

***Reply To Criticism  
in the  
Ugly American***



**INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION**

**Washington, D.C.**

## REPLIES TO CRITICISMS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION WHICH APPEAR IN "THE UGLY AMERICAN"

### Summary

"The Ugly American," a book written by William J. Lederer and Eugene Burdick, published by W. W. Norton & Company, contains many derogations of the International Cooperation Administration.

In "A Factual Epilogue," the final chapter of the book, the authors write:

"Each of the small and sometimes tragic events we have described has happened...many times."

As a basis for possible housecleaning tasks suggested by "The Ugly American," ICA has thoroughly investigated each incident relating to ICA and its predecessor agencies which appears in the book.

No basis in fact could be found for the disparaging fictions concerning ICA described in "The Ugly American," except for the criticism that many Americans do not read or write the languages of the countries in which they are serving. This is a valid criticism of a defect which ICA itself had observed long in advance of publication of "The Ugly American" and had taken steps toward correcting.

This does not mean that ICA has made no mistakes. It has and it constantly seeks improvement through experience, while seeking to limit new mistakes to the human minimum. But, the alleged basic errors in concept, in policy, in execution, and in the attitudes, intelligence and integrity of personnel — which the authors of "The Ugly American" claim are general and attempt to illustrate with fictions purportedly based on fact — cannot be demonstrated or equated with fact.

## QUESTION

In Chapter Two of "The Ugly American" there is a story of how a U. S. emergency shipment of rice to relieve a famine in a fictitious Southeast Asia country called "Sarkhan" was turned into Russian aid by Communist cleverness because "none of them (the Americans) could read or understand Sarkhanese and they did not know what was happening," when a dockside clerk stencilled each bag of rice with an inscription in the local language, reading "This rice is a gift from Russia."

Did this incident occur, or has a similar incident ever occurred?

## ANSWER

ICA can find no basis for this story. This, however, is an incident which the authors chose to "document" in their "Factual Epilogue" and they would presumably offer the best "documentation" they could find.

In the light of facts presented by the authors themselves in their epilogue (Page 282), the story—and its moral—disappear. They admit that the incident described in the book never happened. They say their story is based on a report they heard that Communists in Pakistan had stencilled red hammers and sickles on some American tractors.

Taking this report as true, the moral of the story, that U. S. officials are made fools of because they don't know the local languages, disappears entirely, since any American, whether he knew the local language or not, would know the meaning of a red hammer and sickle.

And still accepting the report as true, it is further apparent that no U. S. aid was converted into Russian aid under the very noses of American officials. If it happened at all, it happened because some Communist sneaked out at night, or when no American was looking, and painted a readily recognizable Russian symbol on some U. S. tractors.

The point of the whole story is somewhat weakened, however, by the fact that there is no evidence that it ever happened at all in any form. The U. S. mission in Pakistan has looked into the "report" and states that no one in the mission knows of the alleged tractor incident.

## QUESTION

Has ICA ever had an American employee overseas similar to the particularly offensive Joe Bing, a character in "The Ugly American" described as "chief of information for the ICA in Setlaya?"

## ANSWER

It is conceivable that an objectionable person like Joe Bing might have turned up somewhere in an ICA mission. A bad egg can turn up unexpectedly almost anywhere, like a shop-lifter in a Russian ballet. However, ICA has had no information people overseas for more than five years.

ICA conducts the most thorough screening possible of its personnel, particularly its overseas personnel. Still it is not always possible to predict correctly how an appointee will react to his environment overseas or how well he will respond to the representational responsibilities of his assignment.

ICA has not been able to identify Joe Bing, but were such an offensive person to appear, ICA would recall him.

Joe Bing is an unfortunate accident of human society. He is not a product of ICA. He is typical of neither.

It is especially clear that no Joe Bing, if he did exist, would be appointed U. S. Ambassador to fictitious Sarkhan or any real country.

## QUESTION

In "The Ugly American," a character named Joe Bing is described by another character named Ruth Jyoti, a Southeast Asian journalist. Might not a typical American appear as a "Joe Bing" in the eyes of a Southeast Asian such as Ruth Jyoti?

## ANSWER

A competent and well-known Burmese journalist who is generally considered to be the prototype of Ruth Jyoti was recently asked if she could identify any actual person as the model for "Joe Bing."

She replied: "No. I have known no such person. In talking with one of the authors I discussed some of the characteristics of various Americans which I considered objectionable. He apparently put all those traits into one person."

