THE FIRST YEARS

REVISED MANUSCRIPT

VOLUME I

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Author's Note

After serving for more than six years as Director of the first U. S. Aid Mission to Nepal, my family and I returned in September 1958 to Princeton, New Jersey, where I took a year and a half of graduate work in the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs of Princeton University.

During the latter part of my stay at the University I wrote this report of our mission to Nepal--observations, reactions, evaluations. Dr. Gardner Patterson, Director of the Woodrow Wilson School and the Honorable James H. Smith, then Director of the International Cooperation Administration, encouraged me to prepare it. A Committee of the ICA and the Board for Unofficial Publications of the Department of State reviewed the preliminary draft manuscript and suggested several revisions. These suggestions guided me in the preparation of this revised draft, which was completed almost three years ago, with the exception of the final chapter which has been prepared recently and included in place of the last four chapters of the preliminary draft.

His Excellency, Matrika Prasad Koirala, Nepal's Ambassador to the United States and the United Nations, reviewed the revised draft and made some valuable suggestions which have been incorporated. Also, Mr. Kesar Lall Shrestha, with whom I was associated in our program in Nepal, has rendered invaluable advice and assistance in revising this manuscript.

A copy of this revision is being forwarded for review and comment to our American Ambassador to Nepal, the Honorable Henry E. Stebbins, and our Director of the U.S. AID Mission to Nepal, the Honorable John L. Roach. A copy of the recently revised final chapter is being submitted for clearance to the Board for Unofficial Publications of the Department of State.

Dr. Leona Baumgartner, Assistant Administrator for Human Resources and Social Development, Agency for International Development, pulled the trigger on the final steps required to submit this manuscript to a potential publisher.

The author has an understanding with his employing agency that any proceeds that might normally accrue to him as author would go to an educational or charitable institution, in the event this is published and sold at a profit.

Paul Rose
Washington, D. C.
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CHAPTER I

THE FIRST YEARS

Larue Wilcox was weeping. I wondered why. Everyone else in the crowd who welcomed us on our return to Nepal for our second tour of duty was in high spirits. At first I thought it might be because she was glad we had returned for we were good friends, but there seemed to be something more and it bothered me despite the rather unrestrained welcome we were receiving.

Big signs across the driveway with heart-warming messages greeted us as we came into the USIM compound. Our Nepalese friends put enough garlands around our necks to make us believe we were real winners -- purple ribbon Kentucky Derby. Everybody in the mission was there to welcome us. It felt like a family reunion down in Southwest Virginia when all the uncles, aunts and kissing cousins show up. But Larue wept.

After awhile the commotion subsided and it seemed appropriate to start upstairs to our apartment. I was a little surprised but pleased that all of them pressed upward with us. We walked through the large party room used by the mission for official functions. The welcoming crowd gathered closer as we approached the double entrance doors to the hallway of our apartment. For some reason these doors were closed and no one moved to open them. I heard a little sob nearby. It was Larue.

I stepped to the doors and started to open them. The atmosphere was charged with expectancy and as I slowly opened them I knew something was wrong. I turned to the crowd but there was no answer -- only Larue's muffled sobbing.

Then we moved into the hall and I opened wide the door to our living room and there it was alive and big as

life. My horse was tethered to our sofa with a "Welcome Home" expression on her face. In a flurry of excitement Lorue rushed to Harry and between sobs consoled, "Oh Harry I told them they shouldn't do it. It is no way to welcome people home." I got a real kick out of it and wondered where else one would find such originality. Later I learned that Lorue had done her best to keep the men from carrying the horse upstairs but they were a determined lot.

The recollection of this incident caused me to consider titling this report "Operation Closed Doors" because it is an account of some of the things that go on behind closed doors, figuratively speaking, which effect our foreign aid program.

The closed doors, again figuratively speaking, which we shall be looking behind are principally four. The first shields from view the inner working of some of

the forces which operate in the society, economy and government of an underdeveloped country to aid or hinder programs for economic growth and social progress. The second is the door to the office of a ~~director of~~ U.S. Foreign Aid Mission in which the foreign aid policies of our government are translated into action. The third door leads to the privacy of an American family as it adjusts to the opportunities and problems created by its first foreign assignment. The fourth door is to the minds and hearts of men where clashes continue between those who are prone to apply stone age logic and feelings to jet and space age problems and relations and those who see almost too much of tomorrow today.

But I later decided to call this the story of THE FIRST YEARS: The first years of an old country in Asia, Nepal, making a new start. A new start after a revolution

which unseated a unique dictatorship rule of a family autocracy which had persisted for 104 years without interruption. A new start under new leadership searching for the paths to political and social progress and economic growth which would modernize the conditions of the Middle Ages which prevailed throughout the most of the country.

This is the story of the first years of our country's sharing its ways to progress with the less developed countries of the world through our technical assistance program. It is epitomized here by the experience of our most remote foreign aid outpost at that time, the first resident U.S. Mission to Nepal with its headquarters in Kathmandu. It is the story of Uncle Sam's first years in Nepal and it symbolizes the wish and the purpose of the American people to help the government

and people of another nation when they needed help.

This is the story of the first years of an American family on its first foreign assignment -- the first American family to live in Nepal in its thousands of years of history.

This is the story of some of the thoughts and the theories of the first years and the headaches and the heartbreaks and the hopes and the victories that are growing out of them.

The first years are usually the best years to look back upon and there are many reasons for this. They are usually the years that establish the bench marks for determining the direction in which we are moving and how fast and how far we have come on our way. They are usually the years of basic decisions and the years of elemental struggles. They are the years of the pioneers, the years

that are rough on those who do not enjoy the thrills that the pioneer enjoys, for without these thrills life becomes one of hardship, frustration and many times defeat. These are the years when you make the book of rules. You don't have to search through one that someone else has made. These are the years of precedents and the soul-searching that accompanies them. These are the years that make or break men and women and they are the years one can enjoy because he has survived their joys and sorrows.

Since this is the story of the first years of so many things no attempt has been made to treat any of them in their completeness. Instead I have interwoven a few of the highlights of each as I recalled them because they are interrelated. I shall be criticized for not including other ideas and incidents in this narrative and I'm sure justifiably so. However these are the ones that came to the top from the maze of memories that had to be sorted under the pressure of limited time.

CHAPTER II

PRESCRIPTION FOR REVOLUTIONS

"... We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas..." This was President Truman outlining the last of the four major courses of action he proposed as a program of peace and freedom when he was inaugurated January 20, 1949. It was to become known around the world as "Point Four".

The President developed his fourth point in a manner that excited the hopes and imagination of the leadership in many of the less developed countries almost immediately. And in the U.S. it was the point which struck fire in the minds and the hearts of Americans. It was both hailed and assailed. But it was the type of challenge that Americans

like. It touched a moral spring in our individual and collective conscience. We recognized it as something that ought to be done. We liked the emphasis on the constructive approach to peace in this proposal. It was an antidote to some of the tensions that had resulted from parts of our foreign policy conceived primarily for checking Communist aggression. It had the hallmark of a great cause and Americans like great causes.

After assignment to the Technical Cooperation Mission to Nepal I read and reread the President's Point Four and the resulting "Act for International Development." They made good sense. The more I thought about them the more I was convinced they constituted a prescription for revolutions. This thought intrigued me because of the connotation some people associate with the term revolution without considering the wholesome influences of revolutions

in our daily lives. How much of the greatness of this country is the product of revolutions?

Has any people in the world had so many revolutions as Americans? We have had the great American Revolution -- a successful colonial revolution. We have had an Industrial Revolution; an Agrarian Revolution; a whole series of Human Rights Revolutions -- freedom of speech, press, assembly and worship; abolition of slavery; the right to an education; women suffrage; freedom of enterprise; the workingman's right to organize and bargain. We have had revolutions in mass education, mass communication, mass transportation and mass production. We have had revolutions in shelter -- residential and commercial; revolutions in plumbing, food packaging and household mechanization. We have had revolutions in longevity, insurance, advertising, marketing and all kinds of taxes. We have had revolutions in private

enterprise and widespread ownership of big corporations. We have had revolutions in the concepts of man's opportunities and responsibilities in the world. If there is anything in which we haven't had a revolution, one should keep quiet about it if he doesn't want it to happen because Americans are the most revolutionary people in the world. Fortunately most of our revolutions have been peaceful revolutions -- peaceful in the sense of not being accompanied by armed conflicts.

More than a billion people in the underdeveloped areas of the world want revolutions -- peaceful of course. They want them because the legacies which their societies have passed on to them are poverty and its ruthless companions: hunger, disease, illiteracy and despair.

Blueprint for a Billion is the way we should characterize Truman's proposal to the Congress in 1949 because it presented in bold outline a plan for helping a billion people to build a better future. At the end of ten years much progress has resulted despite the limited resources allocated for this purpose. The significant factor to note is the snowballing effect of this idea, how its momentum is increasing progressively as its worth becomes evident to the leadership of other countries who are now able and beginning to join in this "world-wide effort for the achievement of peace, plenty and freedom." Even more encouraging is the growing determination of the leadership of the less developed areas to increase the speed of their economic growth and social progress as evidenced by their plans for development and their legislation and appropriations to more adequately support their development

plans. Even the Communists have scurried to get aboard the band wagon of the Blueprint for a Billion.

I like to think of this Blueprint for a Billion as America's declaration of faith and confidence in the peoples of other lands. It parallels in greatness the American Declaration of Independence which was a declaration of faith and confidence in ourselves. The greatness of both of these rests upon their concern for human rights and justice and the willingness of our countrymen to back them up.

It is worth repeating "Point Four".

"Fourth, we must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas.

"More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas.

"For the first time in history, humanity possesses the knowledge and the skill to relieve the suffering of these people.

"The United States is preeminent among nations in the development of industrial and scientific techniques. The material resources which we can afford to use for the assistance of other peoples are limited. But our imponderable resources in technical knowledge are constantly growing and are inexhaustible.

"I believe that we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life. And in cooperation with other nations, we should foster capital investment in areas needing development.

"Our aim should be to help the free peoples of the world, through their own efforts, to produce more food, more clothing, more materials for housing, and more mechanical power to lighten their burdens.

"We invite other countries to pool their technological resources in this undertaking. Their contributions will be warmly welcomed. This should be a cooperative enterprise in which all nations work together through the United Nations and its specialized agencies wherever practicable. It must be a world-wide effort for the achievement of peace, plenty, and freedom.

"With the cooperation of business, private capital, agriculture, and labor in this country, this program can greatly increase the industrial activity in other nations and can raise substantially their standards of living.

"Such new economic developments must be devised and controlled to benefit the peoples of the areas in which they are established. Guarantees to the investor must be balanced by guarantees in the interest of the people whose resources and whose labor go into these developments.

"The old imperialism--exploitation for foreign profit--has no place in our plans. What we envisage is a program of development based on the concepts of democratic fair-dealing.

"All countries, including our own, will greatly benefit from a constructive program for the better use of the world's human and natural resources. Experience shows that our commerce with other countries expands as they progress industrially and economically.

"Greater production is the key to prosperity and peace. And the key to greater production is a wider and more vigorous application of modern scientific and technical knowledge.

"Only by helping the least fortunate of its members to help themselves can the human family achieve the decent, satisfying life that is the right of all people.

"Democracy alone can supply the vitalizing force to stir the peoples of the world into triumphant action, not only against their human oppressors, but also against their ancient enemies--hunger, misery, and despair."

CHAPTER III

EARTH'S HIGHEST KINGDOM

The setting for this story is in the earth's highest kingdom. It is the land of the gods and the home of the snows. It is the birthplace of the Buddha and of the only living Hindu King -- Mahendra Bir Bickrem Shah Deva who is a reincarnation of the Hindu God Vishnu, the Preserver. It has been called "The Sequestered Kingdom," "Land of the Eye," "The Hermit Kingdom," "Last Home of Mystery" and "Shangrila." It is the home of Mount Everest and the famed, fierce, fighting men, the Gurkhas. It is sandwiched between Tibet on the north now ravaged by Chinese Communists and democratic India on the south. Nepal is about 500 miles long and 100 miles wide and on the same latitude as northern Florida. It was farther away from the United States, communication-wise while we were there than any of the other sixty odd countries in which our government had economic development missions -- about eleven days air mail time and 11,000 miles distant.

My introduction to Nepal was exciting and intriguing. I was going into the country by plane from Patna, India before there was a road into Nepal's capital. The plane's steward pointed out India's holy river, the Ganges, immediately outside of Patna, and for about a hundred miles we flew over the great Gangetic Plain of India. We came at last to the southern border of Nepal but it looked so much like the country we had been flying over I could detect no difference. And there is no difference physically, because about 20% of southern Nepal is a long narrow strip of lowland mostly a part of this same Gangetic Plain with no natural or man-made barriers to indicate the international boundary between Nepal and India. However we were soon flying over a thick, impenetrable-appearing jungle which the steward claimed was the home of tigers, rhinoceros, elephants and all kinds of interesting wildlife. This jungle stretched from east to west for 300 miles and appeared thickest where the lowlands merged into the highlands. Then we came to sparsely wooded mountains with deep gorges. I was almost certain

the plane would be unable to cross these at the altitudes we were flying and in fact it didn't. It took a shortcut through a narrow, crooked pass instead. The pilot maneuvered skillfully through this pass by tipping the plane from side to side to avoid hitting the mountains which I believe I could have touched with a fishing pole if I had been on the wing. I recall wondering if my insurance premiums were up to date and whether my mission might be ended before it began. This last thought was impressed on my subconscious because, Dr. Henry G. Bennett, the first Director of the Technical Cooperation Administration in Washington had been killed a few days before while flying on a foreign airline in the Middle East during an observation trip.

The pilot made it: I was standing behind him looking over his shoulder when we came out of the pass and what I saw was more breathtaking than the ride through the pass. If my name had been Alice I might have known I was in Wonderland. Ahead of us was a different world -- a lavish but quiet bowl

of nature, about fifteen by twenty miles in size, its bottom covered with a crazy quilt pattern of varying shades of fields and little clusters of thatched and tiled roofs covering the mud and brick houses that were rubbed with a different shade of earth about half way up their sides. In the bowl too was the capital city with its fifty white palaces sparkling in the afternoon sun. Palaces which a colleague of mine described later as "pretentious as the devil outside and inconvenient as hell inside." All around the side of the bowl were slithering layers of tiny terraces going to the top of the rim. Beyond and above the Valley's rim I could see "Alps over alps arise" and in the faraway distance a great panorama of the crisp, clean and glistening heights of the unequalled giant Himalayas -- the abode of the snows -- the top of the world.

Then we came down with bouncing bumps on the only airfield in the country at that time, a short dirt runway on the top of a butte, a butte with a sheer drop on each end. Parenthetically, every field man in our mission considered air

travel in Nepal the greatest job hazard and one elderly technician with perhaps more judgment and resources than the rest of us returned home after a month's stay because of three air crashes in Nepal within four months.

It was 2:30 p.m. January 16, 1952. I was now on the ground and ready to go to work -- an eager beaver -- but I did not find the tempo as fast as in Washington. I wondered if I was earning Uncle Sam's money the first three days. I began to wonder too if all the buildup of urgency that I had been given in Washington about my mission was valid. But things soon changed.

Mr. Bhandary, the Chief of Hospitality for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs met me at the airport and took me to Government Guest House #1 where I was treated very hospitably. There were no hotels in the country at the time. The best explanation I could find for this phenomenon was the effectiveness of the government's strict policy of isolation which

made hotels ~~unnecessary~~ for foreigners. Nearly all the domestic travellers were porters who had no money to pay hotel bills and went to sleep wherever darkness came upon them with or without shelter. Mr. Bhandary took me to my room and told me how I could get the various services desired. He told me the Secretary of Planning and Development, Mr. Bhim Bahadur Panda would call upon me the next day at eleven o'clock. Then I was served tea and after tea I took a walk through the streets of Kathmandu to begin exploring this new world. It was a new world to me, but one which was much older than the one from which I had come.

My every movement drew attention at that time because I was among the first few Westerners who had visited this isolated kingdom throughout its long history - some claimed less than fifty before the Revolution of 1950. The attitude of the people was one of friendly curiosity. A number of the children and several of the young people followed me through the streets that afternoon apparently curious to see what it

would be that would interest me about their city. As I went through the city that afternoon and evening many impressions crowded my thoughts. I mused: here is a city with a past, a long past. Probably a very interesting one. Kathmandu, the name itself has the ring of enchantment, remote, faraway, mysterious, intriguing. Why was it given this name? What does it mean? How did it begin?

The entrance to Kathmandu is a white plastered brick archway elaborately designed and ornamented. Immediately inside and a part of it are many interestingly colored figures. I soon realized that Nepal has a distinctive way of combining its colors. The figures I presumed to to be legendary ones from religious mythology. The asphalt paving on the street looked out of place. The paved street was called Juddha Road and it was about three blocks long. This was part of about two miles of paved road in all of Nepal at that time. The remainder of the two miles ran to the Royal Palace, the Singha Durbar which had been the residence and central secretariat of the former ruling Rana Prime Ministers, and to the statue of King Tribhuvan.

There were a lot of little shops with limited amounts of goods. Some were stalls in the walls with silversmiths and other craftsmen at work. The most prosperous of these in appearance were the cloth merchants. No effort was made to sell me, no effort whatsoever. There were courteous replies to questions from those who understood English and friendly response to my greetings from all. I concluded that a friendly smile is understood in any language.

I soon reached the end of the paved street in Kathmandu and found an interesting assortment of wares being peddled by people who did not have the resources to build a shop or to rent a covered stall. Instead several had spread their wares on the lower tiers of a monument, while others displayed theirs on the ground. Among those was a woman who had a great variety of imported plastic bracelets of many colors spread upon the side of the unpaved street. As I looked at these plastic bracelets I realized that here was

one of the first intrusions of the modern world into Nepal and to me it seemed to represent vanity. Vanity knows no national frontiers. Others had Nepali shawls of a type I had not seen before, some of Nepal's handicraft. The better shawls were soft and warm and resembled the pashmina shawls from Kashmir. Some were selling very course blankets suitable for horses but used instead by the very poor.

I turned and walked down a narrow, unpaved street with more small shops, the majority of them selling shoes. Most of the shoes looked like bedroom slippers, except they had more durable soles. Many of them were soled with rubber and fabric from automobile tires. There was an interesting little book store too on this street. Here I learned that books for the general public had been banned during Rana times before the Revolution.

This street carried me into Durbar Square where the first Royal Palace was situated. Here too was the temple

constructed from one tree from which someone told me the city received its name: "Kath" meaning wood and "Mandu" temple. The old palace was still the center for some official functions of the Nepal Government. In the Durbar Hall of the old palace many ambassadors and other dignitaries were met for the first time by His Majesty the King of Nepal. Durbar Hall was the place where I witnessed later the presentation of credentials by our first ambassador to Nepal, the Honorable Chester Bowles. Durbar Square was the location of the infamous Kot Massacre which opened the way for the assumption of power by Jung Bahadur, the first of the hereditary Rana Prime Ministers of Nepal. Here was the police headquarters and the largest drum I've ever seen, about eight feet in diameter. It must have had two elephant hides for heads. There is among the buildings in this square a temple with an eye-catching array of Tantric art. Many westerners who view it for the first time are curious to know how this type of art, which appears erotic, figures in the beliefs and customs of the people. In the Durbar Square one can see beautifully carved

(continued next page)

In Durbar Square one can see beautifully carved wooden windows in ancient brick houses. The windows are mostly carved surfaces and leave scant provision for light and air. And there are many temples here. An interesting one is Hanuman, the Monkey God, on a pedestal beside the gate near the Old Palace that leads to one of the most sacred Nepali temples. His nose is covered perpetually with vermilion by his many devotees.

Darkness came too early that first afternoon but I had seen and heard enough to realize this was going to be an interesting assignment. That evening I asked Mr. Bhandary, the Chief of Hospitality, if he would suggest some good books on Nepal and he told me about Percival Landon's History of Nepal and brought me the two volumes to read. This is a history written while Maharaja Chandra was serving as Prime Minister. He commissioned Mr. Landon to write this and made available official records and opportunities for observation to the writer that had not been given to the same degree to others. Only a thousand copies of Landon's book were published in

1928 and there have been no later editions. It has gone on the rare book list because of the increasing interest in Nepal and the relative scarcity of literature on the country and its people.

Sardar Bhim Bahadur Pande welcomed me warmly and in a short time we developed an excellent working relationship which lasted throughout my assignment to Nepal. And this working relationship evolved into a warm personal friendship. Sardar Pande had been with his government many years and had held several responsible positions including Counselor of Embassy in London accredited to Great Britain, France and the United States, and in New Delhi to the Government of India. He accompanied His Excellency Field Marshal Kaiser Shumsher Jung Bahadur Rana when he presented his credentials as Nepal's first Minister to the President of the United States. I found Sardar Pande an able diplomat with a well developed capacity for creating friendly relations with the foreigners who were responsible for the various aid programs operating in Nepal.

He remained Secretary of Planning and Development through nine changes of government. About six months before I left Nepal he was appointed by His Majesty, who was ruling the country directly at the time, to serve as one of the members of Nepal's National Development Board.

During our first interview I asked Sardar Pande when I would get started on the job. He must have thought: "Well isn't this it?" However he responded with arrangements for me to meet with his Minister of Planning and Development, General Mahabir Shumshere J. B. Rana the following day. Sardar Pande suggested that I might wish to get better acquainted with the city and the countryside in the meanwhile and he made arrangements for my transportation accordingly. I took full advantage of his suggestion and it turned out to be an excellent orientation.

The following day I went to the Singha Durbar at two o'clock and Sardar Pande was there to introduce me to his minister. I shall not forget soon the first impressions I had as I went into the office of the minister. At that time General

Mahabir had his office on the first floor of the General Secretariat in a large room about forty by eighty feet. The floor was covered with a huge rug which deadened completely our footsteps as we approached his desk in the far end of the room. It was not a large desk and there were but three chairs around it. This was the only furniture in the room. As we approached I noted that he had removed his shoes and had tucked his feet under him. When I saw this I thought here is a man who observes a custom I have enjoyed for years when I could get by with it. The minister didn't see us coming because he had a newspaper which he was holding in front of him as one who is near-sighted. As soon as he realized we were in the room he lowered his paper and I saw he had his hat on in the house. The interesting part of it was that he didn't remove it. I thought this was a strange custom but I found later that keeping the head covered is as important to Nepalis as baring the head is to westerners from the standpoint of courtesy and respect.

General Mahabir had an interesting background which I will go into only briefly here. He was one of the Ranas who had been banished from Nepal by the former ruling Rana group. As a consequence he became one of the principal financial supporters of the revolution which overthrew the Ranas. He had made a lot of money and had spent a lot of money. He had had a wide variety of experiences and was sophisticated in his outlook on many subjects. In our first meeting he indicated strong interest in the promotion of industry, transportation, and agricultural development.

While we were discussing agricultural development, General Mahabir referred to a huge turkey that was served at a dinner while he was visiting in the United States. He said it was large enough to serve beautifully sixteen guests and still leave much of the bird. He wanted some turkeys of this type introduced into Nepal. I told him it would be possible to grow such turkeys in Nepal but the big problems would be growing feed economically for them and training people in the

scientific production of poultry. The food supply for the people is marginal in the hill areas of Nepal where it would be easiest to produce turkeys, except for the shortage of feed. It has been demonstrated conclusively that many more people can live off the same amount of land, if grains are eaten by the people directly, rather than feeding the grain to poultry or livestock and consuming the meat that results. Although Meat and cereals are considered to be a more satisfactory diet than cereals alone, but when food is scarce the question of how grains will be used becomes of critical significance. Up to that time Nepal had not employed the practices of artificial incubation and brooding of poultry, and these practices are essential to the scientific production of turkeys.

The following morning at ten o'clock I had my first conference with the Prime Minister of Nepal, the Honorable Matrika Prasad Koirala. This was Saturday morning and the offices of the government were closed so I called on the Prime

Minister at his residence and had a stimulating conference with him. At the time he was living in the house where a foreign adviser on forests had lived during the Rana regime. This was the building which later became the nucleus of the British Embassy. Our conversation on this occasion centered upon the objectives of his government since the Revolution and the basic conditions within the country which justified these objectives; the proposed working relationships between our Technical Cooperation Mission and the Government of Nepal, and the essentials for getting the mission established so work could be gotten underway as soon as possible. We discussed briefly the provisions of the General Agreement regarding office space and facilities, clerical and interpreter services and transportation. Transportation seemed to be the only item which the Prime Minister believed would be difficult for his government to provide satisfactorily. The Prime Minister designated the Ministry of Planning and Development as the primary channel for our carrying on our discussions and operations with the Government of Nepal. This arrangement

became an issue later with one of the Secretaries of Foreign Affairs who wanted all communications of our mission with the government to be channelled through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. When this issue arose I referred to this initial understanding and the practice was continued. This proved to be a satisfactory working arrangement on many features of the program because it cut much red tape and thus reduced the amount of time necessary to get work accomplished. However before I left Nepal we had established direct working relationships with many parts of the government including the Prime Minister; all the technical ministries; the ministries of Foreign Affairs; Planning and Development, Finance and General Administration; and a number of special boards and commissions. I believe there was no branch of the Government with which we did not become actively associated in our work. We were working in eight different fields and some of these cut across the interests of several ministries, such as the Flood and Famine

Relief Programs, the Kapti Valley Multi-Purpose Program and Public Administration.

