to the foreign-aid policymaker. Above all, it can be made the subject of a "plan," detailed both in amounts and in timing, its progress measurable in terms of percentage increases in gross national product. By the same token, it can have a date of termination of aid.

The author deserves credit for looking beyond the simple notion that in the wake of economic development the recipient countries would reap social and political maturity and all the other attributes of stability that would make them viable allies.

"In the developing world," he comments, "an accelerated rate of economic growth is more likely to shake traditional value patterns to their core. New institutions and value systems will have to evolve to replace the old, and their character is at best highly unpredictable. Deviation from Western norms, not conformity to them, is more likely to result from imposing advanced technology and modern systems of production on the traditions of the less developed world. Moreover, a high rate of economic progress, achieved at considerable cost to the political and social stability of nations, may encourage and facilitate international adventures and jeopardize the peace."

Political turmoil in Nigeria, long picked as a showcase of success for U.S. foreign aid, and recent events in Greece vividly illuminate Kaplan's doubts on the score of economic development as the goal from which all other blessings will flow. Few countries can match Greece in growth of gross national product.

In reality, the author freely admits, the priority system is often ignored. Pakistan, which in recent years has had a fine growth record, should have found it easy to obtain badly needed aid funds in mid-1965, but its friendliness toward Communist China and its involvement in the Kashmir conflict proved stronger deterrents than a laudable economic performance could offset. What is at stake, therefore, is above all the unfortunate rationale of the program, the exposure to criticism when achievements fall short of goals, and above all, the illusory promise of automatic "compound" growth and release from foreign-

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aid ties as predictable certainties in the near future.

WHAT Kaplan suggests is not a return to the gimmickry of the 1950's, when the foreign-aid program became encrusted with a multitude of objectives and policies, convenient as these were for accommodating different countries and awarding them aid without the total having to be justified under a single heading, and useful as they were in avoiding Congressional idiosyncrasies that developed from year to year. Instead, he argues for the association of economic development with equally significant-and sometimes perhaps even more significant-objectives in the social and political field. But here a long-term perspective is required of the sort granted to authors but rarely to legislators. The goal may be "nation building," for example, without which even economic development may remain an illusory objective. In such an effort, Kaplan observes, enterprises normally denounced as showpieces and therefore as wasteful uses of U.S. funds (stadiums, parks, palaces) may be fully justified. It is a

The Quarry

The car lights snare them, suspend dog and rabbit like negatives printed by force. Their actions, sudden and unrehearsed, are announced by bones that click like the broken wipers on my car.

Part of the rabbit hangs, free at last of its pursuer, and the dog, too, is freed from its desire. Thus do four objects meet in darkness, beasts, machine, and man, and no one can say what brought them together.

useful thought, but it presupposes an educational effort of truly heroic proportions to drive home a point like this to men having jurisdiction over the expenditure of tax funds.

The point is of special interest because elsewhere Kaplan suggests that in the future, administration aid proposals should force Congress to approve programs that are cast in general aid categories but are also specific in terms of country allocations. (Ever since the beginning of the aid programs, administrations have submitted to Congress such data as "illustrative" only, in order to be able to adjust to changing conditions and to keep lobbying to a minimum.) If Congress were to have its say on the country allocation, it would do less sniping from the sidelines. It is only fair to add that this suggestion is rooted in Kaplan's belief that Congressional performance could not be much worse than it is now, so that little would be risked-an arguable point.

There are other portions of bright originality and commendable directness. Kaplan's discussion of the gimmick of "self-help" and the difficulties of defining such efforts in practice; his point that the conditions of granting aid are far less important than the measure of influence the aid-giving country can gain in the recipient country, in terms of being listened to and becoming a partner in the national debate at a useful governmental level; his dissection of the enduring interests of the United States in foreign aid-these are all subjects that need ventilation. If there is one regret it is that, although Kaplan's background in agricultural economics would have fitted him admirably for an intelligent discussion of what self-help means in the field of agriculture now that it has been made one of the formal conditions of food-for-peace shipments, he has failed to deal with the problem. And yet it may lead, especially in India, to sharp misunderstandings of the donor's interest and the recipient's capacity. One would have liked to watch Kaplan cut through the mystique and come to grips with the substance of this question, as he does throughout this intelligent man's guide to foreign aid.



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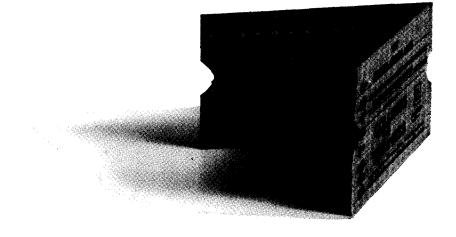
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