She continued with the statement that, in her opinion, the author "wanted to draw a good guy and a bad guy. He felt that this was the way to make his book achieve the impact he wanted, so he has oversimplified and overdrawn."

### **QUESTION**

Shouldn't the importance of representing the U. S. abroad in a responsible way be stressed in the indoctrination of ICA personnel for overseas duty?

### **ANSWER**

Yes. It is stressed in the indoctrination of overseas personnel.

ICA and its predecessor agencies have been long and constantly aware of this vital aspect of our program, as attested to by the following excerpt from the "ICA Employee Handbook" published several years before "The Ugly American":

### **"YOUR PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITIES AS AN OVERSEAS EMPLOYEE"**

"ICA employees overseas should realize at all times that they are representatives of the United States and that their acts, both in public and private, are watched and appraised by people who have it in their power either to cooperate and approve the program or to work against it. Not only should all acts be avoided that would give an unfavorable impression of the free and democratic way of life, but positive efforts should be made in all relationships to effect maximum understanding of broad program objectives and enthusiastic cooperation in achieving them."

For some years, each ICA employee assigned overseas has received indoctrinational instruction, during his orientation program,

in proper attitudes toward ideas, customs and cultures in foreign countries. Each trainee also receives a printed copy of a brief essay in "How to Win Friends in Foreign Lands", which first advises:

"You have a role to play in making strange peoples into America's friends. Although you are enthusiastic and personally convinced of the value of your program of activities, your ideas will be accepted only to the degree to which YOU ARE ACCEPTED by a foreign people."

The essay then sets out sixteen brief and basic rules of attitude to guide the employee in his contacts with customs, habits and ways of thinking which are strange to him.

### QUESTION

Why is it that ICA cannot provide personnel overseas who have the competence, the human touch and the willingness to live with the local people like "the ugly American" in the book?

### ANSWER

"The ugly American" was, in fact, an ICA technician named Otto Hunerwadel. He and his wife, Helen, were prototypes of "the ugly American" and his wife, as well as of the Martins (pages 149-150, "The Ugly American.") They served in Burma from 1949 until Mr. Hunerwadel's death in 1952 and were widely loved by the Burmese people.

There are others like them in ICA jobs in various parts of the world.

There is the example of H. F. Hinton, ICA's Chief of Vocational Education in Korea, until his recent return to the U. S. because of ill health. On the occasion of the Hinton's departure, the President of Hanyang University in Seoul, wrote:

"His service has been so timely and so valuable to our country that it is difficult for us to appraise it in terms of abacus as we Koreans say. It goes without saying that his service in the field of vocational education for the growing generation of our people is of

utmost value. I wish to unfold the more significant factor in the life and work of Mr. Hinton among our people. . .

"Mr. and Mrs. Hinton have been indeed representative of the American spirit of brotherhood of mankind. They are the kind of people who are most needed anywhere in the world for the better understanding that is now sadly lacking throughout the world. They have lived among us demonstrating the true neighborly affection of the American people. It is my humble opinion that people like ours are hungering for such affection and man-to-man love for humanity."

Another example is the family of James Bleidner, ICA experimental ranch manager in Reyes, Bolivia, whose wife wrote recently in describing their situation:

"This is the only English-speaking family here. My contacts with other Americans in Bolivia are very few and far between. My children speak Spanish well and I find we often speak Spanish even when the family is alone. . . Life is never boring here in spite of the isolation of our post. Something is always happening, and this is important and interesting work. We enjoy our Bolivian friends as we enjoyed our Saudi Arabian friends when our work took us there to live in the desert. The regrets we have, that our children lack American companions of their own age, are partly compensated for by the fact that as a family we live much more closely together than most families at home in the United States are able to do."

## QUESTION

A fictional Burmese editor, Maung Swe, is portrayed as being very critical of U. S. aid to Burma as it was conceived and administered prior to termination of the program in 1953.

Maung Swe's attitude toward U. S. aid is summed up on page 147 of "The Ugly American" when he is asked: "In 1953 Burma was in critical need of money and technical assistance. Yet you terminated all United States aid. Why did you do this?" He answers:

"In the first place we were offended by the superior airs and what even Americans called the 'razzle-dazzle' of the Americans in Burma. Secondly, there were several incidents like that of the dredge; and

although American money was flowing into Burma, we couldn't see that it was helping us very much. And, third, we became very angry over the KMT incident. It all added up to more than Burma was willing to swallow just to get dollars."