As a parting question during our first conference, I asked the Prime Minister if his Government was having any difficulty with the Communists. He said up to that time they had not been a problem. The following week January 21, 1952, Dr. K. I. Singh broke out of his cell in the Central Secretariat and seized control of nearly all the important institutions in Kathmandu, the country's capital. The Government banned the Communist Party two days later.

These first conferences with officials of the government were friendly, stimulating, and reassuring, but let us turn now to a consideration of what happened in the Government's Guest House during my first days. To begin with I learned much from the staff that provided the services. The chief source of information about things Nepali was Ratna. In Nepali Ratna means "star" and Ratna was a star in the firmament of that institution. He was the bearer. He could speak some English

Ratna means jewel
Tara means star.

and was interested in learning more and he was willing to help me to learn some Nepali. From him I learned a number of terms that could be used in connection with the daily routines of life. And in the first few weeks I used these terms in many situations. Very clumsily I must admit.

During the first twenty-four hours I was in the guest house, I realised there were differences in Nepali and American daily routines. The day I arrived, which was Wednesday, the sixteenth of January, the temperature was such that I saw a few small boys playing with no clothes on because it was so pleasant. However it turned cold during the late afternoon and night. It was so cold I requested the staff to start a fire in the fireplace in my room that evening. The fire they laid was a small one so I piled on more wood and called for still more wood. The Nepalis were surprised when I wanted more wood because Nepalis use wood very sparingly. Normally they use wood for cooking their food and only incidentally to keep warm.

They depend upon their clothing to keep their bodies warm and they become accustomed to withstand the cold. I never ceased to marvel at their hardihood. When many they lie down to sleep at night they wrap themselves as warmly as they can afford. I was not conditioned for such cold so I called for more and more cover that night. During the night after the wood had burned I put my overcoat, coat and trousers on the bed but despite this I remained chilly. When I got through the first night I made the necessary arrangements the following day for additional wood and cover and during the remainder of the time I was very comfortable.

When I went to the bathrooms in Guest House #1 I found some of the furnishings to be different from what we found normally in the United States. For example, toilet paper is drawn from a box one sheet at a time rather than a roll and instead of the sheets being finished to give one the

impression of absorbency they are finished smoothly. One of the bathrooms was equipped with an eastern style commode which is constructed flush with the floor excepting two little structures in the general shape of feet that are built above the floor level so one can orient himself. The eastern type is more convenient for those Easterners who use water instead of toilet paper.

In less than a week after I arrived in Nepal, Dr. K. I. Singh got out of jail and took control of the city and the major institutions of the central government, except the Royal Palace. He was one of the Revolutionary leaders who was reported to have thought that it would have been better to have continued to fight the Ranas until a complete victory was won, rather than to negotiate a compromise settlement. After the armistice he is reported to have burned and pillaged some of the homes in the lowland area of Nepal bordering India. He gained a reputation in some quarters for being a modern-day Robin Hood, taking from the rich and giving to the poor.

He was apprehended finally by a combination of Indian and Nepalese forces and instead of his being put in the regular jail in Kathmandu, he was placed in a room in the Central Secretariat Building, the Singha Darbar. It was from this cell he was released by confederates who were apparently in sympathy with him, or at least out of sympathy with the new government in power. After his release he was reported to have gone to the regular jail and released all the prisoners who then became the core of his followers. He seized the telephone and wireless centers, the Central Secretariat, the treasury, the arsenal, the airport. If the guards of the Royal Palace had not been informed in time, he would have taken the Royal Palace and captured the King.

Ratna brought coffee very early on the morning of K. I. Singh's jail break, apparently to give me the news and some friendly advice. He was excited and in earnest as he told me I should stay inside the building until the situation was

settled. He told me the incident had started about midnight and word had spread rapidly so no one was on the streets that morning because they were afraid they might get shot.

About one half hour later a messenger from the Government came to tell me I should be careful under the circumstances and that the Government of Nepal regretted the inconvenience and possible alarm the situation might cause me. I thought this was very considerate of the Prime Minister to be so much concerned about one of his government guests at such a trying time as this must have been for them.

During that day while I was a shut-in I had a caller who was interested in political parties. He told me many things about politics in Nepal. He said at least three scores of political parties had been organized in Nepal after the Revolution less than a year before. This mushrooming development was due primarily he believed to the Ranas' prohibiting the formation of political parties during their

regime. When the Praja Parishad Party, Nepal's first political party, was being organised during the Rana Regime some of the leaders were executed and others were put in jail for life. The ring leader, Tanka Prasad Acharya, who became Prime Minister for a period after the Revolution, said later the only reason he was not executed was because he was a Brahmin and it was contrary to the Hindu customs of the country to take the life of a Brahmin. This experience prevented others from attempting to form political parties inside Nepal until after the Revolution. The Nepali Congress Party, the one responsible for the Revolution, was organised in India.

A well-informed local Embassy official told me soon afterwards that seventy-two political parties had sprung up after the Revolution. However some of these parties had no more than five or six members. From this I wondered if the Nepalis and Americans might not have a great deal in common insofar as organisations were concerned. However I soon discovered about the only type of organisation the Nepalese people

had formed were political parties. The whole range of voluntary organizations such as we find in the United States, covering every phase of life, did not exist and had not been allowed to exist before the Revolution. I made a mental note that the development of voluntary organizations was a critically important area of life to be developed if democracy was to grow soundly in Nepal.

It was interesting and encouraging to note that Nepalis made no distinction between men and women when they got voting rights after the Revolution. The women lost no time in organizing two rival progressive women's political organizations in Kathmandu Valley shortly after the Revolution ended. And women were the first to organize a truly volunteer civic association after the Revolution, the Women's Volunteer Movement which was headed by Her Royal Highness Princess Prinseps who contributed much by her exemplary leadership.

The morning after K. I. Singh got out of jail I stayed in the Guest House for some time, but the situation became so monotonous I decided to try to find out what was happening. I looked over the compound wall and saw no evidence of moving life anywhere. Then I decided to go outside the compound and up the hill to the edge of the drill field. The drill field was a very large grassed over area used by the Nepal Army and thought to be the largest drill field in Asia. Before I got to the top of the hill bordering the drill field parts of three soldiers became evident from behind bamboo growths. I couldn't understand their words as I continued to approach them and indicated I was going to the brow of the hill, but they soon warned me in a manner I could understand that I must return to the compound. I presumed activity on the drill field was as absent as it was on the street that led by the guest house. No one was moving there though it was the main thoroughfare between Kathmandu, the capitol, and Patan, the second largest city of Nepal just across the River Bagmati.

About five o'clock in the afternoon the British Ambassador's car rolled quietly into the government guest house compound with an invitation to come to the British Embassy if I would feel safer there. Mrs. Houser, the wife of a Swiss engineer and the only other foreigner in the compound at the time, accepted the Ambassador's invitation. I expressed my appreciation for Ambassador Summerhayes' invitation but decided to remain under the circumstances.

Everything remained remarkably quiet during that first day of Singh's jail break. The only unusual things I heard were two rifle shots shortly before the Ambassador's car arrived. But the silence was foreboding.

A friendly young man ~~named Singh~~ whom I had met at the airport when I arrived called on me the second day of the incident. When he learned which room I was occupying he informed me I was staying in a room which had been occupied by Mr. B. P. Koirala during his term as Home Minister who later became the country's first elected Prime Minister. As Home Minister

Mr. Koirala was responsible for the actions of the police. Unfortunately, during a student demonstration in November 1951 against the government, the police in its efforts to disperse the mob fired on the demonstrators and killed a student, Chinia Kasi. As a result of this Mr. Bharat Shumshere J. B. Rana, a political opponent of Mr. B. P. Koirala, stirred up a mob which made an attack on Guest House #1 where the Home Minister had his office. The mob threw stones, broke windows, damaged, destroyed, and carried away furnishings. While this was going on two would-be assassins entered the office of the Home Minister and one jumped at him with a khukri (the National knife of Nepal), whereupon the Home Minister mortally wounded him with a bullet from his revolver. The second would-be assassin fled and the crowd was dispersed when it learned of the death. This situation led to the resignation of Mr. B. P. Koirala from the Coalition Government and brought on its fall, with the resignation of General Mohan Shumshere J. B. Rana, the last Rana Prime Minister, who was heading the Coalition of Ranas and the Nepali Congress leaders,

[illegible]

Rumors began to fly that K. I. Singh was negotiating with the King. His failure to get control of the King's Guard when he first got out of jail had made it necessary for him to try to negotiate with King Tribhuvan for control of the government. However during these negotiations he became concerned that the King might call for the help of Prime Minister Nehru who might send the Indian Army and Airforce to the King's assistance. Consequently, he left Kathmandu with what some claimed to be about two hundred men in his band. He went over the high Himalayas into Tibet and on to Peiping.

Curfew

Curfew was an interesting institution in Nepal. It had been observed in Kathmandu for three quarters of a

century. The normal hours for curfew were from eleven o'clock at night until four o'clock in the morning. A cannon was fired at the beginning and the end of the curfew period. Anyone caught on the streets, in the highway, or any place moving about during the hours of curfew was subject to arrest if he didn't have the proper password. One had to go to the government each day and get the password if he anticipated it would be necessary for him to be abroad after curfew time.

I was apprehended a few minutes after curfew one night during the first week I was in Nepal while I was staying at the government guest house. I had been invited to dinner by His Excellency Christopher Summerhayes, the British Ambassador to Nepal. I stayed until a short time before eleven o'clock but as I was returning to the guest house the curfew sounded and the police stopped the car and took me to the sub-headquarters of the police. No one at the police office could speak English and I could not speak Nepali consequently I had a bit of difficulty. Finally through a nightmare of gestures I prevailed upon the police to accompany me to the guest house

where my identity was verified.

One of the secretaries of the Indian Embassy didn't fare as well as I did according to his story. About a week after he arrived in Kathmandu and assumed his duties he was attending a party and stayed after curfew. As he returned home the guard demanded the password. He told the guard he was sorry he didn't have it and that he was Secretary of the Indian Embassy. Whereupon the guard escorted him to the police headquarters where he told the police night duty officer the same story but the officer replied: "Sorry, but you're not the secretary. I know the secretary well." Unfortunately the officer was not aware of the recent change of personnel. The secretary remained until four o'clock in the morning when the curfew was over. The police officer was not about to disturb the rest of the Indian Ambassador after midnight to accommodate a man who was claiming to be someone whom he thought he was not.

First Field Trip

Within three days after my arrival in Nepal I was requested to accompany a group of technical and administrative officials of the Government to Pokhara Valley about ninety miles west of Kathmandu, the second largest valley in the hills, to assess the resources of the area and to help plan for their development. It had been my intention to return to New Delhi for my family in about three days after arrival because I believed naively it would be possible to secure housing in that period. However I agreed to accompany the group to Pokhara since it was planned to stay only five days. We went to the airport three times prepared to take off for Pokhara, but it was not until the third time that the pilot got in the mood to go and when he did he refused to carry the entire group at one time although the plane, a Dakota, was capable of carrying about 50 percent more than the entire number in the party. Six of us were chosen to go on the first trip and I was among the six. I have been glad many times since that we didn't get off the first

time we tried because I would have missed the excitement and revelations that accompanied the escape of K. I. Singh.

The trip to Pokhara was a fascinating experience. It is pleasant to recall the panoramic view of the Valley of Kathmandu as we spiralled over it to get sufficient altitude to cross the mountains that encircled it. As we gained altitude we arose to heights that made it possible to get another unforgettable view of the highest mountains in the world, their peaks perpetually covered with ice and snow. My mind echoed again the thought "Give us men to match these mountains!"

As I looked below the plane the scene caused me to marvel at the story of strong human will written so boldly on the landscape. The thousands of small homes perched high on the mountain sides and the thin lines of terraces that had been carved out of the mountains up to their tops spoke more adequately than words of man's struggle with nature to exist in a country where pressures on land have grown so great.

Nowhere could a road be seen, nowhere in these mountains vastnesses was a wheel rolling. As I watched the scene I wondered "Why have men worked so hard for so little?" And "What pictures do the people of these mountains carry in their minds and hearts?"

The Secretary of Education had told me that only a few of the mountain people outside the Valley could read or write. The 1952-54 census revealed that only 4½ per cent of the people were literate in Nepal. A much higher percentage of people in the Kathmandu Valley and in the cities and towns were literate than in the rural areas. I had been told of the governments' policy of strict isolation before the Revolution, which among other practices prohibited the importation of books and the showing of movies for any except members of the ruling Rana regime and some of their court favorites. So there were no books here, no movies, no telephones, no automobiles, no railroads, not even ox carts, only thousands of miles of footpaths, up and down, up and down, all the way.

No doctors, no nurses, no teachers. Some priests yes, and many places of worship I was told.

As I meditated later about what I had seen beneath the plane on that forty minute ride to Pokhara I concluded among other things that the will to survive and to worship is strong among all men. It is not difficult to understand the universal will to survive. However man's universal search for God is not as easy to fathom when we consider the many forms that men call God.

As we circled over Pokhara for the fourth time I asked C. B.Gurung, the agronomist who later became the Government's Director of Agriculture, "Why don't we land?" He replied: "This will be the second time a plane has landed in Pokhara and this pilot has never landed here. Perhaps he wants to be sure he's landing on the right field." About that time we flew low and buzzed the field. I went up to the cockpit to find out more and learned the pilot had located the field all right,

but was buzzing it to scare away the cows that were grazing on it. It was evident the pilot would prefer that I get back to my seat and fasten my safety belt. Shortly afterwards we landed running fast down grade, bump, bump, bump, as we hit the remains of well grazed over rice field terraces which had been abandoned decades ago. Because of these terraced bumps the pilot had difficulty braking the plane but he brought it up sharply at the end of the field and swung it sharply to the right to avoid hitting a rock wall three feet high that lay under the end of the wing as we came to the stop. As I watched the pilot get off the plane and look around I remarked to Harter Garcha, the Indian irrigation engineer who had been employed by the Nepal Government for the previous thirteen years: "I have an instinctive feeling that our pilot will not come back." Garcha was inclined to agree. The pilot didn't. On the pilot's reluctance, and as I understood later refusal, to return rests another part of this story.

Many people gathered rapidly around the plane. They seemed to be coming from everywhere. They wanted a better look at the big bird that had been circling overhead. Four years later when the first Jeep was flown into Pokhara, a Nepali from the high mountains north of Pokhara speculated about the Jeep being a baby airplane and wondered why the big bird came to Pokhara to give birth to her little one. He allegedly believed the Jeep would in time grow wings as its mother, the Old Dakota.

People in the Pokhara Valley and north were unfamiliar with the sight of planes in 1952 because the planes not only didn't land here but they didn't even fly over. The following incident may suggest one of the reasons. During the war the pilots of one of the American planes based in India decided to take a run over Kathmandu "just for the hell of it." When the plane arrived overhead Maharajah Juddha, the Prime Minister ran into his palace, dragged out his largest Rhino rifle and banged away. When this exercise was over he called the British

Ambassador and requested that he find out who had the audacity to fly over his country so he could demand an immediate explanation. I was hesitant to believe this until I met in Cairo in 1955 one of the American officers who was on that solitary mission. When he heard I was stationed in Nepal he told me of having made the flight.

Pokhara Valley is one of Nature's masterpieces, a place the Lord might use if he gets short on space as a little bit of Heaven. I found Pokhara a more interesting and beautiful place than the description of Heaven in the Book of Chapter . When it was created it was beautiful and the few changes man had made since were as though they had been inspired by the Master Artist Himself.

Pokhara Valley was enchanting to me because it turned the clock of time back two thousand years in my thoughts. What a place for Rip Van Winkle! He could have slept for twenty centuries instead of twenty years and would have been

little further behind the times. There were no signs of the invasion of technology, no evidence of the Industrial Revolution. Even the fulcrum and lever were present in only the crudest forms as parts of an ingenious but not very effective device for extracting the oil from mustard seeds and a contraption for beating the grains of rice to get Chura a product that looks something like our rolled oats used to appear before we began to refinish them. And as important as the wheel has been to man's progress in the world, I saw but six in those seventeen days in Pokhara Valley: one small potter's wheel, one small water wheel and four wheels on two abandoned cannon carriages which served as mute evidence to remind us of the relatively high priority that man has given to the technology of war throughout human history. People were worshipping gods in much the same way that Moses found them when he returned from the mountain with the Ten Commandments. The priests were

reading their scriptures which were preserved on palm leaves instead of paper. People were making their sacrifices of rice and animals to their gods and bowing to stone images.

The people in Pokhara Valley had no faith in paper money--it was unacceptable. They liked money with more substance. Their silver coins had been inside a mint but not so with much of the copper money. The copper money was of several shapes and weights. They appeared to have been hacked off a chunk of copper and its value determined by its weight. Carrying money on long field trips was a cumbersome and weighty problem. Long field trips into the mountains of Nepal sometimes require the services of an extra porter to carry the money. A man with wealth might easily become known as "Old Money Bags" if his business required him to travel into the mountains. Many times later I watched chests and trunks of coins being loaded on the planes in Kathmandu for Pokhara when the exchange rate was fluctuating widely. Pokhara, as most of Nepal, has a scarce

money economy. There was no bank in Pokhara in 1952 - only a tax collection office. Barter is the basis for many of the transactions in Nepal's interior.

There is one part of the Pokhara Valley landscape that mystifies many people who fly over it for the first time. This is the disappearing act of the great Seti or White River of Pokhara. I could hardly wait until I got to the ground to find out what was happening to this river. I found the river was disappearing from aerial view because it was passing alternately through very narrow chasms about one hundred feet deep, which a very spritely man could jump across in some places, and open bowls of terrain which had been more susceptible to the eroding power of the river than the sheer walls of the deep chasms. Overhanging vegetation completed the illusion. The interesting combination of the power potential of a fast-moving river with deep bowls for water storage and exceedingly deep, narrow and stable walled chasms that can be blocked easily offers an intriguing opportunity to generate power

and provide irrigation for the Pokhara Valley. The cost of such a project would have been reasonable were it not for the excessive cost of transportation for materials and equipment that would have to be imported because there was not a road within forty miles of Pokhara in 1952.

To illustrate the magnitude of the transportation cost problem to economic development in the hills of Nepal where no roads exist, I repeat here the figures I was given in Pokhara concerning one item that Nepalis have to import: kerosene. In Bhartsumma on the Nepal-India border about fifty miles south of Pokhara a can of four Imperial gallons (5 U.S. gallons) of kerosene cost 12 Indian rupees ($2.52). In Pokhara it cost 30 Nepali rupees (Exchange rate January 1952 was 112 Nepali to 100 Indian) or $5.62. This meant $3.10 for transportation of 40 pounds 50 miles by human back and the profits going to the kerosene handlers. $3.10 per ton-mile!

I took many pictures while I was in Pokhara. On the last of my seventeen days there, a young man came to the place

we were capped and pled with me to take his father's picture. He said his father was old and ill and that he might not live very long and he would like a picture to help him remember his father after his death. I wished so much I could have accommodated him but all my films had been used and none were available in Pokhara. When I came to Pokhara on my next trip I wanted to take the picture that had been requested for such good reason but found the old man had died--dead without a photographic record of his having lived!

I have heard Americans try to describe the beauty of Pokhara Valley. Some liked its quiet serenity; its four small lakes mirroring snow-capped mountains; its long stone walls mellowed with age and covered with a profusion of poinsettias growing to heights of twenty feet. Some liked the red adobe type houses with thatched roofs, perched on the sides of the valley. Some found its pastoral beauty appealing because so little of the land was under cultivation and animals grazed

quietly in large numbers when the shepherds and herdsmen brought their animals from higher altitudes at certain seasons of the year. I liked Pokhara for all these reasons and others too,

I liked the Pokhara Valley because of its calm majestic beauty that was near and far, a beauty that was everywhere. No place I turned was ugly, no place was marred by the imperfection of man's handiwork. I liked it for the way the colors changed on the snowcapped mountains early in the morning and the color metamorphosis at sundown as the dying rays of the sun played on the glistening mountain peaks. I liked it most though for the friendly people who had so courageously built their homes here and were determined to go forward in the improvement of the Valley. I liked it for the little rock platforms that had been built under the pepal trees for the travelers with their heavy loads to rest when they were weary. I liked it for the boats, hewn out of logs that carried me across the lake to a friend's home on the other side. I

liked it for the challenge that it presented to determine the kind of change that can be wrought here that will improve and not mar the lives of the people and the beauty of the landscape. I liked it too because it is on one of the main passageways from India to Tibet where one can see and hear the donkey caravans with their tingling bells and colorful muleers from Tibet -- what a memorable impression for one who goes to Pokhara when the trade trails are at their fullest!

I was in Pokhara about three years later with another group who was interested in accelerating the development of this area, among them were the Honorable Tanka Prasad Acharya, Prime Minister of Nepal; His Excellency Bhagwan Sahay, the Indian Ambassador to Nepal; and Sirdar Bhim Bahadur Pande, the Secretary of Planning Development. While a donkey caravan was passing one evening I asked the Prime Minister why the Nepalis did not use donkeys as the Tibetans do to carry the heavy loads of agriculture and commerce rather than burden their people with

these loads. I had noted that all the donkeys were being used by Tibetans. He answered evasively. Later I asked the Secretary of Planning and Development, Mr. Pande, the same question with the same results. The second evening I raised the question again in the presence of the entire group and learned that a major reason for Nepalis not using donkeys to transport heavy loads through the Himalayas is due to a Nepali belief that work with donkeys is degrading and those who stoop to such lose their caste positions. The traditions of caste are so strong in Nepal that men prefer to carry the heavy loads themselves rather than risk losing group approval. There are many taboos like this which affect the life, work and economy of Nepal.

While I was in Pokhara the first trip, I talked with many people including the Governor who called a number of meetings to learn what the leadership of Pokhara Valley would like to do to improve their situations. It was heartening to hear and to see the evidence that "hope springs eternal in the

human breast" and to realize that here were men who were eager to help themselves, and to go beyond helping themselves and their families and help others in their villages. Their discussions highlighted schools and water as their greatest needs. Schools were a symbol of the new democracy they thought they had won - schools for their children-to provide opportunities which had not been given to them. Schools epitomized their desire to do something worthwhile for the new generation now that the Revolution had given them a voice in public affairs. They wanted water to drink and for the irrigation of their crops. If you could have watched women standing in long lines at a small pipe for a little water, or worse still trudging up steep hillsides a half mile high with their water pots, you could appreciate more readily the importance they attached to drinking water. If you could have heard them explain how water on their fields would bring them two or three crops instead of one, and provide work for idle hands during a season of the year when there was

nothing to do, you would have wanted to help them achieve their worthy objectives.

I put many suggestions for developing Pokhara in my notebook on the first trip. As I reviewed these it was obvious that the problems of the people of Pokhara Valley were the same problems being faced by many others in Nepal. The views from the low flying plane emphasized this. It was clear too that any sustained progress toward solution of Pokhara's problems would require cooperative action by the central government in Kathmandu. I decided then to do what seemed possible to help the central government to formulate and implement national programs that would enable people who wanted to help themselves to get the kind of assistance they needed to do a good job. I left Pokhara with a feeling that time had been moving slowly here for centuries but people were ashing for change.

We came to Pokhara to stay five days and we stayed seventeen. We had planned to have twelve in the party and we

had six. When the plane didn't come on the fifth day to take us back as planned we began to contact the Government through a wireless which operated a portion of fifteen minutes daily between Pokhara District Headquarters and Kathmandu Central Secretariat. Much of the time allotted to Pokhara was consumed in trying to get enough current generated to transmit the message. The wireless was powered by a small gasoline generator which had been a part of the U.S. war surplus left in India. For twelve consecutive days we tried to find out when the plane would come to pick us up. The reply was always the same until the last day. The oft repeated reply became indelibly impressed on my memory: "Bhole Runchha" which translated means "It will be done tomorrow."

There were two considerations which altered my reactions about staying in Pokhara for seventeen days instead of five. The most pressing one was my family waiting with anxiety in New Delhi for my return to take them to Kathmandu. The anxiety had been increased by the escape of K. I. Singh and the

notoriety that resulted from the incident. The other was the expected visit of Ambassador Bowles who was scheduled tentatively to present his credentials in Kathmandu in about two weeks. During the first few days we were in Pokhara other members of our party sent messages to Kathmandu for our deliverance. But after several days had passed with the same message and the same results, I began to send messages: first to the Secretary of Planning and Development, then to the Minister of Planning and Development, and finally to the Prime Minister. On the seventeenth day we heard the plane was on its way and we hastened to the air strip as rapidly as possible. Dark storm clouds were rolling up as we saw the plane come into view. The pilot didn't take time to circle the field but drifted to the air strip as lightly as a balloon. We loaded rapidly and in a light rain took off for Kathmandu. Never have I been so thankful to get on a plane. However the eagerness with which I got on the plane in no way should be construed

as an indication that my sojourn in Pokhara Valley had not been rewarding by every standard that anyone might wish to apply.

