Resolution to Investigate TCA (Point IV) Program

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STATEMENT OF SENATOR MIKE MANSFIELD (D., MONTANA)
For release on introduction of Resolution to Investigate TCA (Point IV) Program

A FULL AND COMPLETE STUDY OF THE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM
IS NEEDED

Almost four years ago, Congress gave approval to the Act for International Development. This Act, Public Law 525, 81st Congress, is the legislative cornerstone of the Point Four Program. Behind the Point Four concept is the belief that with our technical and scientific knowledge we can help the peoples of the underdeveloped parts of the world to make a better life for themselves.

When this program was proposed it was not conceived of as a massive program of economic aid. It was not intended to transplant the American way of life to countries which, in terms of material progress, were centuries behind us. We did not expect to lend even a hoe or an insecticide sprayer unless we were asked to do so. What we planned to do, in short, was to extend a friendly scientific and technical hand, if it might be useful, to less fortunate countries.

From our own national point of view we saw Point Four as a means of reducing the threat to peace that grows out of human misery; of encouraging the
sound development of free people by helping them to avoid the pitfalls of communism and other forms of totalitarianism in their eagerness for material development. We saw it as a long-range program which would bring us our recompense eventually, in an expansion of mutually advantageous economic relations; and most of all in the development of the warm friendship and respect that can grow out of sincere neighborly exchange and assistance. This idea had an appeal not only to the good sense but to the hearts of all decent Americans. It was rooted in the national tradition of consideration for the less fortunate.

When the Point Four idea was originally advanced it was greeted with great enthusiasm both here and abroad. In the four years that have elapsed since the passage of the International Development Act we have had an opportunity to observe the idea in action.

Our technicians and scientists have spread out into the remote corners of the world. They have imparted their knowledge to peoples eager to learn how they might use modern instruments to combat ancient enemies, to root out poverty, ignorance and disease. Under the program, we have also brought many foreign
students to this country for technical training. When they have returned to their homes they have often taken with them not only the keys to a fuller, healthier life for their native lands, but also a deeper and clearer perception of the basic decency of the American people. We have also learned much from other nations in this interchange of persons.

Just a few months ago in a visit to the Kingdom of Nepal in the Himalayas, I had occasion to observe an example of the Point Four program at its best. Less than a dozen Americans isolated from the rest of the world, working under conditions of great adversity, are creating a profound impact on the lives of 7 million people. They are doing this by introducing the most basic improvements in agriculture, sanitation, and education, by teaching the local peoples how to use a DDT spray, to build a safe well, to plant improved seeds, and to control plant diseases. I should like to read to the Senate a section of a report which I made to the Foreign Relations Committee in November last year covering the work of this technical mission.
NEPAL

Weded between Tibet on the north and India on the south, the Kingdom of Nepal is among the most isolated of nations. Except for the Gurkhas who have fought in many lands, the people of Nepal for centuries have had little contact with the mainstream of world developments. Until 1947, the country had been visited by probably less than 50 Western nationals. Previous to this study mission no Member of Congress had ever entered the country.

Long isolation clearly reflects itself in the life of the nation. Electricity, automobiles, trains, telephones are practically unknown in most parts of the country. In a nation the size of the State of Tennessee there are only some 300 miles of highways and until this year none connected the capital of Kathmandu with the outside world. Economic techniques, which in many regions do not even include use of the wheel, are those which we generally associate with 500 to 1,000 years ago.

Vast numbers of the 9 million inhabitants are unacquainted with newspapers, radios, or schools. Less than 2 percent of the population is literate. Modern medical care and facilities are available to less than 1 percent of the population, and consequently preventable diseases are rampant.

In recent years, echoes of life in other parts of the world have penetrated into Nepal. Chinese Communist influence has reached the northern border via Tibet. Concepts of democracy and the hope for economic progress have begun to filter through from India and the West.