The real "Maung Swe" is generally believed to be Mr. Law Yone, editor of *The Nation*, the largest English-language newspaper published in Burma. Did this paper comment at the time the Burmese Government announced on March 29, 1953, that it was terminating the the U. S. aid program?

## ANSWER

Following are editorial excerpts from *The Nation* in the days just following the announcement that the program would be terminated by the Burmese Government:

### A. Lead editorial, *The Nation*, March 30, 1953:

"The only people in Burma who must be pleased by the sudden decision on the part of the Government to terminate the ECA agreement must be the Communist opposition. It is nothing short of triumphant for a small opposition party like the aboveground Communists to puff out their chests and to say, 'American aid has gone forever, because we wished it gone.'

"...we think it is regrettable that the winding up should be brought about by circumstances which have nothing to do either with the success or failure of the aid mission as such, but which are of a purely political nature."

### B. The columnist Criticus, *The Nation*, April 1, 1953:

"What a shock it gave me. So we are in future refusing all this aid that the USA has been giving us during the past few years, aid without any strings...

"No reasons had been given for this slap in the face...Friends I met...were also busy speculating as to the real reason..."

Was it American razzle-dazzle? Criticus continues:

"(My) second reaction was that somebody had probably got angry with some TCA officers for having done something or other. But no...the Government wished to make clear that the action was not intended in any way to cast reflection on existing programmes nor on the activities of TCA personnel in Burma...

"...Surely Government owes the country an explanation."

C. Editorial, *The Nation*, April 7, 1953:

"Since the Government made known its decision to end ECA in Burma, there have been effusions of delight on the part of the Communists. It is very natural that Communists should be overjoyed; nevertheless, it would be a mistake to imagine that everybody is happy over the termination of American aid. Generally speaking, the Government's action has caused much misgiving, mainly because stoppage of ECA is a dubious way of showing political annoyance over the KMT affair..."

(Note: At the request of the Government of Burma, the United States is implementing a new Technical Cooperation program in Burma.)

### QUESTION

The fictitious Burmese editor, "Maung Swe", contends (pages 146-147, "The Ugly American") that "a few of the things in which the press agents rubbed our noses didn't pan out well." When asked for an example he gives the following account of a mobile floating dredge provided by U. S. aid:

"...when the dredge was towed into the harbor it turned out to be a 25-year-old, reconditioned British dredge, which had been rusting in Japan. It was a stationary dredge, which needed land connections. This was disappointment enough; but to cap it all off, the American experts who came with the dredge were unable to get it to work. They even flew some Japanese experts in, but they couldn't get it to run either."

Is not this account based on fact?

## ANSWER

To the extent that a 20-year-old suction pipeline dredge was furnished to Burma, the account is based on fact. Beyond that, the authors have presented a gross distortion of the facts.

They have omitted any mention of the fact that another dredge, a 210-foot dredge — self-propelled, sea-going, capable of a speed of nine knots fully loaded, with a range of 800 miles without refueling, especially designed for Burma and built at a cost of \$500,000 — was delivered at Rangoon under the aid program on April 11, 1953. It has been operating since then without complication.

The old dredge, referred to by "Maung Swe," was originally built in 1930 and was procured in Japan. It was reconditioned and arrived in Akyab (Burma) harbor on May 14, 1952. All vital parts and connections were located. The contract specified that the Japanese would send a crew of seven to train the Burmese in the assembling and operation of the dredge. Because employment of a Burmese crew was delayed by difficulty in locating qualified personnel, the Japanese crew was persuaded to assemble the dredge.

On July 14, 1952, a team of three U. S. experts arrived in Akyab to inspect the assembled dredge. A working schedule was devised and the dredge was put into operation prior to the team's departure three days later on July 17.

This dredge has been in continuous use since 1952, and was overhauled in the summer of 1958. Burmese officials state that, while the dredge is not ideally suited to Akyab, it is expected to give continuing service for a number of years.

## QUESTION

The fictional Burmese editor Maung Swe, who is generally considered to be U Law Yone, editor of *The Nation*, in real life, says on page 145 of "The Ugly American":

"...individual Russians I meet in Burma make an excellent impression. One does not notice them on the street too often. They have been taught our local sensitivities, and usually manage to avoid abusing them."