Why didn't the plane come when responsible officials of the Government promised that it would? The most plausible explanation added up to this: first, the pilot who brought us was scared to return for another landing and gave delaying excuses to cover up; secondly, the plane and its staff was on a contract from the Government of India and out of this grew a question of authority between the Indian Ambassador and the Government of Nepal which resulted in a stalemate. The situation was resolved in our case by the Prime Minister getting one of the Himalayan Aviation Company's planes, which brought some of the King's family from Calcutta, to make the trip to Pokhara and pick us up.

When we returned to Kathmandu from Pokhara, I worked far into the night to prepare a list of basic objectives from my observations, experiences and discussions which I believed should guide us in joint efforts with the Government to speed

Nepal's economic growth and social change. Ambassador Bowles arrived the following day and I showed him this statement of general objectives and he discussed them with the Prime Minister. These are included in the next chapter.

The afternoon following our return from Pokhara I went to the end of the Kathmandu Valley and climbed the mountain that led out to India to meet Mr. Bowles who was on his way into Nepal by trail over the mountains to present his credentials as the first American Ambassador to Nepal. (Mr. Loy Henderson had been accredited as our first Minister to Nepal before we raised our legation to an embassy.) As I walked down the mountain that evening beside the Ambassador who was on a pony, he asked me what I thought were the greatest problems of Nepal. I told him transportation, communication and education. After he had arrived at his quarters I gave him the statement of objectives I had formulated after my return from Pokhara and he discussed these with the Prime Minister. However since the

Ambassador had come to Nepal the way the Nepalis had been coming to Kathmandu from India through the centuries, possibly with near callouses on his feet and cent, he was inclined to believe the major problem was transportation. Following the Ambassador's discussions with the leadership of the government, he proposed to Washington that we assist Nepal in a road building program and suggested about $5,000,000 be provided to get it underway. We will talk more about this later.

CHAPTER IV

CHARTING THE COURSE

How do you start a foreign aid program in an underdeveloped country? Let us take Nepal as an example. It will be helpful to review briefly U.S. - Nepal relations as a backdrop for our first steps.

The first resident American Mission to Nepal was established January 16, 1952 and was officially known as the Technical Cooperation Mission to Nepal (TCM/Nepal). The mission had been requested by the Government of Nepal. The authority for it was contained in a "General Agreement for Technical Cooperation" signed January 23, 1951 by the two governments. The Act for International Development of June 8, 1950 served as our basis for the general agreement. We were called "Point Four" in the beginning and there was an advantage to having this name abroad at that time because of the direct identification with the favorable publicity that had been given the President's proposal abroad among informed leadership and

because no one seemed to be embarrassed to ask us "What is Point Four?" This question gave us many opportunities to tell people what the United States and other countries were doing cooperatively to improve conditions through the sharing of technology. People liked the three basic concepts of the plan: cooperation, technology, progress.

Almost five years before the Technical Cooperation Mission to Nepal was established the Governments of the United States and Nepal signed a Treaty of Friendship and Commerce in Kathmandu on April 25, 1947. This treaty was the culmination of contacts between the two governments during World War II followed by the visit of an official Goodwill Mission to Kathmandu in the fall of 1946 and a special diplomatic mission in April 1947 headed by the Honorable Joseph W. Satterthwaite who as the President's Special Ambassador signed the Treaty of Friendship and Commerce and arranged for exchange of diplomatic representation. The United States thus recognized the independent sovereignty of Nepal. The first Nepalese and American ministers presented their credentials to the respective governments in

1948. They were His Excellency Field Marshal Kaiser Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana who was posted in London serving concurrently as Minister to Great Britain, France and the United States and the Honorable Loy W. Henderson who served concurrently as Ambassador to India and Minister to Nepal and was stationed in New Delhi. In August 1951 the United States Government announced the raising of the mission to Nepal to the rank of Embassy and the Honorable Chester Bowles was received by His Majesty King Tribhuvan of Nepal as the first American Ambassador in February 1952. General Shanker Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana was received by President Eisenhower February 24, 1953 as Nepal's first ambassador to the United States.

In the preceding chapter I covered some of my first contacts and observations in Nepal as a part of my basic orientation within the country. My initial efforts were concentrated on finding out where Nepal was in early 1952 so we could determine how we could help her to get where she wanted

to go and later look back and evaluate how far along the way we had moved together. I didn't have a staff then. I had to do the job alone in the first few weeks. Some of my closest friends in Nepal may feel badly about the blunt way in which I state some of the findings of the first six weeks and I apologize to them. After one is in the country for a long time he knows enough about it to qualify almost everything he says and thinks. I recognize that such qualifications ease the blows and soften the shocks for those who may be intimately concerned but it also defeats the worthwhile objective of giving an image of the country in bold relief so people may form convictions about what can and should be done to help improve the situations.

While I was a graduate student at the University of Wisconsin in 1934, President Glenn Frank advocated that we observe a factual approach to the solution of problems and it

was expressed in these easy to remember terms: "Find the facts, focus the facts, face the facts, follow the facts." In Nepal we followed this approach insofar as it was possible to get facts in a country which had been conducted in many respects as a private family business for more than a century.

Finding the Facts. The first six weeks, January 16 - February 26,1952, were devoted to fact finding. Facts as they could be secured from records, discussions with government officials and village leaders, and from observations. During this period I spent the time about equally in the Valley of Kathmandu where half a million people were concentrated and Nepal's second largest valley, Pokhara, ninety miles west of Kathmandu. The substance of my first findings are expressed in the terms I found them at that time although in some instances I have substituted the more accurate figures of the census of 1952-1954. The summary that follows is intended to reflect the situation in early 1952.

For 104 years (September 1846 - February 1951) the Ranas held supreme power in Nepal as hereditary Prime ministers. Jung Bahadur, the founder of this regime, wrested complete powers from the King but kept him on the throne as a royal rubber stamp. The Rana Prime Minister was given full authority by proclamation of the King ". . . in respect of passing sentence of death, deprivation of caste, imprisonment for life, confiscation of property, banishment or deportation, conferring or deprivation of honours, control of the Treasury, together with plenary powers in all affairs of the State." He had the titles of Maharaja and Marshal. The powers that normally reside in the chief executive, the legislature and the highest court of appeal of a country were given to him and he exercised them. He could punish any act of disloyalty to him by any sentence he wished to decree. Such was the nature of the dictatorial power of the Ranas when the Revolution began in November 1950.

The Revolution of 1950 which overthrew the rule of the hereditary Rana Prime Ministers of Nepal might have been termed more appropriately a "Half Revolution" because of the limitations on the subsequent leadership that were inherent in the negotiated cease fire. Chief among these was the provision for a coalition government with an equal number of Rana and Nepali Congress ministers and with the Rana Prime Minister to continue in his post. Although this arrangement lasted only nine months, it denied the Nepali Congress Party, the sponsors of the Revolution, the best psychological period to get a reform program underway with maximum popular support. The normal powers of the King were restored however, and the country was declared a constitutional monarchy to function under an interim constitution until the permanent constitution was promulgated.

Modern science was a total stranger to the most of the country. Practices that prevailed 2000 years ago in a large part of the world, not only existed, but predominated in Nepal.

For example, the wheel which is a symbol of man's progress was difficult to find in much of Nepal.

The human back and the human "grapevine" were the transportation and communication systems of Nepal. These constituted the country's number one problem in terms of costs and undesirable impact. There were perhaps more than 1,000,000 miles of footpaths but only 279 miles of roads, 40 miles of railroads, 14 miles of ropeway and one unpaved airstrip in a country with 54,362 miles of area and 8,473,479 people. Newspapers, telephones, radios and movies were almost nonexistent; and a letter could be sent many times around the world from the United States in the time it took to send one half-way across Nepal from Okhaldhunga to Humla Jumla. Mail in many areas was by chance traveler. The literacy rate was 4% and the people spoke fifty-eight languages and dialects. Only about 60% of the people could understand the national language, Nepali, and less than half of them spoke it.

The power of Nepal was human muscle. The country

had only 2880 Kws of electric power but there must be millions that can be harnessed from the streams. Use of much of the animal power was taboo. In Pokhara after much questioning I learned that it was degrading to work with donkeys, therefore the heavy loads across the mountains must be borne by men and women. In Kathmandu I was told that animals were not used for draft purposes because "as far as the eye of Buddha can see animals will not be used as beasts of burden", and "Lord Pashupati, the patron saint of animals looks with disfavor on such a practice."

Ninety percent of the people were engaged in a primitive, subsistence type of agriculture in which rice was the major crop and cattle were a liability because of religious taboos. Minerals were unexplored although some officials believed there were many kinds and had fragmentary evidence to support their belief. The salaries were low. Many of the government employees received only thirteen Nepali rupees per month which was equivalent to $2.45. One with whom I talked

had not received his pay for eleven months and did not know when he would get it. Skilled artisans could be employed on a daily basis for 35¢. I calculated in the absence of comprehensive and reliable statistical data that the average per capita income was probably less than $20 per year.

Capital was scarce and scared. The surplus that existed was in the hands of exceedingly few and the rest lived miraculously on a hand-to-mouth basis. The middle class was very small. The former ruling Rana family had most of the capital and for a long time before they were overthrown they had sent their liquid assets to banks abroad while the remainder of their wealth was tied up in land, residential buildings and jewels.

There was a dual currency system - Nepali and Indian - and the last Rana Prime Minister debased the Nepali rupee. However he was reported as having left a good surplus in the treasury.

Credit was in the hands of many individual money lenders whose practices place them properly in the class with Shakespearean Shylocks according to a survey made by a senior official of the Nepal Government in 1948. There was only one bank in the entire country and it had but one branch.

The health situation was heart-rending: nine doctors with M.D. degrees and no registered nurses in the entire country and less than one makeshift hospital bed for each 10,000 people. Malaria was rated the chief killer. Superstition governed the treatment of some diseases and the germ theory was virtually unknown.

The government's administrative system was antiquated. It was organized to support an autocratic ruling family which was concerned with perpetuating its power and fattening the family purse. Its concerns were limited largely to security and taxes. It was clear that the administrative system needed a complete overhaul if the objectives of the new leadership were to be realized in a reasonable period of time. However

there were only a few who had any knowledge of the concepts and procedures of modern government administration and there were many who resisted change because it endangered the positions and status they had earned through many years under the Rana system. The tight security system of the Ranas had broken down in some respects and was ineffective in dealing with the situation under the new government. This was dramatized by the escape of K. I. Singh and the easy way in which he captured control of the capital with the exception of His Majesty's Palace. He fled subsequently to China but it was not because of his concern about the Nepal army or police, for the police and army appeared to be powerless to handle the situation, but because of his fear that the King would call upon India to send troops.

The government had promulgated no organized plan for the economic development of the country. It was evident that strictly political problems had taken priority during the

first year after the Revolution and this was quite natural but it wasn't good.

The great mass of the people did not know the meaning and procedures of democracy. General elections had been promised and seventy-two political parties had emerged according to a local political observer. But the vast majority knew nothing of governing themselves as a result of centuries of autocratic and dictatorial rule.

On the plus side it was clear that King Tribhuvan, whose powers had been restored by the Revolution, was willing to support the further drive toward democratic government which the leadership of the Nepali Congress Party had been spearheading. The Honorable Matrika Prasad Koirala, Prime Minister and President of the Nepali Congress Party, impressed me as being a man of integrity with democratic attitudes and an earnest desire to improve the conditions of his people. Nothing since has changed my initial impression of either King Tribhuvan or M. P. Koirala despite an adverse publicity campaign against Mr. Koirala. It was evident too that the people of Nepal were industrious,

friendly and eager for change and progress. They were very religious. There was no mistaking either that Nepal could become a paradise for tourists; a maker of much hydroelectric power; a relatively large exporter of forestry products; a producer of a wide diversity of agricultural products because of its full range of climate from arctic to sub-tropical with a corresponding diversity of soil; and another post of freedom in the free world.

This was the balance sheet of Nepal as I viewed it in January and February of 1952.

Focusing the Facts. The facts pointed to a simple conclusion: Nepal was a little country with big problems and limited resources to deal with them. The problems were so big and the immediately available resources were so limited that it appeared desirable to avoid recounting the problems and place the accent on the positive. Accordingly the facts that had been gathered were rephrased in a memorandum for the Prime Minister

as objectives toward which our mutual efforts might be directed. (This I referred to in the preceding chapter). In the drafting of these objectives an encouraging maxim was kept in mind: "Make no little plans, they have no magic to stir men's souls."

Objectives for the Nepal-American Cooperative Program

1. To increase the production of food, fiber and housing materials in order that every citizen of Nepal will have enough to eat, sufficient clothes to keep warm, and a decent house in which to live. Beyond these requirements Nepal must produce for export in order to secure other goods which her people need.

2. To develop good medical and sanitation facilities and services to give the people a chance for freedom from pain, misery and disease.

3. To establish and maintain schools and other means of training the people and keeping them informed so they may achieve freedom from ignorance and become more productive.

4. To build roads so the burdens of agriculture and industry may roll on wheels rather than continue to crush the backs and spirits of the people. So that the products of the peoples' toil may move freely and swiftly from the places of plenty to the places of scarcity. So the consumer may get more for his money and the producer may get more for his products because so much less toil will be taken for the unproductive movement of the goods.

5. To harness the waters of the swiftly moving streams that have divided the country into a thousand hills and valleys on their way to the sea. Harness them for the electric power to run the machine that can be had on the farms and in the factories; for the light and running water in the homes, along the streets and in the meeting places; for the tools that will take the drudgery out of daily labor. Harness them to water the crops in the fields in order to reap three harvests a year

from some of the lands instead of one. Harness them to give freedom from floods and the fears that attend them.

6. To cover the lands that are naked with trees and green vegetation in order that the basic heritage, the soil, may be passed on to the children in a better condition than it had came to the present generation.

7. To provide a way for the tillers of the soil to become the owners of the soil.

8. To establish a sound system of production credit at reasonable rates so the producers may produce to their maximum capacities.

9. To discover and develop the mineral resources of the country.

10. And to develop among the people a feeling of unity and friendly helpfulness; a spirit of progress and achievement, and a love for liberty and respect for the individual.

Facing the Facts. If the objectives were to be translated into reality there were many actions to be taken. Chief among them were these:

1. To help train leadership to win the fight against hunger, disease and illiteracy.

2. To help establish democratic institutions so more people can have a voice in what is to be done and help to do it.

3. To help secure financial support to activate and sustain the program.

4. To help develop effective methods for U.S. - Nepal cooperation.

5. To help formulate a national plan for economic development.

We recognized the role of our mission as a minor partner in the overall development operations because we had only a shoestring to help begin a cooperative program. At the time only four technicians and less than $400,000 were committed by the United States. However we believed our government would be responsive to further reasonable requests for assistance from the Government of Nepal in view of of her imperitive needs and

her confirmed objective to become a democracy. It appeared likely that other countries and agencies would support Nepal's efforts. India and Switzerland had begun to respond to the needs.

Following the Facts. The skeleton facts gathered during the first six weeks were followed and added to as we could find them. The search was repeatedly intensified later during the periods when we were preparing justifications for the assignment of resources to implement the proposed projects in the slowly expanding program. The record of how we followed through is contained in chapters that follow.

The situation which faced the Nepalis in the beginning brought to mind an encouraging observation of a colleague whose belief I shared: "It is better to be in hell moving toward heaven, than in heaven headed in the other direction."

CHAPTER V

DEVELOPING AN ORGANIZATION

Development work among the older civilizations of man such as Nepal is challenging to the organization specialist. It is interesting to speculate about the reasons for several of the older civilizations of man being included now in the so-called underdeveloped areas of the world. What part has organization played in the present situations? Have they had too little or too much organization or have they failed to adapt organizationally to the current of world change?

Many of us realized that we needed to recognize and evaluate the form, motivation and direction control of the organized institutions in Nepal in order to assist their leaders effectively in a cooperative program for economic growth and social progress. It became obvious that some of the organizations that deserved special consideration were the extended family, the castes, the religions and the residual elements

of the former autocratic government. All of these wielded considerable influence in Nepal society. Unfortunately for the progress of the country these institutions were conservative and were lined up generally on the side of the retarders of change rather than the promoters of change. There were four forces however that were beginning to rearrange the prejudices of the people in these institutions. These were (1) a rising spirit of nationalism, (2) a growing public insistence for change, (3) the introduction of science and technology and (4) the growth of voluntary organizations. None had progressed far. However, the future impact of these forces is likely to by very great upon these institutions in the next twenty years. We will consider these more fully in the succeeding chapter.

We will concentrate now principally on the organizational forms and methods used to carry out the U.S.-Nepal Cooperative Development Program. We begin with a story of the organization of the first resident American Mission to Nepal

the Technical Cooperation Mission but later known as the United States Operations Mission. Then we will consider briefly the Nepal Government under the caption "Government by Appointment." These discussions should make it clear why we chose the particular type of organization we did for U.S.-Nepal Cooperation.

First American Mission

We went to Nepal to advise the Government on economic development but there was more involved than giving technical advice. We had to develop an organization to support the technical advisors and their families and to help translate the advice we were giving the Government into action programs which required in turn supplies, equipment, training and more technical advisors from outside Nepal. Fortunately, there were elements in the Nepal situation which changed what I would have considered normally a routine operation into a challenging task.

The United States Operations Mission to Nepal was different from other foreign aid missions around the world in

that it had no resident embassy or consulate to support it. The closest official support came from the American Embassy in New Delhi about seven hundred miles distant and the American Consulate General in Calcuttaabout five hundred miles away. The problem of distance was compounded by the supporting units being in another country with the resulting problems of customs and third country involvement.

What were some of the effects of not having a resident embassy or consulate in Nepal? I will cite a few of the functions we performed which we would not have had to do if we had had a resident embassy or consulate. These included: negotiating real estate transactions, including rental, renovation, maintenance and other subsidiary functions related to real estate; handling mail and records, including provision of courier service for the classified pouches from Calcutta and Delhi to Kathmandu for some years; (Not even embassies have to do this normally because it is a function of the State Department

but we had to do it "for the unassailable reason there are no funds") recruiting, training and maintaining records of local personnel; establishment of a clinic and providing medical services for American and Nepalese staff which rose to about three hundred, plus the families of the American staff members; requisitioning and maintenance of administrative office equipment and supplies; securing of visas from the Nepal Government and the Indian Embassy for our staff and many Americans who came to Nepal; the organization and maintenance of a motor pool; securing customs clearances for program and administrative supplies and equipment and the household supplies and personal effects of the staff.

I propose to give you an understanding of some of the actions that had to be taken to establish a mission in an underdeveloped country by centering your attention on a few of the problem areas.

A Place to Live

One of the first questions I asked when I arrived in Washington enroute to the Nepal assignment was, "How about housing for the families?" Washington had no definitive answer to this question since ours was to be the first resident American mission to Nepal. The parties with whom I discussed this question believed the American Embassy in New Delhi would be able to provide the information. However they were confident that adequate accommodations would be available. From scattered bits of information I could assemble about Nepal we made arrangements for our first foreign assignment as a family. Naturally more definite and specific information would have been helpful to our family in making plans. It worried us some because we believed shopping would be a problem when we were more than eleven thousand miles away from home in one of the most isolated countries of the world with transportation and communication being what we anticipated them to be in Nepal.

When we arrived in New Delhi after Christmas in 1951, I asked the Embassy officials where we would live in Nepal and if any facilities had been secured for our office. They said no facilities for either purpose had been secured as yet because they considered this something that I would want to do upon my arrival in Kathmandu. However they checked with the Nepalese Embassy in New Delhi to see if some definite information about possibilities for these was available through that source. The Nepalese Embassy officials explained that their country had followed a policy of isolation for many years and no facilities for foreigners had been developed. They were confident their government would help us to find suitable accommodations upon our arrival and that perhaps their government had already made some plans for these. Upon second thought they believed it might be desirable for me to go to Kathmandu alone and find housing for the family and leave the family in New Delhi to come later after accommodations had been secured. I went to Nepal alone.

Before I left Delhi I received some suggestions regarding housing and office space from the Embassy staff. One of the most intriguing suggestions, and one upon which action had already been taken, was the use of house trailers. Three trailers had been purchased and were intended for the first three members of the team to arrive on the scene. They were on the Embassy grounds at the time. When I looked these over I was not happy because each trailer would take care of only two people. My family was already five and another was expected shortly. The trailers were crude, canteenish reproductions of some of the earliest models of trailers we had in the United States. The idea of providing us with trailers had grown out of the satisfactory experience of a man who had been doing work in India for a commercial concern. He had taken his trailer from location to location without too much difficulty. When I raised the question about how one would get such a trailer into Kathmandu when there was no road and when all vehicles had

to go on the backs of men over the high mountain passes, I was informed that it was not intended that I use this trailer in Kathmandu, but that I would be stationed in Butwal which was in southern Nepal in the plains bordering India. This solution overlooked two considerations that were important to me and my family. First, my official orders specified my post as Kathmandu, the capital of the country. I would not have agreed to go to Nepal if the orders had been otherwise. And secondly, the trailer was totally incapable of providing the facilities necessary for my family. When the second factor was under consideration it was recommended that I arrange for my family to live in a hotel in Lucknow India about 100 miles away from the Nepal border.

I went to Kathmandu as planned however because it was logical to me that the prospects for the success of our mission rested heavily upon being able to establish close and effective working relationships with the central government

leadership. Subsequent developments confirmed this opinion and I am convinced personally that our mission would have been doomed to failure had we chosen the other course. We did move the trailers though into Nepal in the communities near the Indian border and they served a good purpose for personnel who went to the field in those areas to carry on our work. The trailers were a satisfactory investment in the long run for they had been built in India at a very reasonable price. All three were in use when I left Nepal more than six years later.

When I arrived in Kathmandu I was taken to Government Guest House Number One. The government maintained this institution in Kathmandu as we maintain Blair House in Washington. However there was a greater need for their maintaining Guest House Number One because there were no hotels in the country at the time.

When I asked a responsible Nepal government official upon my arrival where I would find housing for my family, the

reply was to the effect his government thought this was something I would want to choose personally. I discovered very quickly that hunting a house for a family in Kathmandu was no little problem. So when I had my first conference with the Prime Minister, the Honorable M. P. Koirala three days later, I informed him of the difficulties I was experiencing, and suggested that inasmuch as our mission was a cooperative venture between our two governments we would appreciate his government's help in finding suitable accommodations for the members of our team, both housing for our families and office space for the men. The Prime Minister recognized the problem and promised his government's cooperation.

It was the nineteenth day of January when I talked to the Prime Minister about housing and office space. The ninth of March my family moved into a house chosen by the government. Some might construe the delay as a lack of concern, but I assess it now as I did then, as a difficult problem to secure

housing. Why was it so difficult? In the Valley of Kathmandu there were about 500,000 people and all of the houses were filled with people except some formerly occupied by members of the Rana family. After the Revolution many Rana families moved out of Nepal leaving vacant several of the fifty odd palaces around Kathmandu. It was in one of these palaces which the government chose to house our mission. The one they chose was a smaller palace which belonged to Colonel Babi Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana who was in India at the time attending Allahabad University. In a nutshell, housing prospects were either a palace or a hovel and the hovels were full and the palaces were empty. There were only two other foreign missions in Nepal at that time; the British and Indian Embassies. The British occupied buildings they had constructed long before and the Indian Ambassador was housed in a palace presented to the Government of Nepal for a guest house by one of the Ranas. I had become concerned

increasingly over the lack of housing for my family during the two months between early January and early March because the bill was growing in New Delhi where my family was in a hotel. This amounted to more than twelve hundred dollars before I could get housing and move them to Nepal.

I have been asked many times why our mission occupied a palace. Because American housing abroad is a controversial issue at times I will amplify what I have already related. The housing situation in Nepal may not be typical of other situations around the world but we had to adjust to it. Some condemned our mission for living in a palace because they considered it too pretentious. It did look pretentious. However you should know what was behind the pretentious front; what we did with it, and how much it cost so you may appreciate why we believed it wise to take these accomodations and to continue to use them.

We used the palace Rabi Bhavan and its subsidiary buildings and grounds for twelve apartments, office space for a part of the mission, a school for the children, a worship center for our people, central entertainment facilities for the mission, warehouse for mission supplies, maintenance shop, gardens for plant introduction work, and a site for a commissary. The building was suitable for division into apartments with comparitively little expense. The building was brick construction with walls more than two feet thick. It was plastered with a mixture of mud, lime and cow dung and white washed on the outside. The government fixed the rent for us on the palace and its grounds at the equivalent of $240 a month. Where else in the world could one get so much for so little? And if we had not used one of the "White Elephants" it would not have been possible in Nepal.