There was a time when Nepal could continue its existence unaffected by developments elsewhere in the world. That time has passed. Outside forces playing upon the country and internal pressures of discontent have already produced an overturn of the ancient absolutist regime of the hereditary prime ministers (the Ranas). In its place has come the beginning of democracy. Marxist totalitarianism, however, competes for the loyalties of the Nepalese during this period of transition. A contest is now in progress which will draw the emerging nation either toward Communist totalitarianism or freedom. The outcome of this contest depends to a great extent on the rapidity with which the long pent-up, the long-postponed, and now rapidly growing demand for economic and social progress can be filled by the adherents of democracy.
The Foreign Operations Administration

In this setting of extreme isolation, of economic stagnation, and of political transition, less than a dozen Americans have been engaged in seeking to help the emerging nation move in the direction of freedom. They are, for the most part, technicians in the field of agriculture, health, and mining. They have been operating for about a year, without fanfare and with a deep sense of dedication to the basic concepts of the point 4 program. Living conditions for them and their families, if they do not constitute an actual hardship, are certainly not luxurious.

This small Technical Cooperation Administration mission which now operates under the Foreign Operations Administration is engaged in several lines of basic social and economic endeavor. Their work, in support of the efforts of the Nepalese themselves, is in the following fields: village improvement, agricultural development, public health, mineral exploration and education.

A village-improvement program was inaugurated during the summer of 1952. American participation in this program consists of the training of Nepalese instructors in simple skills so that they, in turn, can help to improve the lot of the millions of villagers throughout the country. The first Nepalese graduates of the training classes are already at work in the villages. They are instructing the villagers in such elementary matters as building safe wells and household sanitation. They also are tackling the problem of illiteracy.

Under an agricultural-development program, the TCA mission has been experimenting with new plants and seeds. The first year's trials indicate that agricultural production can be raised 20 percent simply by introducing higher yielding, disease-resistant seeds. Such seeds are now being distributed to the peasants. As a further aid to production, a project in plant disease and insect control has also been launched. Work also goes forward in livestock improvement, both in breeding and in the prevention of diseases. There has also been progress in replacing antiquated farm equipment with simple but far more effective devices. Plans are now being drawn up to extend the use of irrigation.
In the field of public health, the major undertaking involves malaria control. Nepalese technicians are trained for this work and supplies of DDT and other equipment have been secured. There is promise that within a short time this scourge which causes more deaths than any other disease in Nepal may be virtually wiped out.

In the mining field, the TCA mission has established a laboratory for analyses of specimens which is to be turned over in time to the Nepalese Government. It has also assisted in writing basic legislation designed to encourage private prospecting. In this work, there is close cooperation with a United Nations mineral specialist who has been assigned to the country.

The educational program has involved both the sending of qualified Nepalese to the United States for advanced training and the development of a mass literacy program. The latter is based on a survey undertaken some time ago by Dr. Frank Laubach and will be carried out by village-improvement workers.

The educational exchange program does not appear to be adjusted to the present requirements of the country. The immediate need is not so much for advanced technicians as it is for trained men, with practical working experience and with a capacity to show by doing.

**Efficacy of the TCA mission**

The TCA program in Nepal will cost the United States $600,000 in the current fiscal year. To this, the Nepalese Government is expected to add about an equal amount in local currency.

The cost of TCA in Nepal to the United States is lower than that of any other country program in the Near East, Africa, or Asia. Fewer Americans are employed in Nepal than in any other TCA mission in this region.

In these circumstances, the accomplishments of the American technicians during a year of operations in Nepal are remarkable. They are helping the Nepalese people to get out of the economic and social doldrums. In so doing they appear to have won the confidence of Nepalese of all political complexions except the Communists. There is a visible
fund of goodwill for the United States in Nepal, which in all probability is traceable in large measure to the efforts of the TCA mission.

Their success is a tribute to the good sense of the Acting Director and his staff. These Americans from the outset have recognized that the primary responsibility for development rests with the Nepalese people. They have kept the American mission small and auxiliary to the efforts of the Nepalese themselves. They have stayed out of the internal politics of the country. They have lived among a poverty-stricken people, maintaining decent American standards but avoiding the luxurious ostentation which afflicts too many of our official installations abroad. They have shunned high-pressure publicity and loudmouthed promises. Most of all, they have not permitted cynicism to drain the point 4 program of its spiritual content. In short, they live and work in the finest American tradition.