Cannot ICA achieve this sort of attitude and sensitivity on the part of its employees overseas?

## ANSWER

ICA strives constantly to achieve this kind of attitude among its personnel overseas. For some years, each employee going overseas has received indoctrinational instruction in how to meet, accept and live among ideas, ways of thinking, customs and habits which are not familiar.

As for the accuracy of the comment on the impression left by Russian personnel overseas, the following two news dispatches are relevant and interesting:

A United Press International dispatch datelined Rangoon, Burma, April 28, 1959 (*Washington Post*, April 29, 1959)—“A Burmese court today issued a warrant for the arrest of Evgeny Kovtunenکو, representative of the Soviet news agency Tass, on a charge of criminal libel filed by U Law Yone, editor of the newspaper *The Nation*...”

A Reuters dispatch datelined Rangoon, Burma, May 5, 1959 (*Washington Post*, May 6, 1959)—“The Burma Reporters’ Association today backed up Burmese editors and called on all newspapers to impose a blackout of news and announcements released by the Soviet Embassy.

“The Burma Journalists’ Association, consisting of leading editors, made a similar decision on Monday in protest against strong-arm methods against reporters employed by the Russian Embassy...”

“About 40 reporters on Monday pelted the Embassy with tomatoes and the Russians countered by throwing chairs...”

“Rangoon newspapers today called the Embassy employees traitors and thugs.

“The Reporters’ Association, at an emergency meeting today, demanded that Russian diplomats should not be allowed to remain in Burma. It said the ‘inhuman, Fascist conduct’ of the Russians... was ‘contrary to the behaviour of citizens of civilized countries.’”

## QUESTION

Do U. S. personnel in Burma suffer by comparison with Russian personnel? On page 151 of "The Ugly American" a Burmese character says:

"They (the Russians) all know Burmese. They study quietly and live quietly. They employ no Burmese servants, and hence there is nobody to spread gossip about them. All their servants are Russians."

## ANSWER

As described by the authors, Americans in Burma do suffer by comparison with the Russians. However, the authors have been careless with the truth and their manner of presenting the truth.

The claim of language facility among the Russians is false. The Russian Agricultural Mission to Burma, for example, includes 23 persons, of whom nine are interpreters from Russian to English—not Russian to Burmese—which indicates that: 1) not all the groups know Burmese, since interpreters are required; and, 2) Russian-to-Burmese interpreters are not available.

The Russians in Burma, as elsewhere, do live inconspicuously, by direct order and for lack of funds. The Russian Ambassador is the exception.

The Russians trust no servants or other personnel who are not their own nationals and subject to the disciplines of their own police state. Even were it desirable, the U. S. Government could not employ enough Americans as menial servants to staff its embassies, certainly not at the equivalent of Russian wages or local wages of the host country. Neither would the U. S. Government subject its nationals to the authoritarian regimentations of Russian missions.

## QUESTION

Is Russian economic aid "more obvious" than American aid, "and so more effective as propaganda," as claimed by a Burmese journalist on page 151 of "The Ugly American"?

## ANSWER

It is not the purpose of U. S. aid missions or of aid projects to vie with the Russians in being more obvious.

As for the propaganda impact attendant upon U. S. economic aid programs, the following example is taken from the lead editorial of a Burmese newspaper, *The Guardian*, of August 7, 1958:

"The joint Burma-U. S. press release which appeared in our columns the other day accounted for the uses of the 25 million dollar U. S. loan. . . It was packed with solid facts, sound common sense and real imagination with the result that it made good propaganda for the loan-giver and a good impression of the economic efforts of the recipient government. The purposes of the loan were set out cleverly and we think that not even the most rabid Marxist who finds imperialism behind every U. S. dollar can find fault with the U. S. loan without making a fool of himself."

There is also some propaganda value in the following quote from an illustrated story which appeared on the front page of *The Nation* (Rangoon) on the occasion of the formal opening of the Demonstration Health Center at Aung San Myo, January 19, 1953:

"Said Prime Minister U Nu at the ceremony, 'We could never have set up a centre like this one without America's generous aid. Because of their generosity, I send up my prayers for the health and happiness of the American nation. . .'"