A question arose when I first went to Nepal as to whether our government should buy the palace we lived in or rent it. We concluded it would be preferable to continue to

rent it because the rental of the property was less than three percent of the price which was being asked for the building and grounds and the period of time we would require it was indefinite.

In the beginning our apartment in the palace had five rooms along a corridor eight feet wide with the kitchen on the floor beneath in the back of the building ninety-two steps from our dining room. The distance from our dining room to the kitchen was not a problem for the owner of the house because he had sixty-seven servants according to reports. But it was a problem for Mary and we finally solved the problem by putting a roof over a patio at the end of our five room apartment and divided this addition into a kitchen and a dining room.

The eight foot corridor went around the main interior court of the building. In our efforts to get the maximum of housing from the palace we used this corridor in some instances for compact kitchens and in other cases for bathrooms.

Communication between the families was considered good by some and bad by others because one could open the window on the interior court and call across to the parties on the other side. This was more convenient than the party telephone line to keep everyone informed of happenings. Some Nepalis couldn't understand how so many different families could get along so well under the same roof. One of the Ranas who had a palace of his own said the Americans were living like rabbits in a hutch.

Some visiting Americans condemned us for living in a palace because it might identify us disadvantageously with the customs of the former ruling Rana family. I considered this the greatest potential liability, politically speaking. A few Nepalese agitators tried to make this point but this was offset by other Nepalis who pointed out the difference in the attitude of the Americans who were now living in the Rana palace who were helping the people of Nepal and the attitude of the Ranas who had oppressed them. They pointed also to the limited group

who had been allowed to visit the Panas and the policy of the Americans to open their doors to all classes of people.

Some Americans criticized us for the appearance of having established an American enclave in Kathmandu. They believed we should have been dispersed over the city and the country more. There are several points to mention in answer to this criticism. The transportation and communication facilities in Kathmandu and Nepal were extremely limited. All the Americans had to rely upon one telephone for official and personal uses and that was in the office of the mission. There was no public transportation system and the transportation of the mission was very limited until 1957. When a taxi was required a runner had to be sent about two miles for it and whether or when it would arrive was uncertain.

A factor sometimes overlooked or given little consideration by people who criticize the closely knit American community is the security for families of mission personnel. The most of our staff members were field men and had to be away from home a large part of their time. When these men were in

the field their wives and children would have had almost no means of communication or transportation available to them in the first years of our operation in Nepal had we been dispersed as advocated. Two incidents occurred during the first two years after the mission was established which convinced me of the wisdom of maintaining a situation in which the families of our personnel would feel secure. On one occasion Red Sanders took his wife and two other wives downtown shopping. When they arrived in the center of the city, a Communist demonstration was being held and the agitators were condemning the Americans. The street was filled with demonstrators and those who were curious to know what was going on and what was being said by the speaker on the platform. When Sanders' tried to pass in the Jeep the attention of the crowd was directed to him and the vehicle was stopped with hostile gestures indicating the mob's intention to take the occupants from the vehicle. What would have happened if the incident had followed to its ultimate conclusion we don't know but Red Sanders kept his wits

about him and his eye steadily on the nearest agitator who seemed to be unsure of taking hold of a 200 pound redhead. He turned the Jeep slowly and got out of the crowd, but not before the mob had cut the Jeep top with a knife and badly scared the women. Ned was shaken by the experience as well as the wives. One of the wives who was in the Jeep was so upset by this incident for weeks afterwards that she wouldn't stay in her apartment alone within the American compound at night when her husband was away.

The other incident occurred when agitators worked up a demonstration against the Americans and burned President Eisenhower in effigy in the center of Kathmandu. Word came to us and to the Government of Nepal that the American Library in Kathmandu and the USOM Compound on the edge of the city would be burned. When the Government of Nepal heard of this, police were dispatched to prevent it. A demonstration gathered around the American Library but the police dispersed them. There was little doubt that damage would have been done to the Library

and an attack might have followed on the USIS compound had the Government not taken timely action. The police, but no demonstrators, came to our compound which was about two miles from the center of the city. I considered it an advantage to be away from the center of the city. Why make it easy for agitators whose purpose it is to create trouble?

Before we started to Nepal in December 1951, Mary and I considered the possibility of an invasion by the Chinese who had taken over Tibet. On the day I received my appointment to Nepal, November 20, 1951, Lowell Thomas broadcasted "There is fighting on the roof of the world." We knew we would be under the eaves of the roof of the world in Kathmandu and we considered seriously that Nepal might be the next victim of Chinese Communist aggression.

Some Americans, both official and otherwise, make their suggestions in good faith but normally realize they will not have to live under the conditions they recommend. Others make their criticisms without giving any real thought to the factors

involved. Some of these, if they were confronted with the choice, would be the first to refuse to live under the conditions they advocate for their fellow Americans abroad.

For example, some well-meaning Americans recommended we should live as an average family of Nepal. There may be some locations in the world where this would be feasible and wise but in an economically underdeveloped country such as Nepal I believe this would be unwise because the average is pretty dismal poverty. I believe the representatives of the Nepalese people who asked us to assist in Nepal's economic development expect Americans to live reasonably well and would lose respect for us and for the advice we are employed to give if we were content to live under the prevailing average conditions in Nepal. The way to encourage people to improve their living conditions is not to lower our own, but rather to do what we can within reason to help them to achieve higher standards.

Some Americans thought we were living better abroad than in the United States and criticized us on this basis. I

an inclined to believe their hasty judgment rested upon the evidence of more servants, more spiritus frumenti, and more entertaining abroad, for in the larger number and amounts, these are luxury items in the U.S. standard of living. However these items have a different value for Americans abroad in less developed areas. For example: A servant is available for a month in Nepal at a lower rate than one has to pay a person for one day in Washington. It was cheaper to serve the best Scotch whiskey rather than bottled Coca Cola in Nepal because the whiskey was tax free and concentrated whereas the Coca Cola was unavailable locally, not concentrated and therefore costly to transport. There was more home entertaining because there was limited commercial recreational activities to draw down on the family purse and to satisfy the greater yearning for companionship that some people have when they are away from home. But more servants, liquor and entertaining are poor criteria for a better standard of living if they are substitutes for the better things in American life such as: a comfortable, convenient

home with all its modern gadgetry and the feeling that many Americans get when they can call it their own home; a wide range of pleasant, informative and satisfying leisure time activities including the deep and abiding happiness that arises from permanent and enduring friendships in one's community of the type that are not here this year and gone the next -- the satisfying sense of belonging on a permanent basis; and the feeling of security that exists when one realizes his family is within almost immediate reach of excellent medical care and virtually out of the deadly reach of some of the diseases that still stalk the people in the medically backward areas.

I don't know how it is in many of the countries in which our people are assigned, but I had a conviction that none of our mission/ were housed as well in Nepal or had as many conveniences as they had at home. When one goes into a country with a total power capacity of only twenty-eight hundred and eighty kilowatts he doesn't expect to have electricity or power

as he had it in the United States. If it is on for only a small portion of the day, he understands. If the lights burn dimly and sometimes not at all, it is expected. We grumble about it some but nevertheless we understand and do the best we can. This doesn't mean that we are willing to get along without any electricity as the vast majority of the people in the country have to do. Nor does it mean we will be satisfied with the little we can get under the best circumstances in the country. When the water doesn't run sometimes for two or three days at a time and we have to dip water from the pool in front of the building we are thankful there is a pool there and particularly if it happens to have water in it. Where there is not enough pressure to get the water up to the third floor attic, we grumble but we get along by sending a servant we are paying to bring some from wherever it can be gotten. But this doesn't mean we are not going to do something about such arrangements as soon as we can to make them more as they should be.

Maintaining morale of men is a part of getting the best job done. There are a lot of things in the overseas situations which can become frustrations when a man's morale is low. To mention a few in Nepal: long delays in arrival of equipment to implement project activities; stateside turndowns of projects after much work has gone into their planning; failure of personnel to show up for many months and sometimes years after they were requested to help guide and direct important projects; a counterpart's cooperative activities restricted by cumbersome red-tape; nibbling away by local agitators; trouble getting supplies and equipment through customs; uncertainties and irregularities of mail deliveries; local unavailability of essential products that one prefers.

Is it right to require men to sacrifice the health, morale and general welfare of their families on the altar of what some Americans who won't follow their own advice believe

to be good public relations? It's asking more than is usually either wise or necessary. The director of a mission has a responsibility to take all reasonable actions to ensure the safety and security of the personnel and to maintain morale as high as possible in order to accomplish the objectives of the mission. He must recognize that the happiness, contentment, and welfare of the families are essential to the maintenance of the efficiency of the men who are called upon to do our part of the job which our country has decided to assist less developed countries to accomplish. During the time I was in Nepal I heard less criticism from the Nepalese multitudes than from a few transient Americans, a few of whom expected the best the country could furnish and sulked or exploded if they didn't get it.

When I read or hear criticisms of other missions I am never satisfied until I can get both sides of the story.

Someone characterized these Ram palaces as "white elephants." This was a very apt characterization because

few Nepalis could afford these huge white buildings after the Rana regime was overthrown. About the only way this resource could be used was by an institution rather than an individual and this was what happened. The American Mission was one among several which used the palaces for their offices, housing and other purposes: the Indian Military Mission; the Indian Economic Aid Mission; the Regional Transportation Board; the United Mission, a joint Protestant missionary group established a hospital in one; the Village Development Service and the Y. M. C. established training schools in two; the Jesuit Fathers used two others for schools. Several United Nations personnel were housed by the government in another, and one was converted into a much needed hotel, the Royal. It was fortunate that these so called "white elephants" which had been constructed at considerable cost were being used for constructive public purposes.

As our mission grew the palace, which had been secured for us by the Nepal Government, was no longer large enough so we leased another one next to it for our offices. Later, the

Mission encouraged local entrepreneurs to build some houses which we leased as the size of the program grew. These new houses were not precisely what the Americans wanted for the builders insisted they had no assurance we would continue to rent them indefinitely so they had to build them to accommodate us now and possibly others later who might have different tastes. The new houses were considered much more desirable by the majority of the staff than the palace because they provided greater privacy and better arrangements. However they cost more per family.

The best policy according to my hindsight would have been to buy land and construct a few modest American dwellings and modern offices to accommodate the requirements of our staff and their families. By using local materials and practical designs we could have built models that could have been adopted advantageously later by Nepal and would have been more desirable for the staff. This would have required more money however at a time when there were people who were insisting that the program

would be over in two or three years. I didn't share this view but I was more interested in using as much money and personnel as we could get for the cooperative program rather than become deeply involved in American housing.

Help to do the Job

After we had housing and office space we pressed for personnel to help do the job. We needed both Nepalis and Americans. We concentrated first on recruitment of local personnel. This was complicated by a stipulation in our "General Agreement for Technical Cooperation" with Nepal which provided that the Government of Nepal would furnish local personnel. Theoretically this was a wise and reasonable provision but from an operational viewpoint it was a flop. Theoretically in partnership operations contemplated by our Technical Cooperation Agreement it was reasonable to assume that local personnel would be supplied by the host government because this appeared to be a resource the host government could contribute advantageously. But we had failed to foresee

some of the problems arising from cross-culture and cross-economy contacts, and even more important we failed to foresee the blocks and booby traps that were part and parcel of the restrictive and rudimentary personnel and administrative systems which the new leadership of Nepal had inherited from the family regime of the Ranas, systems which had been designed for efficiency in the maintenance of order and the collections of taxes but for only a minimum of public services.

I will cite a few examples to illustrate the nature of the difficulties.

The Government was unable to furnish personnel who understood our language sufficiently well to be effective initially in our operations. There were a number of Nepalis who could speak English accurately and beautifully but these were usually persons of independent means or employed in responsible positions in the government. They were not clerical personnel and they were not attracted by the Nepal Government salary scale for clerical personnel. As one might suppose the requirements

for Nepal Government clerical personnel did not require a knowledge of the English language. Why should they? Only a few could use the English language typewriter because of the extremely limited need in a country where the national policy for hundreds of years had been to hold contacts with Westerners to a minimum inside Nepal. The few who could type were engaged already where their knowledge was being used incidentally to their principal duty as in the Office of the Prime Minister or the Foreign Minister. There was no provision in Nepal's personnel classification system for English language interpreters. There had been no need for interpreters as a full time occupation. The best qualified for such service had interpreted in the few situations where it was required by their government in bygone days not as interpreters but as officials with other responsibilities who happened to have fluency in the language required for the special situations which arose.

The use of counterparts as interpreters in the field was unsatisfactory both to the counterpart and the technician

for several reasons but we had to rely upon this practice for many months. The role of the interpreter in foreign economic development is important and justifies far more consideration than is usually accorded it. The practice of a counterpart serving as interpreter for his foreign technical advisor poses conflicting considerations. First, it places the counterpart in a subservient role when he has to serve as mouthpiece and earphone for the advisor. This is contrary to an objective that every adviser should have, namely to add to the prestige of his national counterpart among his people, because the counterpart is the one whom the people will have to depend upon for leadership. The advisor can support his counterpart in the field quite often if he has an independent interpreter who can keep him abreast of discussions that take place between his counterpart and the local people. Second, there are many times in the field when the need for an interpreter is such that the advisor is inhibited from asking his counterpart to help him because he considers it unwarranted imposition. Some

of this has to do with personal living requirements in the field and some of it with getting a lot of subsidiary interpretation in order to understand the full context of the problems upon which he is expected to give reasonable advice. Third, it is difficult for a counterpart not to allow his technical biases to influence his interpretation. He will sometimes dismiss consideration of some factors because he believes them insignificant, while at other times he will speak into situations his prior analyses. This substantially reduces the advisor's potential for helping his counterpart. Aside from these considerations there was another problem connected with the use of counterparts as interpreters. Counterparts could not get clearance from the Government to go to the field as often as it was necessary to promote the supervision that the field projects required. This was a policy hangover from the former government which had shown little concern for development projects away from the capital. This policy appeared to have been associated closely with the expense of such projects.

The normal working hours observed by the Nepal Government precluded the possibility of treating a job as a full time concern. The official hours were 11 - 4 in the winter and 11 - 5 in the warm seasons. This made all government jobs part time jobs. As I reviewed the way in which the R men had administered the government almost as a family feudal estate I could realize why it was not necessary to employ government workers other than part time. The government had been organized apparently to render a minimum of public services. To have employed men full time would have resulted in either higher government expenditures or lower employee morale. Fewer men might have worked longer hours and done the same amount of work but this would have reduced the number of people who were directly dependent upon the government for support with a consequent reduction of the support base for the continuation of the dictatorship. And it would have lengthened the day of the ruling group as well. This length of the public work day had been so long in effect that the daily routines of the families had been organized around it. These working hours enabled the government employees

to do other part time jobs either at home producing a part of their living or doing side jobs that didn't conflict. However this policy must have kept the production of the people at a lower level than it should have been. When we wanted the Nepal Government employees who were assigned to our mission to begin work on a schedule different from their government's, specifically, from 8:30 instead of 11:00 we had a problem.

The excessive number of holidays observed by the Nepal Government was another limiting factor in prosecuting a vigorous program of economic development. However the new leadership of Nepal wisely reduced the government-observed holidays from forty-two to twenty-eight during the first year I was there. Despite strong remonstrances from local employees we reduced further this number to sixteen in our mission operation. These sixteen covered certain holidays observed by both the U.S. and the Nepal Governments. The local personnel, employed directly by USOM who desired, could observe all of their government's holidays, and they were given leave without question, but it was

deducted from their accumulated leave. The result: almost none took the holidays that counted against their leave.

Another carryover from the Rana Regime that reduced the productive potential of the country was the extraordinary leave system which had a liberal fixed amount of annual leave plus casual leave. The casual leave was the uncertain part that deserved concern from those who scheduled work programs.

The straw which broke the camel's back in our reliance upon the Nepal Government furnishing local employees for the administrative functions of the mission was its long delay in paying the first two employees assigned to us -- eight months. Some people might have construed this as a lack of desire to cooperate with our mission but I didn't. My interpretation was conditioned by many observations and a chance conversation with a government official in Pokhara Valley during my first month in Nepal which brought forth the worried statement that he had not received any pay for eleven months. These cases illustrated

the inadequacy of Nepal's administrative machinery to carry out a vigorous program of economic development at that time.

We determined finally that the policy of insisting on the host government providing the local personnel for our mission's administrative requirements was acting as a brake rather than an accelerator on the mission's activities. Therefore we changed our policy and emphasized instead Nepal's role in supporting the local employees of cooperative services that were administering and implementing joint projects, and the assignment of additional staff members in the regular departments of the government who were needed to supervise and promote expansion of public services essential to building a base for sustained economic growth. This policy proved to be reasonably satisfactory.

When we began to employ Nepalis directly for our mission administrative support we ran into some criticism which we had anticipated and some we had not expected. The first public criticism was that our salaries were too high. But we

could present convincing evidence that we had carefully weighed the salary scale we were using inasmuch as we had a personnel officer from our Embassy in New Delhi, Mr. Reiston, to make a wage survey of Nepal. He did an excellent job. Considerations that were often overlooked by the critics were the longer hours our employees were required to work; less annual and sick leave and no casual leave; fewer holidays; no retirement system; no tenure rights because we were not sure how long the mission would continue, and our policy which disqualified them as candidates for training in the United States under our program while employed by us. This last was an important point with some of our ablest Nepalese employees.

We were accused of employing too many ~~Newars~~ Newas, one of the principal population groups in the capital city of Kathmandu. We hadn't expected this but it was the same criticism which K. I. Singh later levelled against His Majesty. When we employed people we did not ask the tribe, caste, family

or religious group. Our two concerns were: Is he the best qualified person available for the job and is he of good character?

The third criticism was one which our Nepalese employees had to counter. They were termed "stooges of the Americans" on a few occasions by some critical leftist elements. I don't believe this bothered them much after we became well established because they knew when they worked with us they were working for the welfare of their own country because our mission's purpose in Nepal was to help the Nepalis.

A fourth criticism was that we were putting too many of our employees on wheels. My great regret was that we couldn't help more Nepalis to get on wheels and get where they were going and get their jobs done more quickly and with greater satisfaction. We tried however to be certain there was no unnecessary travel.

American Personnel

A whopper of a problem was getting enough American technicians to help do the job, because of the inability of

the ICA Personnel Division in Washington to deliver the full quota of men authorized for the mission. Most of the time we were in Nepal we had no more than two-thirds of our authorized strength and many times it was less than half. The reason given was "Technicians are hard to get." However there was much more to it than that.

The inadequacy of Nepal's transportation and communications aggravated our personnel problems. This slowed down the program, increased the cost and multiplied the frustrations. It was so bad that a man who came on a two year assignment would sometimes go home before arrival of the supplies he ordered to carry out the practices he recommended. If the technician did not come back for the second term we had to wait for a replacement sometimes a year or more. Sometimes the replacement when he arrived wanted to go through the same process of trying to determine what needed to be done which his predecessor had gone through before him, sometimes ignoring what had been done before. It was a challenge to get men to pick up

the job where someone had left it months before. This was a compelling reason for getting men to stay on the job long enough to establish the direction and build up enough momentum so their leaving would not result in the project falling flat on its face.

It is sometimes difficult to get people in the United States to realize how great the costs are for delays in supplying personnel, equipment and supplies for projects in a timely manner. "Strike while the iron is hot" is almost impossible to do in many cases. Instead the iron may require several reheatings in the foreign situation. To illustrate: our mission had to help to get the irons hot to overcome the local inertia and get a decision on a recommendation. Then after a decision was made the local leadership wanted action yesterday just as we do in the United States. After this we were questioned repeatedly about when something would happen in the project we had agreed to undertake. Subsequently insistence would decrease and the

leadership would change jobs or other things would arise that interested them and they would begin to forget. By the time we got men and materials on the job the irons were cold. The fire for reheating didn't seem to burn as brightly the second time as the first. This was noticeably true when the replacement or particularly when a successor chief of a division had a pet theory, pet project or some strong interest in his particular field, or if he had relatively little experience with the specific type of project activity that had been established or planned.

I am glad I can report our headquarters in Washington handled our requests for personnel, supplies and equipment much more expeditiously during the latter part of my service in Nepal.

When our mission was started provision was made for American technicians only. No provision was made for American administrative and clerical support on the ground. The assumption may have been that these needs could be met locally

by local personnel. This same policy was true of the early Swiss and U.N. missions. The results were not satisfactory.

During the first two years all the men we had on the job were technical experts in specialized fields who wanted to get on with the work they had been recruited to perform. It was easy to understand their reluctance to spend much of their time on tasks that could have been done more effectively by an administrative assistant or secretary who would have been drawing possibly less than half their salaries. Most of the men we recruited during our first two years had been accustomed to secretarial help back home who could take dictation, transcribe it effectively, maintain filing systems, readily find the materials in the files, and take independent action on a wide range of matters relating to the details of operations that would save the technician time to devote to the major requirements of his job. There are many things we take for granted while working in an American office which we do not appreciate until we go on a foreign assignment where the facilities and

and services have not been developed to a comparable degree; or where the situation imposes the necessity for new approaches and different routines. Let me illustrate.

When we began to set up our office in Kathmandu we became aware of the total unfamiliarity of the Nepalis with American office routines and equipment. It was meager consolation when we took a second view of the situation and had to concede "why should they be familiar with American office routines and equipment. There have been no American offices here, no American businesses here, no Americans here. And there have been no Nepalis in America. What do you expect anyway?"

I took a dictating machine to Nepal as a part of my limited personal air shipment allowance in order to avoid the frustration of being without the equivalent of a stenographer. I had benefit of experienced advice and carried a small transformer with me in the event the current was 220 instead of 110. After changing the plug-in attachment on the electric cords to

adapt them to the Continental type outlets we got the machine to operate. I dictated two letters and they sounded all right to me. So I asked the best qualified Nepali in the office to please transcribe them. I didn't recognize the results when he brought them to me at long last with a sad look on his face. He didn't want to admit it but he just didn't understand American English. I tried a few more times before I gave up but at that stage of our development the dictating machine investment was a complete loss. Later we got step-up transformers that helped to render more distinct playbacks, several Nepalis were trained to use dictating machines effectively, and the Nepalis became acquainted with American English after long periods of association with Americans. Under the changed circumstances dictating machines were being used by several in our mission as effective tools when I left Nepal.

Nepal was the first foreign assignment for several of our men and their first experience using interpreters and

translators. As a consequence some were unprepared for the slow-down in communications and operations that resulted. No little amount of confusion results when an interpreter cannot understand what you say. This was the case many times in Nepal as exemplified by the one who tried to transcribe the letter from the dictating machine. There are many types of interpreters. You may get one who believes his job is to tell you what you want to hear rather than what the other party has said. Others are incapable of transmitting accurately what another party says. Once in a while you may have one who sees no significance in a good bit that has been said and doesn't bother to repeat it. I have heard a party speak for five minutes and the interpreter use one short sentence to convey it. When asked what else the man had said "It wasn't important." Occasionally you find an excellent interpreter though who can transmit the letter and the spirit of what is said, one who is so adept at identifying himself with the speaker that it is

almost as if the speaker were conveying his thoughts directly. When you get one like that you have a treasure.

I remember a disheartening experience with interpreters from my first foreign assignment in Japan. Disheartening because it brought a budding career to a quick close. Some of my flattering friends told me before I went abroad that I was becoming a good public speaker. They praised particularly the knack for story telling that I was developing to drive home my precious, hard-to-come-by points. I was assigned an excellent interpreter -- one who had served in the War Crimes Trials in Tokyo. We went to the field and I made my maiden speech in Japan. My colleagues maintained that the organization and substance of it were excellent but the stories I told to illustrate my points didn't click with the Japanese. Why? I tried it again using the same stories to clinch my points. Stories I had told so many times with success that I was certain I was properly timing the strike on the punch line. But it didn't click the

second time either so I was worried sufficiently to get expert opinion. The expert could understand the Japanese language. He listened to my third delivery and the interpretation of it. The problem became clear. The construction of the Japanese language is the reverse of ours. The interpreter was beginning with the punch line and going backward to explain it. This was the end of my story telling abroad.

The supposed-to-be-simple operation of setting up a filing system turned out to be not so simple because the people we hoped would maintain it had difficulty reading, speaking or understanding English. The only guide available for establishing a pattern for a filing system was one from the State Department which was so comprehensive it was obviously inappropriate and unworkable in its entirety but it gave us a starting point for adaptation.

In foreign situations we have to exercise more control over our conversations, frustrations and attitudes in the office because these are a part of the substance of our international

relations. The nationals who work in our office are a pipeline which carries our words and attitudes to many places. Thus security is an important factor - the type of security that is needed to prevent one's mission from being misinterpreted and misunderstood among its friends because bits and pieces of information and conversations are taken out of context. Or worse when these are used by opposition elements to undermine the program which we are helping to develop. There is the possibility too that a third country may be interested in getting information about the mission's operations in order to promote its own interests or to frustrate our government's efforts. Security in its broader implications is a delicate problem to handle with foreign nationals. No patriotic foreign national wants to be or appear to be secretive about the work he is doing or the work being done in the foreign office he is serving. In a sense he is faced with the problem of a divided loyalty to two governments. If he were doing identically the same work for a private concern there would be less conflict in his thinking.

