Operations Mission, Bangkok, May 1969.


91 For a discussion on this point, see Kusum Nair, The Lonely Furrow (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press), 1969.

92 Data from A.I.D. Country Data Books (late 1969 revisions) show that the proportion of rural to total population of major aid recipients usually exceeds 50%: Brazil, 54%; Chile, 32%; Colombia, 48%; India, 72%; Iran, 69%; Korea, 68%; Pakistan, 87%; Philippines, 70%; Taiwan, 47% and Turkey, 66%. The Pearson report, op. cit., pp. 28-33, provides data showing significant increases in food production in the late sixties in selected countries as a result of the Green Revolution.

Table II: Food Production in Selected Countries

Average Annual Growth Rates in the Sixties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1960-66</th>
<th>1966-68</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Burma</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceylon</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: FAO


Stephen Hymer and Stephen Resnick, "A Model of an Agrarian Economy with Nonagricultural Activities," *American Economic Review*, September 1969, pp. 493-506. This article analyzes the variety of processing, manufacturing, construction, transportation and service activities needed to satisfy rural needs. The authors stress the major substitutions in occupations which occur as a result of increasing trade, exchange and specialization (p. 503). They also stress that new divisions of labor and the inter-dependence they imply require new political and social relations among the members of society, which need to be taken into account in development planning and programming (pp. 505-506).
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