A similar instance may be cited in the following statement by President Bourguiba of Tunisia, made in April 1959:

"ICA, the American Organization for Assistance and Cooperation, will put at the disposition of the Agricultural Bank \$2 million or about one billion francs. I insist on emphasizing this gesture in the spirit of objectivity and gratitude. You will know how much aid has been brought to Tunisia by this organization either in the drive against unemployment and misery or by its participation in programs of the governates. Results achieved are of considerable importance in our economic plan. We have received milk, wheat and dollars, among the latter \$2 million for the Agricultural Bank."

At the same time, the Tunisian Information Secretariat distributed 5,000 copies of an illustrated booklet in Arabic describing the U. S. assistance program.

On July 20, 1959, an editorial entitled "The Beautiful American" appeared in the *Korean Republic*. The following are excerpts:

"Stimulated by 'The Ugly American' and newspaper and periodical reports, much criticism has been directed at the U. S. foreign aid program in the last year or so. Perhaps some of this is justified — at least as long as it is constructive. But we think that the attempt to compare American assistance unfavorably with that of Russia is odious and a disservice to the world's greatest and most generous country...

"The reservoir of goodwill that helps Korea has its counterpart for every other underdeveloped free country. We are not the only ones to be given a helping hand. What Korea sees almost every day — the gift of calves or sewing machines or scholarships — is repeated endlessly in scores of countries all around the world.

"That is why we have a tendency toward anger when we hear that Americans pursue only their own self-interest, that they display arrogant superiority, and that they exploit those they supposedly are helping. This is Communist propaganda talk, although it may be unwittingly repeated by those who have no intent to help Communism. Korea knows the truth about the American heart, and it is one of the most important truths since the time of Christ."

These are only four among numerous U. S. programs and projects which have been widely praised and publicized in host countries.

### QUESTION

What is the factual basis of the story of Tom Knox in Chapter 14 of "The Ugly American", the story of a young American technician who is more or less forced to resign from USOM Cambodia because he wanted to import a few thousand chickens?

### ANSWER

There is no factual basis for the story and field queries, as well as a search of ICA files, has revealed no case similar to that of Tom Knox.

The facts of ICA's poultry programs, however, offer an interesting contrast to the fictions of "The Ugly American." Following are only a few examples:

A. Beginning in 1957, USOM Cambodia imported 5,000 chickens and 12,000 hatching eggs. Five incubators were supplied to the Cambodian Veterinary Service.

From this beginning, the Cambodian Government has supplied 30,000 chicks. Improved flocks had been started by 220 farmers as of late 1958. There are already five modern commercial flocks, of which one has two thousand laying hens.

The total U. S. expenditure for the chickens, eggs and incubators amounted to about \$7,500.

The Cambodians have taken up this activity with vigor. USOM Cambodia is receiving high-level political support in this program and good popular publicity.

B. "During the past six or seven years under the U. S. Technical Cooperation Program, hundreds of thousands of U. S. chicks have been used to upgrade the flocks of twenty-six countries in South Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Central and South America."—From a story in *Economic World*, March 1959.

C. In Iran, the ICA poultry program has produced about ten million cross-bred chickens in some 30,000 villages. The new chicken weighs twice as much as the old Iranian stock and lays three times as many eggs.

D. In Lebanon, the ICA poultry program is so well-known that in the markets large eggs are called "Point Four Eggs."

### QUESTION

Is there validity in the author's criticism of ICA planning in Vietnam as expressed by the character Homer Atkins in Chapter 17 of "The Ugly American"?

"You don't need dams and roads... You ever heard of a food shortage being solved by someone building a military highway? ...

start things that the Vietnamese can do themselves . . . The country people catch fish and raise vegetables, but they spoil before they can be brought to town . . . Why not just run little finger-roads back through the jungle so the coastal people can get to the good land? . . .”

## **ANSWER**

The suggestions offered by the authors through Homer Atkins *are* valid, but they sound like a resume of ICA planning and achievement in Vietnam.

Some of the facts about the ICA program in Vietnam are:

A. Two key highways are being constructed, but the entire ICA contribution to highway work in Vietnam in 1955-56 went into about 70 small finger roads and the construction of bridges. The construction of finger roads to open up unsettled land and provide farm-to-market passage is continuing.

B. ICA has refused to participate in major hydro-electric and irrigation dam projects in Vietnam, but has aided in providing many small dams of the community self-help type for irrigation and drainage. Nearly 400,000 acres of farm land were improved by small water projects from 1955 to 1957.

C. Annual fisheries production has been increased over the last several years from 30,000 to 140,000 metric tons and has resulted in a new export trade with Singapore and Hong Kong.