There were two requirements for American personnel in the Nepal Mission during the first years that were not adequately recognized by our higher headquarters. The first was the additional administrative load we carried because we jointly administered with the Nepal Government nine Nepal - U.S. Cooperative Services. The returns from the joint operations were high but the load was heavy. These will be discussed more fully later in this report. The second was the disproportionately high percentage of personnel time required for administrative purposes in a small mission compared with a large mission as a result of having to comply with the same basic reporting requirements and administrative routines.

A Chance to Ride

The shortage of transportation facilities is one of the great deterrents to rapid economic growth in Nepal. There were only 400 cars and 400 trucks in the entire country in 1952 -- a country 500 miles long and 100 miles wide with almost 9,000,000

people. I calculated rapidly if this same ratio of people to motor vehicles existed in my home town of Covington, Virginia which had a population of 10,000, the entire population of Covington would have to depend upon less than one vehicle and this would be a hybrid - half truck and half car. Please try to imagine that and then add to it another shortage: they had no buggies or wagons and almost no bicycles.

During the first conference with the Prime Minister the question of transportation facilities for our team arose and the Prime Minister said his government would try to meet our essential requirements. He was concerned though because of Nepal's shortage of transportation facilities. We recommended to Washington shortly afterwards that we not insist upon the Government of Nepal furnishing our team transportation any longer than it would take to get Jeeps from the United States for our essential requirements.

Four months later three Jeeps arrived. On the last leg of the journey the Jeeps were flown from Patna, India about 130 miles away because flying them to Kathmandu from Patna cost

less than half what it would have cost to get them carried on the backs of men the last sixteen miles across the high Himalayan Mountains into the Valley which was the practice because there was no road into the capital city. They arrived much sooner too!

Before the Jeeps arrived we had many memorable experiences with transportation. My experience as a chauffered VIP had been limited. I had usually driven my personal and occasionally official cars and enjoyed it. But during my first four months in Nepal I had more than a chauffeur. I had a cranker and a tooter as well. Several times I thought I would enquire whether the Government paid the cranker and tooter as well as the chauffeur or whether these men came along voluntarily just for the ride and performed these services gratis. Whichever the arrangement they seemed to enjoy it and so did I.

On one occasion I waited until almost the last minute for the chauffeur to arrive to take me to a meeting with the Minister of Planning and Development. I had become fidgety

because I wanted to arrive promptly. Therefore I was relieved when the car arrived in what would have been sufficient time to get to the appointment on schedule if the driver could have gotten the car started again. After much conscientious cranking the cranker gave up and the chauffeur in dapper attire rolled out from behind the wheel, lifted the hood with the air of one with full knowledge of what he was about and began to check all the spark plug wires, thoroughly examine the distributor and adjust the carburetor. As the chauffeur proceeded with a workmanlike attitude to examine all elements under the car's hood, Mary had the temerity to enquire: "Maybe it's out of gas?" It was! This performance was repeated on a few other occasions but it didn't take as long to raise the gas question. The reason the cars ran out of gas so often was because the operators were limited to about one to three gallons depending upon the seriousness of the gas shortage in Kathmandu. Gasoline had to take its turn with rice and other essential food requirements

getting on the roseway into Kathmandu. When the need for food increased the gasoline shortage became more acute. Gasoline costs about a dollar a gallon which was equivalent to about three days pay for a skilled manual laborer. At this time the Government's minimum wage scale was thirteen rupees or about two dollars a month for many employees.

Let us return to determine whether the tooter was essential. To do this one must consider his importance in light of the Nepalese custom not to consider the driver responsible for an accident if he blows his horn to warn the pedestrians who fill the roads (so it was reported). Another justification for a full time tooter was the type of horn used on many cars. It was a large rubber contraption similar to the rubber part of an overgrown syringe. This had been found more reliable than taking the chance of the electric horn not working . . . some sound always came out when it was vigorously squeezed.

Another characteristic of driving around Kathmandu was the ubiquitous stray bulls and dogs that seemed to realize

they had nothing to fear from mechanized equipment and would lie in the middle of the road undaunted by such horn blowing and unmoved by the supplications of the drivers who ultimately had to ease their ways around them in narrow streets. The tooter could have served double duty by becoming a tail twister as well as a horn tooter but I never saw one do it. I remember the times in my home community before stock laws were enacted that animals had the right of way but there was a difference in the severity of the penalty in case the animal was killed. In Nepal the penalty for killing a cow was the same as for killing a man.

Aside from becoming accustomed to driving on the left side of the road, another hazard was the involuntary practice of the pedestrians who returned immediately to the middle of the road without looking back after one car had blown them out. If another car was following closely the danger of their stepping in its path was great because the pedestrians would confuse the horn of the rear car with the one preceding it.

It was interesting to observe the influence of the importation of the American Jeeps on the motor-minded in Kathmandu. One wealthy and influential official of the government and highly regarded in social circles abandoned his Rolls Royce to use a Jeep to attend official functions. Others including members of the Royal family secured Jeeps for some of their transportation purposes because they recognized rightly the capabilities of the Jeep with its four wheeled drive and its short wheel base to take them over some of Nepal's roads that could be negotiated by no other vehicles a large part of the year.

During the four months before the Jeeps arrived I was assigned four different cars that I can remember very well: a 1935 Packard, a Willys Knight Overland of the late 'teens, an Essex of unknown year and a 1926 "Model T" Ford. Of this interesting assortment the "Model T" Ford led the field in its reliable performance.

One visitor to Nepal exclaimed when he saw so many of the early models of the world's cars still running. "I know

now where our heaven is." As I look back over my experience in Nepal with motor transportation I conclude that the Nepalese drivers can make a new car old faster and an old car last longer than anybody.

When we speak of transportation in Nepal, motor vehicles are only a minor part of it. On this assignment we used most of the transportation methods known to man and will discuss these later.

A Way to Keep in Touch

The communications situation that existed when we went to Nepal was a rough one. It was not possible for our Embassy to arrange for radio communication between our mission in Kathmandu and our Embassy in Delhi although the British and Indian Embassies in Nepal had these facilities. We could not maintain classified records in Nepal because we had no marine guards to maintain the security of the establishment. Coupled with this we could get no cryptographic officer so we were unable to send and receive classified messages. We could not

rely on the local mail service because four of the first seven letters I received in Nepal had been opened without apology or justification. Surface mail from the U.S. required about two months for delivery. Only one telephone was available for all the official and unofficial purposes of the American personnel. This telephone was out of order at times because somebody wanted the telephone wire for some other purpose such as melting it for copper. When melted it was not easily identified. Our telephone was not connected with two of the three limited telephone systems in the Valley and this telephone had no connection with any place outside the immediate Kathmandu area. If we wanted to make a long distance telephone call to our Embassy in India we had to go to the Indian Embassy Post Office about three miles away and wait sometimes for hours to get a line through. Then when we got a line it was so indistinct at times that it was impossible to communicate understandably. There was no privacy of telephone communications either local or long distance. A ham radio was out because it

was an intelligence device. The user would be labelled a spy.

The communications between Kathmandu and India were much better than communication within Nepal. Communication facilities within Nepal were almost non-existent. In many places the only means of communication was a chance traveler who was willing to carry a note or some other word on foot. Technicians could be in the field weeks at a time and the only knowledge of their whereabouts and what was happening to them was from runners employed for the purpose. Since these were not employed usually it meant they were completely out of touch.

In a test which the ICA Washington headquarters conducted in February 1958, it was discovered that it took longer for a letter to be delivered to or from the USOM Mission in Kathmandu then to any other one of the fifty-six missions that were included in the test. It took an average of eleven days each way for either commercial air mail or air pouch. Communicationwise, Kathmandu, Nepal was farther away from Washington than any other mission in the world. There was a deepening

feature to this lack of communication with Kathmandu. It provided the justification for taking action on many problems without reference to higher authority because there was no chance of getting advice or guidance from higher authority in time to deal with many problems that arose.

Our communication problems were a reflection of the bigger communications problems which the people of Nepal had. What hopes are there for a country without communications in the twentieth century? An economy in the present age without reasonably good communications has about as much chance of sustained growth as the dinosaur had of survival.

The earlier rulers of Nepal by excessive restrictions on communication helped to perpetuate their rule and denied people freedom of communications. However there are also dangers to freedom of communications in the present age of mass communications. Mass communications when controlled by the perverted will of dictators or the dictation of a strong and selfish minority may enslave man's minds and wills.

Something to Eat

Many foreign aid missions do not have to concern themselves with food for staff members and their families but we did. We had to do it to sustain the health and morale of our people. Some of the products essential to the well being of the staff were not on the Kathmandu market and there was far less for those who lived and worked in the areas away from the capital city.

Our family "lived off the land" for the first eight months we were in Nepal. During this period we imported no supplementary food. I thought we were doing reasonably well. We had a good cook who shopped well and I was not hungry. However as soon as the Chief of our Public Health Division arrived, Dr. George Moore, I asked him to check the nervous twitch that was developing in my lip and eye lid. He said I had beri-beri arising from a dietary deficiency. This flashed a red signal. We decided to evaluate the adequacy of local sources to sustain a good diet. Our findings supported a policy of importing supplementary food items. The formulation of such

a policy and getting support for it from our Washington headquarters did not require much time and effort but carrying out the policy did. The difficulty centered in the transportation situation which has been described. However the policy was wise and worth all the effort and cost. We recognized this partially through a comparison with the experience of United Nations personnel stationed in Nepal during the first years who had some unfortunate results from dietary limitations when they tried to get along without supplementing locally available food items. However the food situation improved considerably for foreigners during the period we were there.

Let me give you a Bengali sketch of the food situation in Nepal during the early years of our mission.

We were denied beef and pork because of religious taboos: pork because it was considered unclean. When I saw the conditions under which the Untouchables raised the few hogs I saw in Nepal I understood why they considered pork unclean.

There was an interesting sidelight on this last taboo however. Many of the Rana palaces had strong, well constructed cages with metal bars where they kept wild boar which they caught in the forest usually while they were young. These were fed a "clean" ration and maintained under reasonably good conditions. Presumably as a consequence, wild boar was not taboo. This convinced me that the taboo against pork may be changed in a reasonable period by importing good specimens, raising them under clean conditions with a clean balanced ration and curing the meat in a manner that will present it to best advantage. I have watched hogs around the farm and discovered they are the cleanest of the barnyard animals if given a clean place to live. The pig is the only one I know that will select a place in its living quarters and take the trouble to go there to defecate and urinate so it may have the rest of the pen clean. Parenthetically, the hog is more efficient than any animal on the farm in converting grain or plant food into meat. This is a good reason for doing what one can to make it acceptable in areas where it isn't at present.

My family ate buffalo, goat and wild boar for the first time while we were in Nepal. Buffalo was similar to beef in that it was red meat but it was tougher and less flavorful. Papaya juice was better than Adolph's Meat Tenderizer to reduce the toughness. Goat was the best meat on the Kathmandu market and it commanded the highest price. The first wild boar I ate was killed by George V. Bowers who was the third member assigned to the Nepal Mission. The boar weighed about 300 pounds and there was no fat on it. It was the tastiest meat I had eaten for a long time -- really delicious.

Chickens were small but usually of good flavor. They were similar in body type and plumage to the Mediterranean breeds with size between the Brown Leghorn and the bantam. I was intrigued to find in the jungles of southern Nepal wild chickens with almost identical plumage to the Brown Leghorn and about the same size as the bantam. Eggs were very small and of doubtful freshness. The float test was helpful but not always conclusive. The experience with eggs in Nepal recalled the years of my youth before the era of egg grading and commercial

poultry production. In those days when a boy found a hen's nest with a large number of eggs he was likely to send them to town with the generous guarantee that they were not as old as the milennium aged Chinese eggs. Orthodox Brahmins would not eat chicken because they considered them unclean. Some would not eat eggs for the same reason since they were closely associated with the chickens. Others because they considered eating eggs as destroying the lives of the unborn chickens in the eggs.

On rare occasions we had quail and pheasants. Fish was a delicacy because the gear for fishing had not been developed. At times I wondered if caste had anything to do with it. In the days of the Ranas fishing was restricted. It was unfortunate too because Nepal has many wonderful streams for high quality game fish. There was not a fishing pole or a fish hook in the markets of the whole kingdom insofar as I could find.

The variety of vegetables is limited in Kathmandu Valley and much more so in outer Nepal. Cauliflower, onions, garlic, potatoes, cucumbers are the popular ones. The season of greatest

scarcity is during the monsoon when the most of the land is planted to rice, the major food crop. Cauliflower and cucumbers grow to very large size but potatoes are about the size of golf balls due to the degeneracy of the seed and the prevalence of disease. Tomatoes are small for the same reasons - although I was told that Nepalis prefer the small ones.

Nepalis allow the most of their vegetables to mature more fully than we do. This robs them of their succulence and flavor for our taste but it furnishes the Nepalis with more food which is important where the population pressure is heavy on the land. The general exception to this is when vegetables have to be harvested in time to plant rice.

When we went to Nepal in 1952 we found it difficult to get coffee because the Nepalis are predominantly tea drinkers. The only coffee available was instant and this was not to be had on many occasions. I don't remember having seen a pound of regular coffee on the merchants' shelves throughout the six years.

When Nepalis drink coffee they prefer it saturated with sugar and cream.

White granulated sugar and refined white flour were rarely available. The types used mostly were a crude unrefined cane product, ghur and coarsely ground graham flour.

Rice is the keystone of the Nepalese diet when available. However corn takes its place with many of the families in the hills where corn can be raised more advantageously. I have watched on many occasions construction workmen eat only parched corn for their lunch.

We could get some milk but it was easily contaminated so we always boiled it. We began to get some butter after a milk plant was established by the Nepal Government with the help of the FAO, but we were unable to get it very long because the plant didn't produce as much as the public demanded and we were rationed and the quantity was uncertain.

There was a noticeable increase in the availability of several items in the market which foreigners requested.

There were two reasons for this: (1) the demand had grown with the increase of Westerners in Katmandu and (2) the construction of a road into the capital made it possible to get more goods into the Valley. The number and variety increased despite the difficulties shopkeepers had importing products due to the shortage of India's foreign exchange which reduced her imports. India is the major source of Nepal's imports and in 1952 was almost the exclusive source of her foreign exchange.

There was no ice plant or refrigeration facilities of any kind. There were no canning plants and no sources of tin cans or glass containers within Nepal to preserve the food supply during the season of abundance for the time of scarcity. This limited the Nepalese diet markedly.

We had a few public relations problems connected with the food situation. We were accused of being responsible for increasing the prices of food in the market but few condemned the practice of a merchant who boosted his prices when he saw

foreigners coming and gave one price to foreigners and another one to local people. In time the price to the foreigner became the price to local citizens I suspect. We were blamed for the food scarcity. I believe this may have been a valid criticism regarding a few items such as coffee, white flour, granulated sugar. These were items which are not sold to many people in Nepal, therefore a few more people demanding those items in a small market makes quite a difference. However, our presence in Nepal made little difference to the supply or the price of staple elements of the Nepalese diet.

An official of the Nepal Government complained to Ambassador Bunker that there were too many Americans in Nepal and when our Ambassador asked the reason he was told it was because of the food shortage. Although the ambassador tried on two occasions to get more information on this point from the complainer he was unable to get it. Ambassador Bunker asked me what I thought of this and I told him that our policy of

purchasing all our food requirements from the local market which we had practiced the first eight months we were in Nepal had been changed to a substantial degree by our people importing supplementary items that were not available in the local market or available in short supply. Furthermore the complaint was not consistent with the facts for immediately preceding the complaint we had delivered to Nepal twenty thousand tons of wheat in reply to their request to help them during their time of famine which followed the drought. Earlier during the aftermath of the flood of 1954 we had given Nepal hundreds of tons of grain and other food. I would like to know even now how the official rationalized his complaint.

While we are discussing food availability and public relations it is appropriate to mention some additional constructive measures taken by the USOM/Nepal to deal with these problems. The availability of food products and the supply of other essential needs of the million people in the Kathmandu Valley market area will be improved when the twenty-five tons

per hour ropeway is completed which is now under construction as a part of the Nepal-American Cooperative Program. This will afford cheaper and more reliable transportation into the Valley during all seasons of the year than any other means.

We helped the Government to initiate a Plant Introduction Program which introduced over 800 improved varieties of grains, grasses, legumes and vegetables from thirty-three countries of the world that had ecologically similar conditions to Nepal. These were tested in Nepal and the best of these were distributed to villagers through the Village Development Service which we helped the Government to establish.

We joined with Nepal to import improved breeds of livestock and poultry and efforts were being made to widen the distribution of these.

We established a commissary for American personnel. We knew this would improve the morale and effectiveness of the Americans who were stationed there by helping to ensure availability of supplies essential to balanced diets throughout the year. We

believed it would remove the foundation for any criticism against Americans for creating shortages in the market locally. The commissary is a cooperative venture supported by American personnel on a voluntary basis. The operating capital was secured partly by participating members contributing five per cent of their annual salary which is returned to them when they leave the post. This seemed a large amount to some of our people when the amount was first mentioned but after careful calculation we realised if we didn't have the commissary individual families would have to put about as much money into food supplies to be kept on their individual shelves without many of the obvious benefits that would accrue from the maintenance of a cooperative source of supplies. There were times in Nepal when my family had more than a thousand dollars worth of food in our storeroom which had been imported. To get the commissary started we borrowed additional money which is being repaid from operating profits over a period of five years. Our

Washington headquarters was very helpful in getting the commissary established.

The commissary association made arrangements to get an ice cream making machine with facilities to store forty gallons of ice cream. Ice cream was the item most often mentioned as being missed by Americans in Nepal. Seven hundred people were served ice cream on the 4th of July after the machine arrived. Ice cream is an American innovation which seems destined to gain increasing acceptance in many foreign countries.

I am in favor of Americans abroad continuing to maintain their own living standards wherever feasible because I believe a part of the process of economic growth, of cultural change, and of removing barriers to world-wide unity can be accelerated by introducing these standards and the products which support them to other countries. Additional trade can be developed in this way which can be helpful to our country as well as to the other countries. Many United States products will not be

imported if people know nothing about them and if they have developed no taste or desire for them.

I was told by some Nepalis during the conference concerning the importation of surplus U.S. wheat to alleviate famine following the drought of 1957 that the Nepalese people would not eat wheat because they were accustomed to eating rice and corn only. However after the 20,000 tons of wheat had arrived in Nepal and the people, including King Mahendra, had eaten it we heard many reports of how well they liked it.

While we are discussing food taboos in Nepal, we should pause to take a second look at our own culture and realize we have well-developed aversions to eating many different foods which are acceptable in certain other cultures. How many people in the United States would be willing to eat raw fish, snake, monkey, and snails? Yet these are consumed with relish by people in certain countries. Recently I was discussing food with a man and his wife who had been in Africa and they told me how sweet is monkey meat and how muscular but nutritious is

the boa constrictor. Two centuries ago Americans would not eat tomatoes. Some insist on fish for Fridays.

There are families in the United States who in the midst of abundant varieties of food have poorly balanced diets for no other reason than "We don't like these things." Fortunately the super market, the packaging industry, refrigeration and television have done much to eliminate provincial attitudes toward food in America.

Our family became fond of Nepalese food particularly rice and curry dishes. A new taste treat for me was pan with a slightly sweet flavor. Pan was served normally after dinner and came as an interesting little puffy package made from rich green betel leaf. One of the reasons I enjoy going on foreign assignments into other countries is to find out what the people eat and give my palate a treat. I am adventuresome diet-wise. I will try to eat anything which human beings have eaten before and found good. I will eat it a second time even

though I didn't like it the first time if people maintain that a taste can be cultivated for it.

I believe we can generalize by saying that (1) many food taboos are not in the public interest generally, (2) food taboos are a greater hardship comparitively speaking on countries with limited food supplies, (3) food taboos deserve consideration by those who seek to bring about worthwhile cultural changes and (4) we may develop more universal understanding as we develop more universal palates.

A Letter from Home

We found six weeks was the normal time for an exchange of official correspondence by air between the mission and Washington. This included the normal processing of the correspondence for replies. If anyone wanted to kill a project he could almost do it by raising a few questions one at a time. Washington and Kathmandu on some occasions had to act without mutual clearance because of the excessive time required for

exchange of communications.

Mail had been a difficult problem within Nepal in the past and will continue to be for some time but the situation is improving. Limited transportation and poor administration are responsible for the situation. But lack of language uniformity and widespread illiteracy have aggravated the problem. The following amplify these factors.

It takes longer to get an exchange of letters between Gaulduna and Humla Jumla within Nepal under the best conditions than it took to send a letter seven times around the world from New York before the Jet Age.

I quote a paragraph from a memorandum entitled "How to Get a Package Out of the Nepal Post Office." This was written by a staff member after he and his wife had undergone several discouraging experiences and thought they might help others in the mission. Five paragraphs of the memorandum have been deleted.

"The foregoing illustrates how the process works. In summary here it is: First, the Indian Post Office receives the package and sends a note to the Nepal Post Office telling them they have it. The Nepal Post Office notifies the addressee. The addressee goes to the Nepal Post Office and is informed the package is at the Indian Post Office. The addressee then goes to the Indian Post Office to get the package. The Indian Post Office tells him the package is there but they cannot give it to him, instead they give him a note so he can collect the package at the Nepal Custom House the next day at 3:00 p.m. The addressee goes to the Custom House the next day and tries to collect the package.

"If everything goes as it is supposed to one may get the package in a week or ten days after its arrival however it will require at least three trips and usually six or seven. It will take a minimum of three days time after you receive the notice to get your hands on the package and usually a week to get the notice after the package arrives. Your chances of getting a notice are low. The odds of getting the package are not in favor of the addressee. Several of ours have been returned to the U.S."

The above highlights the nature of the mail situation when Nepal was not in the International Postal Union and was

unable to withdraw directly its mail from the international distribution network. Both Nepal and India suffered from the backwash of dissatisfactions that resulted from the cumbersome arrangement.

Another disturbing characteristic of the earlier situation was the lack of privacy and property security of the mails. I wish I had a copy of a note that a United Nations technician in Nepal included in one of his letters "To the Postal Official Who Opens This." The censor or curious character who had been opening the mail must have gotten a scorch on his soul from the fiery blast.

Further limitations on the mail distribution in Nepal were the fifty-seven languages and dialects spoken by her peoples among whom less than 50% could speak Nepali, the national language, and less than 5% could read or write. /Postal system has changed since then. Nepal is now a member of the International Postal Union./

Is There a Doctor in the Country?

Lack of medical care was the greatest concern I had regarding the family's welfare when I went to Nepal. It is

a burdensome decision to take one's family overseas among disease traps where reasonable medical care does not exist.

We anticipated quite correctly the deficiency in Nepal's medical facilities and care before we left Washington. We prepared for the situation the best we could by getting supplies, equipment and instructions from the State Department Medical Service and the ICA. These were invaluable, particularly when the staff went into areas with no medical services whatsoever.

Nine months after we opened the mission, a public health doctor arrived to help the Government of Nepal to initiate a public health program. The government had a limited curative program but no public health program had existed before Dr. George Moore (the only man who ever saw the Abominable Snow Man(?)) assumed the dual role of advising the government and caring for the health of mission members and their families. Some people in Washington believed he should devote his entire

time to advising the Nepal Government, but the needs of the situation justified the policy we adopted. Dr. Moore organized the mission clinic and we secured the necessary equipment and medicines for it. Dr. Raymond Stannard succeeded Dr. Moore and rendered excellent care in addition to his principal duty. Later when the staff grew larger Dr. Elizabeth Price was assigned to the mission and the Chief of the Public Health Division devoted his full time to advising the Government on the development of a public health program. At the end of two years Dr. Price returned to the U.S. and we signed a contract with the United Mission Hospital, which had been organized in the interim, to provide the required medical services for our group. This United Mission Hospital had been established by several cooperating Protestant groups. It was functioning well along modern lines and performing a great service to the population. I believe the establishment of this hospital and the excellent services they rendered was the greatest morale boost we had while I was there. The

contract with this group provided for the necessary services of a doctor for the clinic, laboratory services and access to hospital care. This gave us medical care in one package. We believed this contract arrangement was mutually beneficial because it provided reasonably satisfactory medical service for us and enabled the United Mission to use additional resources provided by the contract to expand their services to the Nepalese people.

Dental and eye problems continued to be difficult because no satisfactory arrangement had been developed to deal with these within Nepal. For these we went to Calcutta or New Delhi and I found these dentists and eye specialists among the best I have ever had. However the round trip to Delhi was about fourteen hundred miles and to Calcutta about a thousand miles. The trip was by air and expensive. Added to high transportation costs were hotel bills, time lost from work, and in case of children the requirement for an adult to accompany. This resulted in dental bills being about ten times as much as

they would have been in the United States. Some suffered as a consequence of these difficulties. Too many, in fact. Some children in our mission required the continuing care of an orthodontist and there were none in Nepal. Two of these were our daughters, Carol and Dorothy.