The following statement by Paul W. Rose, the Acting Director of the program, indicates a deep perception of the role of point 4 in our foreign policy:

Some of our American citizens may question why we are doing this work in Nepal since they know that Nepal is not an important source of trade or raw materials. They realize, also, that Nepal is certainly not in a position to have great influence on world politics even though many people in Nepal and India refer to it as a buffer between Communist Tibet and democratic India. Those of us who are working in Nepal believe that America has a great contribution to make to freedom in Nepal, freedom from poverty, freedom from disease, and freedom from ignorance. We believe that we can contribute to these freedoms and by doing so make our own freedom more secure. We also believe that friendship is based on understanding and on mutuality of purposes. We know that, as we become better acquainted with the Nepalese and as the Nepalese know the Americans better, a more firm foundation for friendship and understanding will be created. These are necessary in a world where good neighbors are essential for peace.
The technical assistance program should not lose this eminently sound and dignified concept. The identity of the program should not be obscured in slick reorganization plans which would make it indistinguishable from military aid. The program should remain one of long-range building of good will and mutuality of interest. If it does not, the good already accomplished will be lost and we are likely to reap a harvest of enmity rather than friendship for our expenditures and our efforts.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to report as favorably on the operation of the Point Four program in some parts of the world. On the contrary, when I was in Indo-China several months ago, I found considerable criticism of the conduct of the technical aid program. Charges of extravagance, mismanagement and incompetence were common. Other Members of Congress after inspections abroad have indicated the existence of questionable or distorted and wasteful practices in connection with this program in other areas. The distinguished Senator from Louisiana (Ellender), for example, was reported in the press to have discovered that many costly capital investments were being made by impatient and overly ambitious administrators of the Point Four program in some countries. This would hardly be in accord with the basic purpose of the Act for International Development.
Only a few days ago an associated press dispatch printed in the New York Times carried a lead paragraph which reads as follows: "How to get rid of money has been one of the toughest problems faced in Lebanon by the United States Point Four program of technical aid." According to this dispatch, it seems that Lebanon cannot decide precisely what is wanted in the way of technical aid.

Meanwhile the FOA maintains 60 Americans and 137 local employees in this country of less than one and a half million inhabitants.

Mr. President, I do not know how much validity rests in these and similar reports. I do know, however, that in the four years that have gone by since the program was enacted into law, Congress has appropriated almost half a billion dollars for technical and related assistance. Despite these expenditures we have no assurance that the program is contributing as much as might be expected to the success of our foreign policy. We do not know if we are duplicating the work of the United Nations in this field or if they are duplicating ours. We do not understand clearly the relationship between technical and other types of assistance extended by this country.
We do not know, in short, if we are using the best techniques in the program for advancing the foreign policy of the United States. Yet, the manner in which Point Four is conducted is intimately tied to the success or failure of many aspects of our foreign policy. It is a principal avenue of contact between ourselves and many of the smaller and newly-independent nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It is bound to have a lasting effect on the course of our relations with these nations.

We must be certain Point Four is constructive, that it is making friends, not enemies for this country. While endorsing the principle of Point Four, therefore, I think the time has come for the Senate to look deeply into the practice. What is needed is a complete review of the program.

When the Act for International Development was under consideration in 1950, it was clearly the intent of the Senate to limit the initial authorization in order to permit a new look at the program after several years of experience had been accumulated in its operation. A report of the Foreign Relations Committee on this legislation stated at the time:
Although it may prove desirable to continue the program for a period of years, the Committee is unwilling at this time to place it on a permanent basis unless and until it has proved itself. Because the program is new and because it will take some time to set up the necessary administrative machinery as well as to secure the required technical competence the committee recommends that the Senate limit its present authorization to a period of five years.

This time limit was incorporated into the Senate version of the legislation but was removed in a conference compromise.

The principal of formal Senatorial review of a basic foreign policy measure such as this was sound then. It is sound now.

The resolution which I am introducing gives recognition to this principle.

It calls for a full and complete study of the technical assistance and related programs authorized by Public Law 535, 81st Congress. It would entrust this task to a special bi-partisan subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee, to include two other Senators not members of the Committee.

I am confident that if this resolution is adopted we can expect a bi-partisan study of the Point Four program similar to that conducted on the overseas information program under the successive and outstanding chairmanships of the
junior Senator from Arkansas (Fulbright) and the senior Senator from Iowa (Hickenlooper). It will be the same kind of study now being conducted on review of the United Nations Charter by the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, the able Senator from Wisconsin (Wiley). It will be, in short, a thorough, responsible and constructive investigation. It will be the sort of investigation that will enable the Senate more effectively to discharge its functions in the field of foreign relations.