D. Thirty-five rice storage credit cooperatives have been established, contributing to improvement in rice production.

E. Many existing industrial plants have been gradually modernized and a number of new small industries established.

F. An agricultural extension service was started in 1955 and is now operating effectively in 21 provinces.

## **QUESTION**

It is suggested through the character of Ambassador MacWhite in Chapter 21 of "The Ugly American", that the standard of living of

U. S. representatives abroad should be reduced to the average level of the host country. Would this be feasible?

### **ANSWER**

On that point, ICA would accept the opinions of a leading American educator and President of the Rockefeller Foundation, Dean Rusk, as expressed before the American Council on Education Conference on University Contracts Abroad:

"On quarters, let me urge that we cannot let our consciences be bothered too much by purity situations. Although we want to avoid a lavish display when we go abroad, let's not be sentimental about reducing our standards of living. The purpose of sending a man abroad is to have him on the job where he works with effectiveness, efficiency, and with devotion, just as many hours a day as he is willing to put in. If he has to spend half of his time fighting disease and discomfort and handling the ordinary operations of daily life, it isn't going to get his job done. Don't worry about the competition from the Russians on this point. My agents smile at this as might you people. The Russians, not in the villages, are just as exacting as you are and keep themselves in a tighter group than you do. Don't worry about Russian competition on this point. I think we ought to try to provide quarters which will keep a man efficient. If that means an air-conditioning unit when the temperature is 118 degrees, it is money in the bank to put that air conditioning in."

In light of the Spartan living habits attributed to Russian overseas personnel by "The Ugly American", it is interesting to note, also, the advice of Mr. Mikhail A. Menshikov, present U.S.S.R. Ambassador to the United States, given to Russian personnel abroad while he was serving as Foreign Trade Minister:

"Dress tastefully, live in the best house, drive a fine automobile, entertain many foreign guests, make influential friends and always be kindly and polite. Only thus can you gain economic profit and what is more important, political profit."

### **QUESTION**

Is it true that "the number of Americans in the Foreign Service who can speak any of the more difficult languages is miniscule,"

while "an estimated nine out of ten Russians speak, read and write the language before they arrive on station?" This is the claim of the authors of "The Ugly American."

### **ANSWER**

ICA cannot speak for the entire Foreign Service. About 30 percent of ICA employees are proficient in a second language and ICA is as desirous as are the authors of further strengthening the language proficiency of its employees. Last year Congress gave ICA additional funds for language training and more than 1,000 ICA employees are presently studying a second language.

Although ICA experience has demonstrated that the lack of language need not hamper a highly skilled technician in his work, training policy now aims at ensuring that individuals assigned to "language essential" positions have the language ability required, or receive sufficient language instruction either before or after arriving at the post.

On the other hand, the author's claim for language proficiency among Russian personnel is greatly exaggerated. Although the Prague School of Languages is known to be reaching intensive courses in Arabic and African languages, the following are recently observed examples of present language ability among Russians:

A. Among a group of 20 short-term Russian technicians in Indonesia, only one spoke Indonesian.

B. Among a group of 23 Russians in an agricultural mission to Burma, nine were interpreters — of Russian to English, not Russian to Burmese.

### **QUESTION**

Is it true, as stated by the authors of "The Ugly American" (page 281), that "we (the U. S.) spend billions on the wrong aid projects while overlooking the almost costless and far more helpful ones — Technicians who want to work on smaller and more manageable projects are not encouraged?"

## ANSWER

That is not only an irresponsible statement: it is completely untrue.

Several instances from a file of numerous similar records will demonstrate the falseness of the author's statement:

A. Under the supervision of an ICA technician, Millard Cox, and a young Vietnamese engineer named Huan, 10,000 Vietnamese built their own irrigation canal in four days, converting 700 additional acres of dry one-crop farmland into a two-crop area. Irrigation will increase their corn, rice and bean production by 1,000 tons a year.

About \$3,500 of Mutual Security funds were spent on the project for tools and equipment, which remain for use on other projects.

On another occasion, Cox and Huan persuaded 5,000 farmers to work for 12 hours in a driving rainstorm to build a sea wall which reclaimed several hundred acres of tidal flat. The entire job had to be accomplished during the 12 hours of the year's lowest tide. It was.

Within two years, Cox and Huan with "do-it-yourself" labor have completed 71 small irrigation projects, developing more than 132,000 acres of two-crop land.