The first itinerant dentist I had ever seen came to our house in Kathmandu in answer to a request which had been made by one of the servants of the former occupant and owner of the house. The dentist carried a black bag similar to, but much smaller than, our country doctor's. This bag contained a few of the primitive tools of a dentist: pliers, prober and gouger. They looked as rough as my nomenclature. He was not equipped to treat an infected tooth and I wondered if he appreciated the significance of reducing infection before extraction. Extraction was his big business.

We had several serious illnesses during the first years which required evacuation. The closest government facility

for looking after serious medical problems was in the Philippines 3579 miles away.

Japan? Bangkok?

GOVERNMENT BY APPOINTMENT

The years between the end of the Revolution and the inauguration of Parliament (February 18, 1951 - July 1, 1959) were years of uncertain power in Nepal. The uncertainty in the exercise of power retarded Nepal's progress but the reasons for the uncertainty were understandable however. I will not review them fully in this report.

Nepal had government by appointment during the interim period with ten changes in the top administrative group.

Change	Date	Prime Minister	Party
1.	February 1951	General Mohan S.J.B. Rana	Coalition Cabinet (Rana-Nepali Congress
2.	November 1951	M. P. Koirala	Nepali Congress
3.	August 1952	No P.M. (Field Marshal Kaiser S.J.B. Rana Chief Counsellor)	
4.	June 1953	M. P. Koirala	National Democratic
5.	February 1954	M. P. Koirala	Coalition Cabinet
6.	March 1955	No P.M. (Sardar Gunjaman Singh, Principal Advisor)	
7.	January 1956	T. P. Acharya	Praja Parished
8.	July 1957	K. I. Singh	United Democratic Part
9.	November 1957	No P.M. King Mahendra ruled directly	
10.	May 1958	No.P.M. (General Subarna S.J.B. Rana, Chairman of Council of Ministers)	
11.	July 1959	Inauguration of Parliament B. P. Koirala, first elected Prime Minister.	
12	Dec	1960 No P.M	

I worked with nine of these during the six and a half years I was in Nepal and I had sympathy for every group that assumed responsibility for administration of the government. Anyone who took the job was flirting with political disaster -- even King Mahendra when he chose to rule directly from November 1957 to May 1959.

Although I refer to ten changes in the government I realise there were basically only two. The first was the restoration of real power to King Tribhuvan which had been wrested from his forefather by Jung Bahadur and held for more than a century by the Rana Prime Ministers. A partial brake was put on the King's power by the Interim Constitution but the king was the final arbiter. He appointed cabinets and replaced them. He chose councilors and when the situation changed he no longer kept them. All in all however King Tribhuvan had a democratic outlook. If he had not it would have been unlikely that the revolutionaries would have rallied around him in 1950-51.

The second basic change came when King Mahendra agreed to the holding of general elections after he had promulgated Nepal's first constitution which provided for a parliament under a constitutional monarchy. In this constitution the King reserved the power to dissolve the parliament under certain circumstances.

A stable friendly attitude was maintained between Nepal and the United States throughout my service there. It helped us to pursue our joint economic development efforts with a sense of abiding cooperation and continuity. We bolstered these good relations by adopting a system of cooperation that helped to assure that both of our governments would be in a good position to carry out uninterruptedly their respective commitments for projects undertaken with the sustained support that is essential to success.

I didn't say much about changes of government while I was in Nepal because I realized it would have been easy for some of the Nepalis to have drawn attention to the changes going

on concurrently within our government. For it was during the same six and a half years we have been discussing that the United States changed our Presidents once, our ambassadors to Nepal four times and the directors of our national foreign aid program five times.

One question I heard several times: "Why doesn't Nepal change its system of administration to accommodate its broadened objectives of public service?" Some well informed observers believed the establishment of a good system of public administration should be Nepal's priority objective because the old system which had served the Rana family well was not designed to serve the public well. This system had been designed to avoid doing projects which the people needed so the Rana rulers would have more to divide among their family. Some people who tried to do something to change this system became frustrated and didn't get far. I believe some of those who became frustrated failed to consider many of the elements involved in

establishing an overall change in a government's system of administration. For example, some became deeply committed in their thinking to changing the organic structure of the government with accompanying specific detailed delegations of authority to avoid overlapping responsibilities; others thought salvation reposed in changing the rules and procedural routines so everyone could read a manual and know what to do and when to do it in concert with everyone else concerned. Some believed a reorientation of attitudes with a good system of training in administration geared to the assigned duties of the individuals concerned would solve the problems; others thought the chief emphasis should be placed on developing a means of keeping the public widely informed so the people could participate more in the affairs of government. There were some who believed all of these and more would be required. Unfortunately too many had too little comprehension of how to do what they recommended in Nepal.

There were several reasons why it was difficult to change the Rana system of government administration. First, the top administrators were changed so often under the practice of Government by Appointment there was little hope of getting a system established. It is one thing to recommend a system for adoption but quite another to get it firmly established to do the job required. Second, the middle leadership group of the government, the secretaries, and their close subordinates and supporters were largely opposed to reorganization of administration for the usual reasons: fear of finding themselves in less preferred positions as a result of expected rearrangement of the personnel pattern to accommodate the reorganized system; the likelihood that the rules and procedures would be changed thus reducing the advantage they held as a result of their familiarity with the old rules and procedures; the possibility that some might be considered replaceable in the changeover. These were not minor considerations to be quickly dismissed

because they were tied up with almost a lifetime of government service in some cases under the former regime and the welfare of the individual's family as well as his own were involved. The people that can live on in Nepal are narrow and the opportunities have been limited thus accentuating their desire for order and distaste for confusion, particularly when identified with proposals for change which impinged upon their security. Third, Nepal didn't have the trained manpower to initiate and carry through such a reorganization without the conversion of a large part of those who were in the Rana Government and tightly wedded to the concept "Be not the first by whom the new is tried." About 95% of Nepal's people are engaged in subsistence agriculture from which no experience for government administration comes; more than 95% cannot read and write; there is almost no business or industry that will train people who may be later siphoned off by the government to meet its needs. Fourth, Nepal's long tradition of teaching her people to beware of foreigners helped the opponents of change

to discredit the foreigners' advice in the field of administration perhaps more than any other area. The Rueh Commission from India came to Nepal to study the Government's administrative system and to propose a scheme for its improvement. This created a tempest in the Singha Durbar teapot. One official told me the Rueh Report "cut off too many toes;" another that "India proposes to send 200 to change our system -- one in every office;" and a third "India wants to superimpose her administrative system on Nepal and it doesn't fit our needs." Such reactions convinced me that an international or private group such as the United Nations or the Ford Foundation would have a better chance of helping in this area than either the United States or India. However I continued to inform officials in the government that our mission would be glad to help get a strong public administration team to help analyze the Nepal Government's administrative requirements then and for the predictable future; help develop an effective plan to service these requirements; help draft procedural materials and

legislation to implement the plan; help train or retrain the core personnel necessary to put the plan into operation, and to continue to help them long enough to be sure the plan didn't fail because some essential part was left undone or done improperly. This struck me as a field that required the complete treatment instead of the hit and miss approach. These offers brought forth little response at the time for some of the reasons I have indicated already.

But we had to find a way to gear the energies and resources of our Technical Cooperation Mission into those of the Nepal Government. The system for cooperation we chose is described in the next section.

SYSTEM OF COOPERATION DEVELOPED

A unique system of cooperation was developed with the Government of Nepal to fit the circumstances that were peculiar to Nepal. It was the only system like it to my knowledge in any of the more than sixty countries in which the United States has been cooperating in its foreign aid efforts. (The Servicios

in Latin America were similar in many respects but different in their having an American manager with a national understudy or second in charge rather than co-director on a strict basis of equality of authority and responsibility.) It was the most effective method that could have been devised for the first six years of the Nepal-American cooperation.

The system was known as the Nepal-American Cooperative Services. There were nine of these; one for each of the fields in which we cooperated, namely: agriculture, health, education, village development, industry, public works and communications, mining, Rapti Valley multipurpose development, and flood relief. The last was dissolved when the job was completed. Program agreements were developed for each general field. These outlined the broad program, stipulated the authority and responsibility of the co-directors, set forth the working relationships and the total amount of funds to be subscribed by each government. These were used from year to year usually with the only change

being the paragraph dealing with the amount of funds to be subscribed for the current year. Tied to the program agreements were project agreements which detailed the specific project activities to be undertaken and the authorized budgets to implement the work. The agreements were signed by representatives of both governments after approval by the cabinet and/or the King of Nepal and authorized representatives of the U.S. Government.

Each Cooperative Service was administered by two co-directors who had unusually wide powers to carry out the provisions of the agreements and each co-director was responsible to the authority who appointed him. The co-directors representing the Government of Nepal were usually secretaries of the ministries or directors of technical departments, and their American counterparts were normally chiefs of the technical divisions of the United States Operations Mission. The appointing authorities were the Ministers of the concerned ministries of the Nepal Government and the Director of USOM/Nepal.

The cooperative programs were closely integrated with the work of the respective ministries but within the framework detailed above the cooperative services were autonomous.

Each government subscribed mutually agreed upon amounts to joint fund accounts which were maintained in the local bank for each cooperative service and checks were countersigned by each co-director. Funds were expended in accordance with budgets or purposes specifically set forth in the project agreements.

The basic reason for choosing the Cooperative Service as the method for cooperating was to surmount specific difficulties experienced during the first six months of trying to get something done through the existing administrative system of the Nepal Government which was not geared for economic development activities, particularly with the active cooperation of another country. Four specific considerations amplify this basic reason and justified our decision. First, this system extended the availability of funds beyond the end of the fiscal year to

assure completion of activities undertaken; secondly, it delegated as closely as possible authority to the field operations; thirdly, it provided the most effective working and learning relationship between officials of the two governments at that stage, and fourthly, it provided both governments with full opportunities to know the status of operations at all times and a mutual channel for representatives of each government to expedite agreed upon activities.

The criticisms against the Cooperative Services were chiefly two: (1) that the co-directors had more authority and less restrictions than other government officials and this attack came from the diehard members of the old regime, and (2) that the term "co-director" implied active involvement of a foreign country in the internal affairs of the government which some politicians outside the government were using against those inside the government. The first criticism was easy to answer because there was so much evidence immediately available

to indicate that the governmental administrative system would have to be overhauled to delegate more authority to those responsible for operations and to cut the cumbersome red tape if the country were to progress as a democracy rather than to stagnate as under the autocracy that had created the existing administrative pattern. The reply to the second criticism was to the effect that the cooperative programs were the joint efforts of two governments, not the unilateral efforts of either; thus, each had legitimate rights to representation in the various phases of the operations and furthermore both governments were concerned with the success of the mutual programs because each was responsible for an accounting to its respective tax payers.

The system of Cooperative Services was effective in the Nepal situation because it cut much of the cumbersome red tape of both governments, decentralized authority and centralized responsibility so action could be taken responsibly at the appropriate time. It was intended largely as an interim measure

until the autocratic administrative system of the Nepal Government could be revamped to handle effectively the problems of modern democratic government.

In the beginning while there were only two or three cooperative services we had no problems with the system, but as the number increased to nine we found a growing insistence upon the need for uniform procedures. This tendency for uniformity on the part of the less resourceful reduced the effectiveness of some of the more progressive leadership. However this was the logical result of proliferation and it served a good purpose in the government because it resulted in the formation of a Board of Co-directors which included all co-directors plus the Secretary of Planning and Development. This constituted not only a forum for discussion of better methods of co-ordinating all the Nepal-American projects but also resulted in consideration of standards of good public administration. A brief procedural manual was developed by the Board and its provisions were formalized through a signed agreement between the representatives of the two governments.

As the number of Cooperative Services grew it became apparent too that economies could be effected through the centralization of certain functions such as accounting, auditing, procurement and warehousing. Accordingly during the last year I was in Nepal we concentrated on developing a more centralized system for operating the Nepal-American Cooperative Program. During the preceding five years there had been a notable growth of competence among the Nepal Government officials with whom we had been working, and a broader base of understanding had developed also between the Nepalis and the Americans. In the resulting plan which was ready for signature when I left there were provisions for a high level policy-making board for the Nepal-American Development Program; a pattern for making a transition to the centralized services mentioned above for all projects; retention of a measure of control and direction of field operations, and a change of working relationships to accommodate the desire of the Nepalis that their men be designated as the directors and our technicians as the advisors. There

were also the essential provisions to continue to protect the interests of the United States insofar as the wise and responsible use of American funds were concerned.

Whereas the Cooperative Service approach was the one generally associated with the American early program in Nepal, we did use two others also. These were autonomous development boards and bilateral agreements implemented by contracts with American firms. The latter were employed in connection with the construction of a large aerial tramway to Kathmandu and a radio telecommunication network for the country.

The Development Boards Act of 1957 twice amended, provided for autonomous boards to implement important parts of Nepal's Five Year Development Plan, particularly those parts in which foreign countries were cooperating. The American Government was party to five of the first six of these boards after the Act had been amended: the Regional Transportation Board, Timber Corporation, Village Development Board, Tourist Development Board and Bir Hospital Development Board. Essentially the

same motives prompted the legislative provision for development boards as had earlier been responsible for the formation of the Cooperative Services. The Development Boards will very likely become a victim of the same operating difficulties as the Cooperative Services as soon as they increase sufficiently in number. They will be criticized for constituting a duality of government, or government by boards: the question of uniformity of procedures will arise again: and once more there will be criticism that the rules and regulations of the boards should be the same as for the Government generally. This will help to bring about what has been needed since the Revolution of 1950, a complete reorganization and revitalization of the administrative system of the Government along modern and effective lines. Reorganization of administration has been resisted effectively by certain elements of the administration. It was in this area of administration that the government appeared to be most sensitive to outside influence.

Before leaving this topic I will characterize the various methods employed by foreign countries and agencies which

assisted Nepal in its development during the period of my tenure of office.

1. "We will cooperate with you". This was the American approach and as the term "cooperate" indicates it meant joint operation with mutual objectives. This was the heart of the Cooperative Services.

2. The Government of India used at least three methods as far as I could discern.

a. "We will do it for you". This was exemplified by the Road to Kathmandu and the Kathmandu Airport projects. Under this approach the Government of India retained control of the men, money and materials and the work was done almost unilaterally after the initial decision had been made with no provision for training Nepalis in either construction or management techniques. Under this system the projects were completed in a reasonable period of time. This method failed decisively however to identify the Nepal Government with the projects.

b. "We will provide the money and the technicians, you furnish the management". This was India's second approach and it was almost a complete reversal of policy indicating that India had not been well pleased with the method earlier employed. The project involved in this approach was the Minor Irrigation Project for which India provided Rs. 9,000,000 or about $1,000,000. The result was a frustrating failure for India because of the difficulties experienced in trying to get the Government of Nepal to use the money for the purpose intended after it had been turned over to it.

c. "We must find a better way -- the Development Board". India had much to do with the drafting of the Development Boards Act of 1957. India had come finally to essentially the same conclusion after five years which we had arrived at after the first six months. I don't believe the Development Boards will be as effective as the Cooperative Services insofar as expediting the execution of development projects but they do take a greater cognizance of the rising spirit of nationalism and they do constitute a further step toward the ultimate goal

of establishing an effective system of public administration. This is why we cooperated with the Government of Nepal in this system after it was promulgated.

3. "We will give you aid and you can use it any way you wish." This was Communist China's approach and there is little doubt that the Chinese Communists believed this was their best way to get their toe in Nepal's door and they were willing to pay $13,000,000 to do it. This method left two big question marks in the minds of the thinking Nepalis: "What are the ministers doing with this Chinese money?" And it was embarrassing for the ministers to reply because there was little evidence of tangible results being accomplished. The other question was a more important one: "What is Communist China's ultimate objective in giving us this aid?" The happenings in Tibet and along Nepal's borders must be increasing the skepticism.

4. "We can furnish technicians only". This was the basic approach of the various agencies of the United Nations. There were two weaknesses of the UN technical assistance efforts in Nepal that became very clear [illegible] as I observed their operations. The chief weakness and one which the UN could have done something about was a lack of central administration within Nepal for the four different specialised agencies of the UN working independently there: The UNTAA, FAO, WHO and UNESCO. If this situation obtains as a standard operating policy of the United Nations it would seem desirable, if not mandatory, that urgent consideration be given to changing this policy if the technical assistance activities of the UN are to be expanded. The second weakness was a shortage of development funds to help support the implementation of measures advocated by the technical advisers. The Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED) should supply the answer to this problem if it is supported adequately by the cooperating nations.

5. "We will help you some if you will give us a definite formal request." This was the British approach. The problem in this situation was that the Nepalis just didn't get around to the formulation and forwarding of very many definite requests.

6. "We will furnish funds provided you will get the work done on an agreed schedule." This was the approach of the Ford Foundation. Additionally it provided a liaison -- expediter.

7. "Happy birthday, Your Majesty! We are glad you are here. Please accept this present." In this way the Russians exploited King Mahendra's birthday during his state visit to Russia by giving him a fifty bed hospital to further probe Nepalese reaction to their earlier offer of aid which had gone without response. This was reminiscent of the tactic employed by the leaders of Communist China who invited Nepal's Prime Minister Tanka Prased Acharya to visit China and while he was there dangled the $13,000,000 plum.

Some minor qualifications might be added to the above characterizations of the various approaches but they are accurate

in their central emphasis.

This review of the various methods employed in Nepal raises the question as to which are the most effective. Rather than judge these, it will be more productive to cite some criteria for selecting a method to be used in any economically underdeveloped country. The first step in this process is to answer the question thoroughly and without reservations: "Can mutual objectives for the proposed aid be clearly identified and acknowledged?" There should be no misunderstanding about this. It is better to work this out jointly than to leave it for the speculations of the skeptics. This applies particularly to bilateral aid from sovereign countries. When this qualification is met then a realistic basis exists to test the particular method under consideration by the following criteria:

1. Will it help to accomplish the major mutual objectives most efficiently considering the elements of time, training and costs?

2. Will it enable the receiver to maintain his self respect and the greater his reputation?

3. Will it help people to help themselves and thus encourage self reliance and confidence?

4. Will it enable the receiver to use his own resources fully?

CHAPTER VI

Author's Note

In Chapter III I recorded some of my initial impressions of Nepal. In this chapter I will give some of the impressions which developed as I stayed in Nepal over a longer period. In addition, I have included some information on the organization of Nepal society and a few selected customs and beliefs. These factors have been brought into focus in this report because their significance became increasingly evident to me as we sought to understand the people with whom we cooperated in efforts to achieve mutual objectives.

CHAPTER VI

MORE ABOUT EARTH'S HIGHEST KINGDOM

Many characteristics distinguish Nepal's politics, economy and culture but in the content of this report three are significant. Politically, Nepal is a thin buffer between rival giants; economically, she has been a victim of isolation imposed by her former rulers and by Nature and culturally Nepal is top heavy with taboos.

Between Rival Giants

The political significance of Nepal in the world today arises from its qualities as a buffer between rival giants. These rival giants are democracy and communism in the world community and India and China in Asia. After centuries of isolation Nepal became a member of the United Nations in 1955 and in the UN her representatives found that many issues were tightly drawn between the leaders of democracy and communism. Nepal's sympathies and actions in the U.N. have been with the oppressed and the less privileged nations generally. Nepal's first ambassador to the United Nations, His Excellency, Rishikesh Shaha,

condemned courageously the ruthless suppression of Hungary by the Russian Communists and he supported stoutly the cause of the landlocked countries in their efforts to establish freedom of access to the seas of the world as a basic right. Nepal joined India on some occasions in the U.N. in what appeared to be efforts to establish a third force in international politics under the banner of neutralism to influence the balance of power in international affairs. Where Nepal will stand if Communist China should be admitted to the United Nations will pose some critical tests of the wisdom and diplomacy of Nepal's leadership.

Nepal has been undergoing a trying transition from an authoritarian to a democratic system of government since the Revolution of 1950. Powerful vestiges of the old authoritarianism remain despite the establishment of a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary government on July 1, 1959.

This Parliament was dissolved by royal decree on December 15, 1960. Americans with their long history of democracy realise that democratic government is the most rewarding for the people but few stop to consider that democracy is also the most difficult type of government to administer. In Nepal's long history only a very few of her people have shared the experience of governing or helping to govern. Until the Revolution Nepal was ruled by autocrats or dictators. This deficiency in the participation of the people in government has been compounded by their lack of access to literature about, and observation of, democracies.

At this crucial stage in Nepal's history the two rival giants of Asia, the world's "most populous democracy" India, and the world's "most populous communist state" China, are engaged in verbal skirmishes over their mutual boundary line. This may lead ultimately to a showdown. Nepal is sandwiched between them with 1200 miles of border contact. This situation imposes upon Nepal the alternatives of an alignment with India

or China or a political tightrope act suspended uneasily between them. The temptation to play the buffer game for all it is worth may result in disaster for Nepal.

As Nepal's leaders come to their decision I am hopeful they will consider these factors:

1. Whereas Communist China took over Nepal's northern neighbor Tibet when she had the opportunity, democratic India overcame a similar temptation to do the same to Nepal when she had a comparable opportunity. Instead India assisted Nepal to achieve freedom from dictatorial rule and to strengthen her national sovereignty.

2. Communist China's policy of taking over Tibet on the ground that she had exercised suzerainty over Tibet at certain times in Tibet's long past should be a warning to Nepal. When the situation is propitious the same Chinese leaders may not hesitate to use the treaty which followed the Nepal-China War of 1792 to justify the obliteration of Nepal from the map, for the Communists make some far reaching decisions on scant justifications when it serves their purposes.

3. Nepal and India have been striving since the Nepal Revolution in 1950-51 and Indian Independence in 1947 for the same general objectives of democracy in government and freedom for their citizens while the efforts of the Communists have been directed to contrary ends.

4. Nepal and India share many cultural and religious traditions. For example 89% of the Nepalese people are Hindus and very religious whereas communism recognizes religion as a competitor and tries to destroy it.

5. Nepal's major trade channels are with and through India, and the facts of topography and geography will continue to emphasize the importance of this situation. Nepal's trade and development can be accelerated by improving certain trading arrangements with India. Fortunately both countries have been working on understandings in this connection. Trade with Tibet was greater at one time than at the present but even then it was only a small percentage of Nepal's total. The trade movement

was at its height with Tibet before British India opened the Kalimpong route which bypassed Nepal.

Despite the foregoing there have been discordant notes in Nepal-India relations which require the constant alertness of India and Nepal if they are to be harmonized for their mutual advantage. Nepalis chafe at anything that may be construed even remotely as Indian domination despite the preponderant evidence of India's constructive cooperation. Specifically, the incidents or policies which created some friction were related to foreign exchange control, trade through India, technical assistance, Indian press influence and attempts at foreign policy coordination.

I have heard a few Nepalis express the opinion that China has no designs on Nepal. After reflecting on it, I concluded that these particular persons were probably like some of the residents of Lhasa, Tibet who assumed that the Chinese communists had no designs on Tibet until after the Chinese invasion with its catastrophic consequences. Such unrealistic thinking is the foundation for national disaster.

A Victim of Isolation

Isolation is the most reasonable explanation for the present state of Nepal's economy. It has been strangled by Nature and the strict isolationist policies of her former rulers.

Nature left Nepal without a seaport and thus limited her access to the world of trade and ideas. Nature added insult to injury by piling the earth in such high mountains that people cannot get over or around them to trade with each other except with extreme difficulty and excessive costs. As if these were not sufficient obstacles Nature covered perpetually with ice a large part of the country so people cannot get to the good things of the earth beneath. Then Nature used gravity to make the water run so fast down the steep mountain sides that it cut deep chasms which have divided the country into a thousand hills and valleys and made it impossible to navigate the streams, and almost impossible to cross them about three or four months of the year during the monsoons. This design of Nature channeled the movement of people and trade in narrow lanes from north to south because the highest mountains were in the north from whence

cane the splashing, dashing stream.

But Nepal's rulers were not dismayed by the handiwork of nature. Instead they recognized in it an opportunity to perpetuate their control over the people. So they instituted a policy of strict isolation centered on keeping foreigners out; keeping the ideas of foreigners out; keeping the inventions of foreigners out; keeping their people from contact with foreigners. They succeeded for centuries. Until 1947 it is reported that less than fifty Westerners had entered the Valley of Kathmandu, the capital, throughout its history. They restricted rigidly immigration, emigration, and migration. They banned books, movies and the usual means that people have for learning about the stimulating world of ideas and the new paths of progress.

If Jeremiah had lived in Nepal in the centuries past he could have added substantially to the record of his lamentations.

Top Heavy with Taboos

Taboos weigh heavily on the culture of Nepal. Perhaps no area of life is without them. They have been accumulating over the centuries and from many sources. Nepal's religions, and the dramatic forces in Nature to which many assigned supernatural significance, appear to be responsible for most of these. For example, Hinduism, the religion of 89% of the Nepalis today, introduced to Nepal the caste system with its limitations on: social mobility, occupational choices, food consumption, marriage and a wide range of human relations.