B. In the Philippines, ICA technician Isadore Silverstone has developed a public water treatment unit for villages. Made of empty oil drums, the unit cost about \$10. It is being constructed and installed as rapidly as possible by the Philippine National Waterworks and Sewerage Authority and about 100 are already in operation throughout the country.

C. "In his 3½ years in Tha Pra (Thailand), Alex Johnson (ICA technician) has introduced the country's first silage system, taught sanitation, farm management, building construction and irrigation, brought high-yield corn (50 bushels per acre) from Indonesia, improved pasture and forage, showed his charges how to use commercial fertilizer, planted grain and sweet sorghum, introduced the Velvet bean and the cowpea (for soil improvement). In his own acre-plus garden he demonstrated to once dubious Thailanders that pineapples and bananas can be grown well in poor soil, even cultivated tomatoes,

collards, okra, eggplant, yellow squash, sweet corn and lettuce...”—  
*Time Magazine*, December 22, 1958.

D. ICA developed a “build-it-yourself” hand-operated wooden washing machine which can be made at a cost of several dollars.

E. ICA technicians taught Chileans how to mix lime with the nitrate soil of northern Chile to make a “soil cement” which is a good building material and much cheaper than concrete.

F. In India, a “smokeless” stove which conserves fuel has been developed from native clays. In Burma and Pakistan, improved ovens have been designed from used kerosene tins.

G. During the first year of ICA technical assistance to Bonka Agricultural School (Somalia), about 100 farmers have been trained as community leaders and as oxen trainers. More than 100 pair of oxen have already been trained to plow and farmers are now bringing their beasts in increasing numbers for training.

H. ICA education advisers James Cudney and Roxor Short in Afghanistan developed a simple slide projector housed in a standard one-gallon oil can which is powered by sunlight and which can be built for less than five dollars. It can be used for both primary and adult education in the vast areas of the world where electricity is not available and where even pencil and paper are rare commodities.

### QUESTION

Does ICA “pay for huge highways through jungles in Asian lands where there is no transport except for bicycle and foot,” as claimed on page 282 of “The Ugly American”?

### ANSWER

No. This is another misrepresentation of fact. ICA has never participated in building “huge highways” which accommodated only cycle or foot traffic.

*Roads* have been built to open new areas to development where no transport or only very primitive transport, could penetrate before — as

in Vietnam, where good inland farm land is being opened to settlement by small roads. *Highways* have been built where existing roads became inadequate for the traffic they bore.

Following are two examples of ICA highway programs:

A. The U. S. assisted the Thai Government in building the Thai-American Friendship Highway because there was no all-weather direct road to northeastern Thailand with its eight million population. The area was starving for commerce and lagging behind the rest of the country for lack of such a road.

Automobile, bus, and truck traffic was averaging about 580 vehicles per day in August 1957, while the road was still under construction. By April 1958, with paving in process, traffic over Friendship Highway had increased by 40 percent.

B. Turkey's role in the defense structure of the Free World has been impressively buttressed by accomplishment of a Mutual Security highway program.

In 1948, Turkey had 5,060 miles of all-weather roads. Today it has 22,339 miles of all-weather roads, all of which are under mechanical maintenance.

Total cost of the program to the U. S. Government was slightly more than \$48 million, most of which was expended for construction and maintenance equipment purchased in the U. S.

### QUESTION

"We saw America spending vast sums where Russia spends far less and achieves far more," write the authors of "The Ugly American" (page 283). "The result has been called 'an uneasy balance,' but actually it is nothing of the sort. We have been losing — not only in Asia but everywhere." How do you explain this statement?

### ANSWER

The statement is wholly without basis in truth. The facts, quite contrary to the fictitious assertion of Lederer and Burdick, show that:

More than ninety per cent of Sino-Soviet Bloc economic aid has been spent in Afghanistan, Ceylon, Egypt-Syria, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Nepal and Yemen. In eight of these nine countries, the Sino-Soviet Bloc extended more aid, credits and grants during the 5-year period — June 30, 1954 to June 30, 1959 — than the United States. The figures on these eight countries are, as follows:

Millions of Dollars

<u>Country.</u>	<u>Sino-Soviet Assistance</u>	<u>U. S. Assistance</u>
Afghanistan	213	85
Ceylon	58	54
Egypt	343	140
Syria	177	2
Ethiopia	124	56
Indonesia	239	189
Nepal	20	19
Yemen	<u>43</u>	<u>7</u>
Totals	1,216	552

Only in India, of the countries receiving the bulk of Sino-Soviet aid, is the United States spending more to achieve free world goals than is the USSR to spread communism. The U. S. has invested \$1,166 million in the future of India. The Sino-Soviet Bloc has spent \$323 million in India to promote communism.