Some of Nepal's religious beliefs had primitive origins and elements of these persist today. The vagaries of weather are credited with being the basis for a myriad of briefs, some of which have become formalized parts of Nepal's religious traditions. For example, Nepalis pay tribute to Machendranath, the Rain God. An incident in this connection impressed me strongly while I was in Kathmandu. There had been a long period of drouth and it was continuing. The people who were almost

entirely dependent upon agriculture were feeling its adverse effects because their crops were parched and the land lacked moisture to germinate new seeds. They could foresee the disastrous results that were sure to come if it didn't rain soon. In this situation the people not only manifested their personal belief in the Rain God but they had their government to appropriate money to pay for milk which they poured on the dry bed of the sacred Bagmati River as a sacrifical offering. I was impressed similarly when I read in a paper from home about a bad drouth in our Midwest and how our people had publicized an earnest appeal over a wide area to get people to pray for rain. I concluded that Nepalis and Americans are fundamentally the same in a crisis when confronted by forces over which they exercise no control: they turn to their God or gods as the case may be.

Many restrictive beliefs would not have come into existence, or would have been dispelled quickly, if scientific

knowledge had been widespread. Unfortunately only 4½% of the people could read and write and among this number the quality of literacy was so low among so many that scientific information in the usual meaning of the term was unavailable to them. We can assume however that modern technology and literacy will have a profound influence on Nepal's politics, economy and culture. The potential impact of these will become clearer I believe as we consider further the situation in Nepal.

Creeds Men Live By

One morning, during an interesting conference with a Nepali who had studied in India and England, I expressed a wish to become more thoroughly informed about the basic institutions of Nepalese life -- particularly religious beliefs, caste organization and family traditions. I needed this more complete information to understand problems that confronted me daily. And I needed it to help interpret Nepalese life to my colleagues who were being added to our staff from time to time. The information

and viewpoints came to me from several sources, but one was of particular help because he was not only reading into the literature on these subjects but he was doing a little opinion research on the side. This person was Sri Uttam Rana. I mention him because I am so much indebted to him, but inasmuch as I noted only certain of his ideas and information and often out of the content in which they were presented I take responsibility for them.

Nepal's census of 1952-54 recorded as

Hindus	7,318,392	(89.0%)
Buddhists	707,104	(8.5%)
Moslems	208,899	(2.4%)
Others	684	(0.1%)
Total Population	8,235,079	

Nowhere else in the world will one find the blending of Hinduism and Buddhism as in Nepal. Each has absorbed from the other, and so much common ground has been established through the years, that it is difficult to determine in some instances where one ends and the other begins.

According to Uttam, Hindus are taught to acknowledge the Buddhist god Machendra and the followers of Buddha in turn pay respect to the Hindu deity Pashupati. Nepalmahatra says: "To worship Buddha is to worship Shiva." Returning the compliment, the Swayambhu Purana recommends the worship of Pashupati. Hindus visit the Buddhist shrines and observe the Buddhist festivals; Buddhists visit the Hindu temples and observe their festivals.

Perhaps the best example of this common worship is the temple of Mahankal which lies immediately opposite the Military Hospital on the south side of the Kathmandu parade ground. Buddhists pay homage to the central shrine as the image of Avalokiteswara, Creator of the World, while the Hindus see Mahakal, the great god of death or time, the figure as/~~Mahadeva or Shiva~~, the guardian deity of Nepal.

Swayambhunath and Bodhnath, the two leading Buddhist temples in Kathmandu Valley, have had a definite linkage by tradition with the Dalai Lama in Lhasa, but Nepal has never denied

facilities for the preservation or restoration of these and Tibetan pilgrims are allowed full access to them for worship.

Buddhism in Nepal

Gautama Buddha was born at Lumbini, Nepal, near the Indian border but he received his enlightenment in India and began his career there. This has resulted in some differences of opinion about who started Buddhism in Nepal. Some believe the Indian Emperor Asoka introduced Buddhism to Nepal when he visited the country about 250 B.C. However, this is not considered to be correct for "the accounts of Ananda, Buddha's disciple, who journeyed to the Valley, show that Buddhists and their monasteries flourished in Nepal about three centuries before the visit of Asoka."

Nepalese Buddhism has been influenced greatly by the Hindus. The Buddhism one finds in Nepal today is reputed to be different from the code practiced there more than 2000 years ago. It is different also from Tibetan Buddhism, specifically

(1) Nepal has rejected the old monastic institutes of Buddhism which Tibet continues to observe, and (2) Tibetan Buddhism has none of the marks of the Hindu caste system. These differences exist because the Dalai Lama was for centuries the head of the religion and the state in Tibet until the coming of communism, whereas in Nepal Buddhism slipped into a secondary position when Hinduism became the religion of Nepal's rulers about six hundred years ago.

Gautama Buddha taught that the aim of life should be to attain Nirvana, a blissful state of being free of suffering. He maintained there were eight paths that lead to Nirvana. These paths were captioned by Uttam as right views, right intentions, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right concentration, right effort and right mindfulness. The Buddha appealed to the man in the street by stressing the common virtues of charity and a moral life. Uttam summed up Gautama Buddha's Buddhism as "Morality without God."

There are numerous features to the symbolism of the religions in Nepal. The following are some of the things I was told.

The circular bump on the forehead of a Buddha (Urna) distinguishes those who have received enlightenment.

The knobs on the head of a Buddha (Usnisa) are alleged to represent what happened when the Buddha became so annoyed on one occasion when he had to interrupt his meditations and teachings to get a haircut. He expressed his feelings and as a consequence his hair became naturally blue and tightly curled thus dispensing with the need of a barber.

The symbol of double footprints (Padukas) appears in the armorial bearing of Nepal and is represented in carvings throughout the Valley. These symbolic footprints vary according to the personage represented, for example, the Buddha's can be recognized by a circle and Vishnu's by an incision. The pair which appears in Nepal's armorial bearing

is known as "Guru Paduka" and represents the footprints of Sri 108 Gorkhanath, the guardian deity of Gorkha from whence came the present ruling family of Shah and the previous ruling Rana family. (The prefix 'Sri' denotes relative prestige and is prefixed to the names of human beings and the gods. It is customary to repeat this prefix a number of times to denote the position of the named. When referring to the King it is repeated five times; for former Rana prime-ministers it was repeated thrice; and for other men only once before their names. In the case of Sri 108 Gorkhanath it is repeated one hundred and eight times).

Hinduism in Nepal

The earliest history of Hinduism in Nepal is vague but in 1324 A.D. Hari Singh Deva of Tirhout (~~Northern India~~) was defeated by the Muslin armies under Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq Shah of Delhi. Hari Singh crossed into Nepal, entered

the Valley from the east, defeated the Malla rajas and established himself as ruler in 1326 A.D.

"The people and nobles of Bhadgaon peacefully surrendered their treasures and Hari Singh in return gave to the Valley his Brahmanical organization.

"A few months after Hari Singh had established himself in Nepal, Sultan Ghiyasuddin died, the Muslim storm blew over and Hari Singh returned to India leaving Nepal to be governed by his representatives. Rivalries sprang up and the Mallas once more gained power.

"The Brahmanic influence grew and King Jayasthiti Malla (1380-95) heralded a new epoch in Nepalese history and firmly established the Hindu faith in Nepal. He outlined the rules for the social and religious organizations into which the population had been divided by Hari Singh under the canons of Hinduism and Buddhism. The Hindus were subjected to the strict rules of the Brahmanic castes and the Buddhists were divided into similar vocational classifications but were allowed to

continue with their Buddhistic beliefs. These actions became the foundations for Nepal social structure and it has not changed much since.

"Jayasthiti Malla's work was consolidated by his son Jyotir Malla. Although all kings since have been Hindus they have been tolerant of Buddhism. As an example of this toleration, Jyotir Malla generously rebuilt the shrine of Swayambhunath in 1413 A.D. which had been severely damaged by an earthquake during the previous century."

Hindu Deities

Hindus believe in a Supreme Being, one above gods and goddesses; an eternal Being without beginning or end. But for the better understanding of the masses this Being is presented in many forms. The greatest of these constitute the Hindu trinity: BRAHMA, the god of Creation, VISHNU, the god of Preservation, and SHIVA, the god of Destruction.

Brahma is sometimes pictured with four heads indicative of his intelligence. Because he is the acknowledged creator of

the universe, the various castes find their origin in him. His wife is Brahmi, (Saraswati in India) the goddess of Fine Arts, Music and Literature.

Vishnu is also known as Hari and is represented lying on his couch with the serpent Saish Nag (Ananta) which represents eternity. He rises from his couch when the world needs preserving. His wife is Lakshmi the goddess of Wealth.

Shiva, also known as Mahadev, is the guardian deity of Nepal. Most of the sex cults find their origin in his worship. He has three wives. The first is Sati. The second is Parvati. The third is Ganga. References to Shiva's wife are usually Parvati. (The literal meaning of Parvati is hill girl. In Sanskrit Parvat means the mountain. Parvati is referred to as the daughter of Himalaya, the king of the mountains.) Parvati is also known as Kali due to her colouring (Kali means black). According to the legends she became so angry her whole complexion turned black. She is the goddess of terror and is generally seen with a bloody sword in her right hand and a garland of human heads around her neck. Her tongue is coloured red and her whole body black. All three goddesses are concerned with war.

A list of all the gods and goddesses worshipped in Nepal would be very extensive. The most popular ones are:

Brahma.....god of Creation

Vishnu ..... god of Preservation

Shiva..... god of Destruction

Brahmi..... goddess of Fine Arts, Literature and Music

Lakshmi..... goddess of Wealth

Parbati..... goddess of Terror

Indra..... god of Rain

Agni..... god of Fire

Sitala..... goddess of Smallpox

Surjya..... the Sun god

Chandraman..... the Moon god

Hanuman..... the Monkey god

Ganesh..... the Elephant god

Religious Festivals

There are many religious festivals. A few of the most important are sketchily described here.

DASHAIN is Nepal's most important festival and it lasts ten days. It celebrates a great battle in which the forces of evil led by King Mahisha were defeated by Parvati.

Mahisha was invulnerable to man and the gods were powerless against him. Since he was proving too powerful for them the gods approached Parvati the goddess of Terror, and she agreed to help. For nine days she fought against and finally defeated Mahisha's soldiers and on the tenth day she made her victory complete when she killed Mahisha.

The tenth day is the most important and tika is applied by the seniors to their juniors. (Rama is said to have killed Ravana on this tenth day as well, but this is a different story found in the Hindu saga titled "The Ramayana") The first day of Dasain is known as GHAPASTHAPANA and the object of worship is a large earthenware vessel used for carrying water. For the duration of the festival barley is soaked and spread upon earth or sand.

Dasnain takes place over the end of September and the beginning of October. It is not possible to give the exact dates as the Nepalese months vary in the number of days from year to year.

TAEWAR known as Divali in India, lasts five days. The fifth day is most important and is known as Bhaitikka and takes place twenty-two days after Dasnain. On this day sisters place a tikka on their brothers and give them a token gift and wish them long life and happiness.

The origin of this is traced to the god Yamaraj and the goddess Jamnaji. The two are brother and sister and on this day Jamnaji is reputed to have placed tikka on her brother, fed him, and wished him long life and happiness. As a rule one should not eat in a younger sister's home.

Rice is fed to different animals on the first four days of Tewar: to crows, first day; dogs, second day; cows, third day; and bulls, fourth day.

(Phagu)

HOLI also known as 'Phou', takes place in early March. The highlight of the festival is the practice of throwing coloured water and powder over each other. It is not an uncommon sight to see people walking about with soiled clothes and with their faces and hair covered with red powder.

The origin of this is traced to Krishna, one of the earthly forms taken by Vishnu, god of Preservation. Krishna was very attractive and most popular among women. He came upon some milkmaids bathing one day and proceeded to play games with them. He ended by throwing coloured water and powder over them.

HARISAYANI EKADASHI A king named Bali once defeated the gods and ruled the world. The gods complained to Vishnu and though Bali was a good king Vishnu decided to intervene because ..... well, the gods just could not be allowed to take second place.

Vishnu came to earth disguised as a Brahman dwarf and begged outside Bali's palace. Bali asked him what he desired and Vishnu asked for all the land and domain he could cover

with three steps. Bali, seeing him as a dwarf, agreed though his advisors were against it.

Vishnu's first step covered the sky and the second the whole earth. He then asked Bali where he should place the third step and Bali replied that as he had taken possession of the sky and earth the next step should be on Bali's head. Vishnu did this and Bali was forced into the underworld. The Nepalese believe the whole universe consists of three domains, the sky, the earth and the underworld.

Thus the world was returned to the gods. But Vishnu was so pleased with Bali's conduct that he made him king of the underworld and also agreed to act as his doorkeeper for four months.

Harisayani Ekadashi marks the beginning of the four months Vishnu spent in the underworld and during this period no deed requiring the blessing of the gods such as marriage is performed as Vishnu is not in the world.

Hari is another name for Vishnu and Harisayani means 'Vishnu sleeping.' This starts in June.

JANIPOORNIA also known as 'Gaijatra', is a festival concerned directly with Hariasyani Ekadashi and again concerns Vishnu (as the Brahman dwarf) and Bali. On this day Vishnu bound Bali's wrist with sacred thread and wished him happiness (in the underworld). The people believe that the world is not always ruled by the gods and at times men defeat the gods and rule. In such cases it is up to Vishnu to preserve. It must be borne in mind that such men are not always evil. Bali was a good man and most Hindus feel he received a raw deal. On the other hand Nisumbha was evil and no one regrets his death.

This festival is held near the end of August and on this day the priests bind the wrist of people with sacred thread and pray for their happiness. On this day too the priests bless a bundle of the sacred thread and should any person have to change his sacred thread during the next year he must wear a new one from this bundle.

Ceremonies

Barthaman is the most important ceremony for any Hindu as he is without caste until it is performed for him. The feature of this ceremony is the placement of the sacred thread (janni) round the person's neck by a priest accompanied by the recitation of sacred words.

Should any person marry without wearing the sacred thread his children will not receive any caste and no one who wears a sacred thread will eat with him.

For his barthaman a man must shave his head and after he receives his sacred thread he must observe many rules and restrictions.

A woman does not undergo this ceremony as she obtains her caste through marriage.

It is a tradition that the priest who officiates at one's barthaman must be the same man, or belong to the same family as the one who tended his ancestors.

Sutak is a practice associated with birth. Following the birth of a child the members of the family or clan observe ten days of partial restrictions. Nothing which needs the help of god will be done such as marriages, trips, prayers. However there is no restriction on food.

Sutak is concerned with death and is the mourning period. The duration varies. Members of the family up to ten generations mourn for twelve days, and those belonging to the eleventh or more generation mourn for five days only.

The same restrictions as in the case of sutak are observed and in addition others are observed. White must be worn and leather shoes are not permitted. Meat must not be eaten as well as onions, and any vegetable which produces oil.

Formerly all the males were obliged to shave their heads, beard and moustache but the late Maharaja Chandra Shum Shere passed a law whereby only those junior to the deceased had to observe this.

Concerning Animals

The Hindus believe the cow is the most sacred of all animals and no harm should come to it. People look upon cows as they do their mothers. All the gods are believed to be in a cow and pious Hindus will be seen touching cows they pass with their hand and raising it to their head as a sign of respect.

Everything concerning a cow is considered to be sacred. Even the dung is believed to have antiseptic qualities and is used in connection with the ritual in connection with eating on some occasions. The urine is thought to have medicinal value.

The punishment for any person who knowingly kills a cow is life imprisonment. [I was told twelve years by one party]. Beef eating is strictly forbidden and looked upon as akin to cannibalism.

There are other animals besides the cow which one is not permitted to kill although they are not sacred. These are

horses, elephants, and monkeys. The reason is their association with the gods. The horse is not to be killed as it is the animal which draws the chariot of Surjya, the Sun god; the monkey because of Hanuman's association with the remains of Ram and Sita; and the elephant because of Ganesh, the god of good fortune.

Hindus do not eat pigs because they consider them unclean since they eat odious refuse. Some other animals are not to be eaten for the same reason. A person who wears a sacred thread cannot eat any animal whose tail reaches below the hocks of the hind legs.

Commandments

There is a religious book called the Dharmashastra which is the Hindu law book. It prescribes what a person may not do and what he may not eat. However there is no set of rules comparable to the Ten Commandments.

Nepalese soldiers often sing a song which is a series of acts forbidden them. Here is a literal translation as a parallel to the Ten Commandments according to Uttam:

1. Thou shall not kill man nor cow (penalty for bovicide ranks with homicide).

2. Thou shall not wear shoes on the road and so kill the ants.

3. Thou shall not wear shoes when eating.

4. Thou shall put aside a portion of all thou ootect as an offering.

5. Thou shall not tell a lie.

6. Thou shall eat with the right hand only.

7. Thou shall give aid and comfort to the aged, the infirm and the poor.

8. Thou shall not praise thy neighbour's wife above thine own.

9. Thou shall not abuse woman in any way.

10. Thou shall not start a journey on a Saturday, nor arrive home on a Tuesday.

The Nepalese Moslems

Nepal did not come under the sword of Islam as so many other countries of Asia. While India was being overrun by the Moslems Nepal was unmolested. However there are more than 300,000 Moslems in Nepal.

Moslems came to Nepal to trade centuries ago and decided to settle in the country. They kept their faith but became Nepalese citizens. You will find the descendants of these traders, their twelfth, fifteenth and even twentieth generation, still engaged in trade. It is believed these Moslems came first as traders because the group to be found now in the Western hills call themselves "Churatan" and not Musealmans. "Chura" is the Nepalese word for bangles, and it may be these people came to sell bangles, were given the name of Churatan, settled down and adopted their new name.

The Moslem settlers were allowed to build mosques but the number was restricted. They were permitted to follow their faith but not to spread it.

*From Uttam

However, in the early 1700s, during the reign of the Moughal Aurangzeb in India, a large number of Nepalese in the hills changed to the Moslem faith. Why this happened no one knows for sure. Of the many theories the most logical one seems to be that the people who came in contact with the traders were treated as equals by the Moslems and shared their meals, while under their Hindu or Nepal Buddhist faiths, with their respective caste systems, they were segregated. Thus they may have been encouraged to change their faith to obtain an equal status.

Next to the Tri-Chandra College in Kathmandu is a mosque and the story connected with it is representative of, and yet an exception to, the policy of the rulers of Nepal. The Moslems had not been permitted to build more than a certain number of mosques and this one was built above the number. This was during the reign of Maharaja Jaddha Shumshere and when he heard of it he called the leading Moslems before him. He read the agreement to the elders and then proceeded to 'lose

his temper'. The Moslems trembled and made apologies and begged that their mosque be not destroyed. They promised they would never again break this agreement. The Maharaja agreed and the Moslems built no more mosques.

The Caste System

"Uttam tell me about the caste system." In substance he replied:

The caste name of a Nepali is as the surname to an American. However if you understand the caste system you will know much about the man as soon as you hear his caste name.

One of the main tenets of the Hindu religion is the doctrine of reincarnation and caste is considered the result of one's actions in previous births. Caste does not signify the nature of one's profession nor is profession the criterion for caste. Caste is a birthright. A man is born into one of the four castes.

Nepal accepted Hinduism during the second half of the fourteenth century as a result of the invasion by Hari Singh

Deva of India and King Jaya Sthiti Malla who considered the Brahmanic caste a good institution, [illegible] caused the population to be divided into various professions and labour groups, which was a general enforcement of caste to bring about social stability and order in the country.

Caste in Nepal is similar to that in India but it would be incorrect to assume the outlook in both countries is the same. In Nepal the prevailing religious viewpoint toward caste has been influenced by the adjustment between Buddhism and Hinduism. Thus while observing the principles upon which the caste system was based the Nepalis took some liberties in adjusting the caste system from India to fit the situation in Nepal.

There are four primary castes -- Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra.

Brahmins

Brahmins are considered the highest caste as they are supposed to have originated from the head of Brahma, god of

Creation. Consequently they have taken upon themselves the duty of teaching and explaining the scriptures. Traditionally the priests and teachers are forbidden to work. They rely on human charity. But there are many Brahmins now who are not priests and teachers and who have taken up careers in business, trades and other professions.

Brahmins are faced with many restrictions but they are not expected to lead a life of celibacy. A Brahmin is not permitted to mix socially with other castes and is forbidden to eat flesh, including eggs. Furthermore he is not permitted to eat with his shoes on or in his daily dress. The person of a Brahmin is held so sacred and he can under no circumstance be punished by loss of life.

The Brahmins are the men of thought.

The Kshatriyas

The Kshatriya is believed to have originated from Brahma's arms and so on them have fallen the task of protecting

and defending the community. As a consequence all the Hindu ruling classes are of this caste although they take second place in the social scale to the Brahmins. However it is reported that there was a time long ago when war prevailed between the kings and the priests and the war was won by the priests. Being soldiers and warriors, the Kshatriyas are permitted to kill for food and pleasure and are freed from many of the restrictions binding a Brahmin.

The Kshatriyas are the men of action.

The Vaisyas

The Vaisyas are supposed to have emerged from the thighs of Brahma and so are called upon to increase the prosperity of the community, to trade and farm. They along with the two preceding castes, are considered to be "twice born" and are permitted to wear the sacred thread. Agriculture, cattle and trade are their special cares. Wealth is commanded and a Vaisya is encouraged to make as much money as he can legally.

The Vaisyas are the producers.

The Sudras

They are the lowest of the 'caste' people but are not one of the "twice born". It is their duty to serve the other three castes. They are supposed to have originated from Brahma's feet. The Sudras are not bothered by the many regulations which guide the other three castes and they are allowed to eat anything, excepting beef, and are permitted to drink as much as they like.

The Sudras are sub-divided into many groups composed of trades -- painters, carpenters, metal workers -- and each group is a separate social unit in itself.

The Sudras are the men who serve.

The above summarises the organisation of men with 'caste'. But there is another large group in Nepal society and no description would be complete without reference to them. These are the 'out castes' -- the untouchables, the unlookables, the unapproachables, the unmentionables -- call them what you may. Technically they are known as Panchamas.

The Panchamas -- The Untouchables

Untouchables (Panchamas) result from undesirable inter-caste or out-caste marriages and are called upon to do the chores which the four castes consider as beneath their dignity -- to sweep and to clean.

No Hindu will eat any food or drink any water which the untouchables have touched and some of the very orthodox will not eat any food across which the shadow of an untouchable has fallen. The untouchables are guided only by negative laws and form a community in themselves -- alone and unwanted -- but necessary.

On November 30, 1957 Ganesh Kumar, and Jhamen Ram, chairman and general secretary respectively of the All Nepal Depressed Class League of 21/244 Dilli Bazaar, Katmandu called at my office to find out what our Mission was doing or might do to help improve the situation of the out-caste groups in Nepal. The summary of their concern was expressed in a note

which they brought with them. The translation follows.

"The result of the law on the economic, social, educational and religious life of the untouchable class has been disastrous. Not 1% of the peoples classed as untouchables are educated. Throughout the country not more than two or four houses are well-to-do. All such people are relegated to do the work of sweepers and porters. In this condition how can these people educate themselves?

"In our opinion it is necessary to encourage them to get an education by granting stipends for primary and middle schools. Because they are very poor individually and because the class as a whole is steeped deep in ignorance, it is difficult to find any of these people going to schools even if they can get enough to maintain themselves.

"Priority should be given also to encourage them in small industries by giving special provision to them."

I discussed in detail the joint program we were supporting with the Government of Nepal and unequivocally pointed out

that our participation in this program was designed to be helpful to all Nepalis regardless of caste, outcaste, or no caste. I hoped they would be encouraged by a more intimate knowledge of what was underway and aware of our interest and desire to help them.

After they had gone I asked Kesar Lall to search the code of Nepalese law and translate any reference related to the outcastes in Nepalese society. He submitted the following shortly afterwards:

Laws of Nepal Pertaining to Untouchables -- A Translation

Part V, Section 11.

No person with caste shall eat dehydrated radishes, vegetable leaves; preserved turnips; cut, peeled, broken, roasted, or boiled fruits; or grains touched by an untouchable. None shall sleep inside the house of an untouchable nor shall they sleep together even outside the house. Oil and ghee touched by an untouchable shall, as far as practicable, not be taken by those of caste. Utensils touched by an untouchable shall not be taken inside a house until they are washed and dried.

Section 14.

The untouchable shall keep apart from those with caste while walking on the road. If a person of a higher caste is touched by an untouchable he shall be told. If the person so touched is not told, the untouchable shall be held guilty even if he did it unintentionally if he failed to tell the person touched.

Section 14 A.

A person of higher caste and an untouchable shall not reside in the same house separated by a partition wall or wooden boards. Those who reside thus or those that permit them to reside thus shall be held guilty.

Section 15.