NEWSWEEK Magazine Columnist Ernest K. Lindley, who made survey tours of the Southeast Asian nations in 1955, 1957 and 1959, wrote in the August 31, 1959, issue of NEWSWEEK:

"...I should like to point to some of the mistakes we are making, or seem to be slipping toward, in the struggle for Asia. By 'we' I mean not just our government, or parts of it, but unofficial Americans..."

"The worst general mistake is to pay attention to such a preposterous book as 'The Ugly American', a grotesque cartoon of a few misfits and errors of the past. Some of its suggestions for improving American operations in Asia are out of date — already having been put into effect. Some are ridiculous...Anyone who takes this book seriously is misinformed about the present situation and badly advised as to the future..."

"Few free Asians I saw on this trip had read this book. They were too intelligent to take it seriously, although some remarked that it furnished propaganda for our common enemies and one noted that it was insulting to Asians..

"...we can't win the struggle for Asia — and the world — by beating the heads of our friends and the many competent, experienced, dedicated Americans who represent us overseas. Let us rid ourselves of this ugly cult, this masochistic defamation of American intelligence and character and of the Asian leaders and peoples who stand with us in the struggle for freedom."

### QUESTION

On page 284, the authors of "The Ugly American" suggest:

"We do not need the horde of 1,500,000 Americans—mostly amateurs—who are now working for the United States overseas. What we need is a small force of well-trained, well-chosen, hard-working, and dedicated professionals."

Is this not a valid comment? Do we need one and a half million Americans working for the U. S. overseas?

### ANSWER

Joseph Buttinger, historian and political essayist, has commented on that suggestion in an article entitled "Fact and Fiction on Foreign Aid," published in the Summer 1959 edition of *Dissent*. Following is an excerpt from his article:

"What is true of Lederer's and Burdick's facts is, alas, also true of their figures. They are easier to check, and although wrong figures are rather common in print, their degree of reliability permits one to draw some conclusion about a book's accuracy in other respects. It is for this reason that I refer the reader who still believes that *The Ugly American* is 'squarely based on fact' to page 284, where Lederer and Burdick say that 'we do not need the horde of 1,500,000 Americans — mostly amateurs — who are now working for the United States overseas.' The correct figure of American civilians working for our government abroad is 40,000. This includes the more than 22,000 American civilians working overseas for the Department of Defense.

Of these 40,000 there are in the entire Far East less than 1,200 employed by the agency charged with the administration of foreign aid (International Cooperation Administration-ICA). Approximately the same number is working under various ICA contracts (mostly with universities), and another 1,200 for the Department of State. By adding the 450 employed by our Overseas Information Service (USIA), we reach a total of approximately 4,000 Americans working for the United States Government in Asia, less than half of whom are stationed in Southeast Asia, the area of Lederer's and Burdick's confident display of misinformation and brash manufacture of political abuse...a far cry from the 'horde of 1,500,000' (which is really the estimated yearly figure of Americans going abroad as tourists)..."

### QUESTION

Is it true that "in a recent poll taken in India, Chou En-Lai, the Chinese Communist leader, was a three-to-one favorite over President Eisenhower?" ("The Ugly American", page 283).

### ANSWER

It may be true. However, since the authors have related economic assistance to popularity, it should be pointed out that it is not the mission of the Mutual Security Program to win popularity contests, either for President Eisenhower or the United States. The fundamental concept of economic assistance to new and underdeveloped nations is that through such aid they can achieve economic independence as well as political independence and that by overcoming the handicaps of hunger, disease and illiteracy, the peoples of these new nations will achieve dignity and a lasting desire and determination to preserve their freedom and will associate their national aims with democratic principles.

In every country where the Mutual Security Program operates, positive advances against hunger, disease and illiteracy can be shown. In most MSP countries, encouraging progress in economic development can already be seen. In many areas, a heartening improvement in the standard of living of hundreds, even thousands, of individual families is evident.

These — not the results of popularity polls — are the valid measure of achievement of the Mutual Security Program.

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