An untouchable shall not place "tikke" on the forehead of a person of higher caste and vice versa. Anything presented by an untouchable after he has sprinkled water (a holy ceremony) on the thing presented shall not be accepted by a person of a higher caste. If anything is given without sprinkling water (without ceremony) it may be accepted. Anything presented, after it has been sprinkled with water, shall be confiscated from the person who has accepted it and the giver of the gift shall also be fined. [Note: Sprinkled water as used here may mean saturated with water or cooked or boiled in water. Examples: unhusked or unboiled rice would not be contaminated, but parboiled rice or chura, which is rice boiled and then beaten flat, would be contaminated if the untouchables touched it. The same relationship applies to oilseeds and oil.]

Section 20.

The earthen pipe used for smoking which has been used or touched by an untouchable shall not be used by persons with caste. An untouchable shall not smoke even in his own pipe, with or without water, with a person of a higher caste. Nor shall he eat betel leaves or nuts.

CONVERSION INTO A FAQUIR. Section 7.

If a person of a higher caste converts an untouchable into a "faquir", the priest or preceptor (who has converted the untouchable) shall be reduced to the class of the untouchable. If the person converted is over 16 years, he shall be imprisoned for 3 years. If the person converted is above 12 years but less than 14 he shall be imprisoned for 1 year."

At the first Christmas party we had for the Nepalese employees of the mission I noticed that the janitors who took care of cleaning the offices and the grounds were not present although invitations had been issued to all. When I inquired as to the reason for their absence I found that some of the

higher caste employees had considered it inappropriate for the untouchables to come and had advised them accordingly. The responsible employees told me they thought I was not aware of their caste customs. At the time I was not. However at our next Christmas party they were all present and the group appeared to adjust very well.

But let us return to the system of caste division. The four castes described above are subdivided into many smaller units. This differs between tribal groups. The Newars of Nepal have been selected as a group to illustrate how one of the oldest tribes of Nepal, which was Buddhist before Hinduism and the Brahmanic caste system was introduced, adapted their social/religious structure to conform.

Caste Among the Newas

Two thirds of the Newas are Buddhists and one third is Hindu, although it will become clear that this has to be qualified. The Hindu Newas are organized differently from the Buddhist Newas.

The Newa society was originally divided into 64 caste subdivisions.

The Hindu Newas

The Hindu Newas are organized into the customary four major Hindu castes and then further subdivided into sub-groups. Members of these various castes and sub-groups will not eat cooked rice with members of other sub-groups or intermarry unless indicated below.

Brahmins

1. Deo Brahman - priests of the highest order.
2. Dharju (Bhatta) - are priests in the temples of Shiva and cows are given to them as gifts when a person is about to die.
3. Jha Brahman - are employed for the recitation of sacred books.

Kshatriyas

1. Malla and

2. Thakuju - descendents of the original royal families.

3. Kakhu - painters of certain religious subjects which figure in the festival of Machhendra. During Machhendra Jatra they clean and robe the image of Machhendra and paint or retouch the eyes, etc. and also the figures inside the Taleju temple. They do no other painting.

4. Sheshee (Shreshtha) - Originally soldiers.

Vaisyas

1. Joshi - neither Brahmans nor priests, but their duty is to expound the scriptures (the Shastras).

2. Acha - not Brahmans but nevertheless priests in the Taleju temples of Kathmandu and Bhatgaon.

3. Rauni - cooks in the Taleju temples.

4. Chasu Acha - priests in the smaller temples who supervise rites connected with deaths only but have nothing to do with the actual funeral ceremonies.

Sudras*

1. Makhi - ordinary cooks and serving attendants.

2. Lakhipar - assistant cooks and serving attendants.

3. Baga Sheshee - domestic servants who do no cooking.

The Buddhist Newas

The Buddhist Newas are divided into three major groups which are further sub-divided into many minor caste divisions. These sub-groups are established on an occupational basis representing professions and trades. While these occupational classifications are hereditary sometimes there is not enough work in one trade to support all its members, so that the extras are allowed to assume other occupations of a general nature which are not hereditary. Examples of these are tailoring and medicine; anyone can become a tailor or a doctor.

Members of one caste craft guild will not interfere with the technical duties and rights of another. It is a form of

* Mr. Kesar Lall Shresta was unable to identify the three sub-divisions listed under this general classification.

religious trade union.

The three major groups of Buddhist Newas

A. Orthodox Gubhajus (Bare or Barahrus) who do not wear their hair in a topknot.

B. Orthodox Udayas (Uras) who wear their hair in a topknot.

C. Heterodox Buddhists who believe both in Buddhism and in Hinduism and declare themselves as Buddhists.

Orthodox Gubhajus

The orthodox Gubhajus fall into two hereditary sub-castes, and will eat together and inter-marry, but a person from either of the two will not eat or marry with a person belonging to either class B or C above, the latter two being inferior. A Gubhaju can become an Udaya but an Udaya can never rise to become a Gubhaju. Similarly, an Udaya can become a Jyapu but a Jyapu can never rise to become an Udaya.

1. Gubhaju - all priests of the highest order known as

Vajracharyas belong to this group though not all are priests. Some are pundits (teachers). Others, poor and uneducated because tailors, workers in brass or other metals, carpenters, plasterers, masons.

2. Shakya or Shakya Bhikshus or Bare (Bahra) - gold and silversmiths who make ornaments only. Although hereditarily the Shakyas are gold and silversmiths, some of them do priestly chores of an inferior nature.

3. Bhaidya - merchants dealing mainly with foreigners (Tibetans).

Udaya or Uday

Five groups belong to the orthodox Buddhists known as the Udaya or Uday. These five will eat together and inter-marry. They will eat rice from the hands of a Gubhaju or Bare, who is their superior, but a Gubhaju or Bare will not eat from their hands or inter-marry with them.

1. Udaya (Uday, also Tuladhar) - traders and merchants

dealing mainly with foreigners (Tibetans).

2. Kasa (Kansakar) - workers in metal alloys.

3. Tamba (Tamrakar, also Tambot) - general workers in brass, copper and zinc.

4. Bania - shopkeepers and apothecaries.

5. Barhai - carpenters who generally make wheels for the vehicles to carry the image of Machhendra and on occasions will do general work.

Heterodox Buddhists

These Buddhists openly worship the Hindu gods as well. They are the most numerous of the Newas and fall into many sub-caste groups.

Jyapus

The next nine groups are connected with agriculture and are collectively known as "Jyapus." They are the most numerous of the Newas, comprising nearly 50 per cent of the Newa population. They will eat together and inter-marry.

1. Mu - cultivators of the aromatic herb Muswan which is used as an offering for the gods. The Mus have nothing to do with other flowers.

2. Maharjan - farmers.

3. Dangu (Dangol) - land surveyors.

4. Kumha (Kumhale) - potters who make vessels from clay.

5. Youngwa - make the vehicle of Machhendra.

6. Gon - cremate the dead.

7. Buwa - cooks who serve in the temple of Machhendra.

8. Mahan - cultivators who also worked in the past as policemen.

9. Sapu - cowherds.

10. Pun (Chitrakar) - painters of pictures, portraits, walls and houses.

11. Chhipa (Ranjitkar) - these dye every type of material.

12. Kau (Nakarmi) - blacksmiths.

13. Nau (barbers) - barbers.

14. Khayami (Manandhar) - these extract oil from mustard and any other vegetable.

15. Tepe - cultivators of vegetables.

16. Pulupulu - carry lanterns and lights during funerals.

17. Gathu - gardeners.

18. Jatti - cultivators. These also make cotton clothing for the dead.

19. Kallah and

20. Luau - palki bearers for rich and royal families.

21. Pihi - make grain measurers, baskets, etc. from wicker.

22. Heli - paint the eyes of the golden figure of Bhairab on the Machhendra vehicle.

The above groups of the heterodox Buddhists have "caste" and any Hindu can drink water from their hands. But there are six other groups which belong to this class which are "untouchables," and no Hindu or Buddhist may drink water from their hands.

The Untouchables

1. Kasya (Kusaain) - butchers and sellers of buffalo meat.

2. Jogi (Kusle) - tailors, and musicians at Newa functions and festivals.

3. Dhobi - washermen.

4. Pore - fishermen, dog-killers and executioners; sweepers.

5. Kulu - drum makers.

6. Chyamakhalak (Chyami) - sweepers.

Of the above untouchables, the Jogis and the Dhobis might be considered as Hindus.

Caste Names

The following is a list of Newa caste names compiled by Mr. Kesar Lall Shresta who advised me on the organization of the Newa society:

Amatya	Dali	Joshi
Bajracharya	Dangol	Kachhipati
Basukala	Dhakhwa	Kansakar
Bade	Dhaubadel	Karmacharya
Bata	Dhobi	Kayasta
Bhat	Gongol	Koju
Bijakuchhe	Gorkhali	Kumhale
Buddhacharya	Gubhaju	Lacoul
Chauguthi	Gurubacharya	Lakhe
Chitrakar	Hada	Magia
Chipalu	Hakumushya	Maharjan
Chhusyabaga	Haluwai	Maleku

Malepati
Malla
Mali
Mahandhar
Maskey
Mathema
Nagarkoti
Nakarmi
Napit
Nayabha

Neku
Shuchhe Pradhan
Pradhan
Pradhanang
Prajapati
Rajbansi
Rajbhandari
Rajopadhyaya
Rajvaidya
Ranjitkar
Sainju

Shakya Bhikshu
Shrestha
Sinya
Sthapit
Suwal
Syabaji
Swangamikha
Tamrakar
Tandukar
Tuladhar
Vaidya

And then I asked: "What features of the caste system are most rigidly enforced?"

Eating and Marriage

The two functions where caste segregation is most fully observed are eating and marriage.

A person from one caste is not permitted to eat with a person from a lower one and this custom is observed even among people of different castes who have married. There are cases when even the sub-groups of one caste will observe this.

~~Very occasionally a Brahmin from the west will eat with a Brahmin from the east through both are of the same caste~~

Inter-caste marriages do occur though they are discouraged by custom. It is permissible for a man to marry a woman from a lower caste or for a woman to marry above her. But it is punishable by religious law and custom for a woman to marry beneath her or for a man to marry above him.

Have there been any changes in the caste system since the Revolution?

"Before and during the Rana regime many religious laws were accepted as civil laws and strictly upheld. Infringements were rare. However, the old order is changing; the family tradition is giving way to individual views. Castes are mixing socially; Brahmins are eating with other castes, and with their shoes on. They are even eating what was once forbidden. There is local comment that the price of chickens and eggs have greatly increased since the Revolution because the Brahmins are now eating these.

"In marriage also liberties are being taken. For example, recently a Brahmin girl married a man from a lower caste. This act is still punishable by law but no action has been taken by the parents so it has been accepted. The general comment on this is, 'Oh well, life is changing', and the law seems powerless.

"But it must be borne in mind this change is not widespread. It is limited to a small minority. Only in the larger towns and cities is social life and education changing;

much. On the hills and in the valleys, on the farms and in the forests, the people still cling to the old order. They do take certain liberties, have always done so, but they believe in their family traditions and what their caste dictates.

"But even in the cities the spirit of progress is latent, felt but not often seen. A few have openly shown their disregard for the caste system; others are not so bold. This latter group consists mainly of the older generation and can be best summed up by example as those who will mix freely at home but become orthodox in company.

"Then there are those who, when marriage is concerned, grudgingly accept someone who has married outside their caste unless that someone happens to belong to their family. All foreigners are regarded as having no caste and lower than any of the Nepalis belonging to the four castes. Nepalis who marry Westerners are considered as marrying beneath their status.

"It is not difficult to appreciate the mind of these quasi-progressives. The younger generation would readily rid

themselves of caste but they are still under the influence of their parents. And the parents in turn would like to accept the new way but they have been brought up in the belief that caste is their way of life and it alarms them to think of changing their way of life."

An Earlier Attempt to Abolish Caste

"No one factor is bringing about this gradual abolition of caste. But its abolition or great modification seem more certain than it did about 175 years ago when Rann Bahadur Shah (1777-1799) a member of the present dynasty took a Brahmin girl for a kept wife although he was already married to woman of equal caste. Rann Bahadur then followed up this alarming step by erasing the name of his legal sons from the Roll of Succession and named as his heir the son of the Brahmin girl -- Girvan Juddha Bikram Shah.[1/]

"Girvan Juddha Bikram ascended the throne in 1799 as a minor, [redacted]. Rann

1. Sketches from Nepal, H. A. Oldfield, p. 283.

Bahadur's action left no lasting impression but it did cause quite a stir. However, he left behind him as a memorial the temple of Jagannath which lies to the south of the Tundikhel. Here everyone is treated as caste equals and mix freely."

Marriage Customs and Trends

Polygamy is accepted and no law, religious or civil, forbids a man having more than one wife at the same time in Nepal. Many men continue to take more than one wife but this practice is dying out, though concubines are still evident. Concubines are an accepted part of the pattern of family life. The restraining element in polygamy and concubinage is not one of morality so much as economics. Though a man is expected to marry a woman of equal caste, he is permitted to keep a lower caste woman as a concubine and there are no limits. Widows, though not permitted to re-marry are permitted to become concubines. Children born from such unions are considered legitimate and are due all privileges. They take the same caste as their fathers; they normally take the family name of the father but the caste name of the mother. This results very often in the last two names being hyphenated.

There are two sides to the coin. Polyandry is also practiced in Nepal -- among the Sherpas in the high Himalayan -- the Sherpas freely inter-marry with the Tibetans, look upon Potala as the Vatican of Asia, regard the Dalai Lama as their Pope but proudly boast their Nepalese nationality.

At one time child marriages were very common though this custom is dying out notably in the towns although about 5% of the children under 15 years old are married. Perhaps the worst of this custom in the past was evident among the Brahmins. Many men, reaching the end of their lives, used to take young girls in their early teens for wives, and as widows were not permitted to remarry, excepting the Newars and the practitioners of polyandry, the country was flooded with youthful widows. Maharajah Judha Shum Shere (1933 to 1946) put a brake on this custom by forbidding girls under thirteen to marry.

A few divorces occur but the general practice is to separate. This is because a man can take as many wives as he can afford and the women cannot remarry. Consequently, divorces serve a very limited purpose.

Marriage procedures differ among the many tribes but among the Gurkhas/~~Ka~~ the marriage ceremony lasts for a period of two days. On the first day the bridegroom travels to the bride's house and, following a religious ceremony, spends the night there, alone. The next day, in the evening, he brings his bride to his own house and, following another religious ceremony, the couple begin their lives together. The traditional Newa marriage ceremonies last four days and is described in detail on pages X-129 to X-142 . This description reveals indirectly many interesting facets of Nepalese society.

The Newas developed another interesting tradition -- perhaps to circumvent the Hindu law concerning remarriage of widows imposed after the invasion of the Valley centuries ago.

According to tradition, every Newa girl is married to a Bel fruit during her childhood and the Bel fruit is thrown into a sacred river after the ceremony. The marriage with the Bel fruit is of great significance in Nepal where Hindu traditions prohibit widows to remarry. But if the husband of a Newa girl dies she is not considered a widow because she is still married to the Bel fruit. Thus she is free to wed again. This Newa custom was even more important when the Hindu custom, sati, extinct, the practice of the widow throwing herself upon the funeral pyre of her husband, was being observed in Nepal.

The divorce method appears to be easy and effective, too, although I find it hard to believe, among the Newas. According to my adviser, the dissatisfied wife places two betel nuts in her husband's bed and he has had it.

CHAPTER VII

SHAPING OUR PROGRESS

We focus now on some specific activities conducted under the Nepal-U.S. Technical Cooperation Agreement. These were undertaken jointly to help Nepal to get started on the road to sustained economic growth and social progress. This account covers the period I served in Nepal from January 1952 - August 1953. Admittedly, it is sketchy and incomplete. Because much of what has happened since has been the product of planning, negotiations, staffing and fund raising that took place while I was there, I have referred to some of these developments also. The Nepal-U.S. Cooperative Program started on a shoestring from scratch and developed into a program with substantial impact.

Village Development

Our first joint effort in Nepal was to establish an institution to help villagers to help themselves and others. Technically this was termed the Multipurpose Village Development

Program. It may be of interest to set forth the reasons for selection of village development as our first joint endeavor inasmuch as there are conflicting views about the best place to begin economic development in underdeveloped areas. Our decision to start with village development in Nepal was based on an analysis which involved the following elements:

1. The Government of Nepal's initial request under our technical cooperation agreement was for assistance in the fields of agriculture and health.

2. More than 90% of Nepal's people were engaged in subsistence agriculture and the government had no organization to deal with farmers and their problems except a rudimentary department of agriculture with only five technically trained men and these were concentrating their work almost entirely in the Valley of Katmandu.

3. Perhaps less than 1% of the people had access to medical care - there were only nine doctors with degrees in

the entire country. There was a small medical department in the government without a public health division.

4. The clamor for more public services had been growing since the Revolution but the only functions the government was organized to maintain throughout the country were tax collection and police protection and these were undergoing some real strains.

5. The financial situation was weak. The Nepal Government expenditures were higher than their revenues and tax collections had fallen off after the Revolution. The U.S. had allocated only $200,000 for the Nepal program the first fiscal year ending June 30, 1952 and this was earmarked for work in agriculture and public health.

6. Nepal had no voluntary organizations except mushrooming political parties which had started since the end of the Revolution in 1951.

7. Nepal was and is a country of small villages. (According to the census of 1952 - 54 Nepal had over 28,000 villages and eighty-five percent of them had less than 500 inhabitants. Only 3% of the people lived in cities of more than 5000 inhabitants and five of the ten largest cities were in the Kathmandu Valley with a combined population of 196,777 while the remaining five had a combined population of only 41,218).

8. Nepal's Revolution of 1950-51 had demonstrated that the leaders of the country were determined to change the old pattern of authoritarian rule to democracy.

After considering these factors we recommended the establishment of a Village Development Service and justified it generally on these grounds:

1. Good organization is required for the establishment and promotion of significantly effective national programs in the fields of agriculture and health. Institutionalization of services is a prerequisite for the maintenance of progressive programs.

2. Widespread pressures for expansion of public services coupled with very limited trained personnel and funds warrant the selection of a type of organization and program that will provide services to the maximum number with the minimum of resources.

3. Democracy thrives on the voluntary participation of people in affairs of common concern. This participation can be developed by providing democratic institutions in which people may express themselves through words and deeds.

4. Helping people to help themselves and others is not only economically sound but it is also socially wise.

At the stage of Nepal's economic, social and political development in early 1952, I was convinced that a multipurpose organization, voluntary and democratic in character, and based on the principle of the government helping people to help themselves and others, was the logical foundation to establish for increasing agricultural production, providing health protection, increasing the pressure for literacy and furnishing such other

services as the government might appropriately channel through the system after it was organized. And I was confident too that as these things were being done the people would be learning some of the basic processes of governing themselves.

As I reflect on the results from the efforts and resources expended in the Village Development Program, I consider three developments to be significant: first, a start was made toward organizing the country for progressive action at the local level; second, the level of living for many villagers was raised through the introduction of improved practices where the programs had operated; and third, there was a growing awareness among many leaders of the potentials of organized cooperative action at the village level. I will amplify these:

The result with perhaps the most far-reaching significance was the introduction and institutionalization of an organization and program designed to help local people to help themselves and their neighbors. Before I left Nepal

in August 1958 the Village Development Service had established three training centers which had trained already more than 700 multipurpose Village Development Workers (VDW's). More than 600 of these had been assigned to work in more than 1500 villages with a total population of over 800,000. (The remaining 100 were ready for assignment to about 300 more villages with about 800,000 people). In these villages they worked directly with the villagers on the problems the villagers considered most important. To make it easier for villagers to help themselves and their neighbors, the VDWs assisted them in the establishment of more than 500 voluntary village improvement committees and 150 youth clubs - these local organizations were a small but encouraging beginning of what is planned for the entire country. The youth clubs were called 4-Leaf Clubs and were "cousin brothers" to the 4-H Clubs in the U.S. To provide administrative and technical support to the VDWs, personnel was recruited and trained by the Village Development Service and the cooperating ministries.

The VLWs and the supporting technical specialists and supervisors were welded into ten field units known as Village Development Centers. In this entire effort we realized that organization is of critical importance in areas trying to accelerate their rate of development.

However we recognized also that as important as organization is, it is or should be only a means to ends and not an end in itself. Some of the types of tangible ends achieved through the Village Development Program were: the introduction of a variety of improvements in agricultural production on thousands of farms, the protection of thousands of people against communicable diseases; the establishment of hundreds of new schools through the joint cooperation of community people and the education and village development representatives of the government; the construction of many miles of village roads, and the creation and development of more than a thousand new sources of supply for drinking water and irrigation. The full list and discussion of this type of accomplishment is not included because it is too exhaustive

for inclusion in this type of presentation and because the full records were not kept on some of the activities.

Some of the less tangible but probably more important results in the long run were: the growth of hope and of confidence in many of the villages where the work was organised -- without which work becomes depressing drudgery; the attainment of group approval of certain courses of action, the acceptance of which, enabled individuals to adopt progressive practices on their farms and in their homes and village activities without the fear of group sanctions against them; the recognition by a great number of leaders at the village and national levels that the basic processes encouraged by the village development program were sound and productive. Among these processes were the making of local surveys and analyses as a basis for local planning; the deputation of local leaders in whom the people have confidence to take initiative locally either through appointment or election; group discussions of the local situation - problems and possible solutions - to get a consensus

before proceeding with local programs; specific identification and commitment of local resources, human and material, to do what is needed to improve the local situations; the supplementing of local efforts with outside resources through the local representatives of national organizations where required and justified; and the recognition of outstanding accomplishments by local leaders and groups.

We experienced some difficulties in helping to establish the Village Development Program. A basic problem was the desire of some leaders in the technical departments in Nepal and Washington to develop separate and complete field organizations to perform their types of services for or with villagers. However it appeared at the time that these services could be performed more economically and in more villages during the initial stage of development in Nepal by using the Village Development Worker (VDW) whose job was to serve at the village level as the official representative for several technical ministries.

The system as conceived provided for technical guidance in subject matter fields to be supplied the VLWs through specialists employed by the technical departments, and by technical bulletins and other aids supplied by the technical departments.

Another problem was the inability of Washington to recruit sufficient technicians/ to achieve the desired momentum. During the third year of the joint program we had the services of only one technicians in this field and he could not devote his entire time to it because he had to help with an emergency flood relief program. Village development was not a big money program but it deserved technical assistance in a big way to help explain the idea, recruit and train staff, prepare technical manuals and administrative guides, arouse villagers' interest and increase their participation, provide logistical support for the implementation of the new methods taught to villagers, train supervisors and maintain morale among the staff.

A third factor which impeded, at least temporarily, the progress/of the joint program were adjustments required

to accommodate the desire of the Government of India to help Nepal in village development after we had been helping Nepal in this field for four years. This was due in part to some differences in approach which the representatives of the Indian Government wanted to introduce, and to the administrative complications that often accompany the increase in the number of parties required to agree before action can be taken. The Indians proposed to place on the job a high ratio of Indian advisers to the number of Nepalese operational personnel but the Nepalis appeared to be holding back on this for reasons we didn't discuss. The Indians proposed also to provide free of charge to the villagers much more supplies and materials than the Nepal-U.S. program had been inclined to furnish on a free basis. The basic principle at issue was "How do you develop effective self-reliance most quickly among villagers and their professional leaders?" Before I left Nepal it seemed to me these differences were on the way

to being worked out satisfactorily through the active participation of Nepal, India and the U.S. in a Community Development Board, and through an agreement that the U.S. would assist Nepal in the central region of the country in their village development while India would assist in the eastern and western regions. The prospect of adding to the trained personnel and money to promote the ~~payment~~ program through India's cosponsorship was encouraging to those who appreciated the importance of establishing as soon as possible a national system of local organizations to help improve the economic, social and political conditions in the country.

Much of the credit for the success of the village development in Nepal was due specifically to the co-directors of the Nepal-U.S. Village Development Service during this period: Messrs. B. B. Rayamajhi and C. B. Pande representing the Nepal Government and Harold Dunenberry and Floyd Dowell representing the U.S.

Transportation and Communication

Roads. Nepal had only 279 miles of road in 1952.

In the goals that were considered for the joint cooperative program with Nepal we had proposed:

> "To build roads so the burdens of agriculture and industry may roll on wheels rather than to continue to crush the backs and spirits of the people. So that the products of the people's toil may move freely and swiftly from the places of plenty to the places of scarcity and so the consumer may get more for his products because so much less toil will be taken for the unproductive movements of goods."

To this should have been added the vital importance of roads to the effective administration of the country. It would have been difficult to have convinced the Nepal Government of the importance of roads to the nation's defense because of its centuries of reliance on the absence of roads to obstruct invasion.

During Ambassador Bowles' visit to Nepal in February 1952 roads were considered as a possible major element of our cooperative program. The Ambassador requested about $5,000,000 to initiate a program in this field but the request was not

considered favorably by Washington at that time possibly because the Government of India agreed about this time to build a road into the nation's capital and a Swiss technical assistance engineer was working on a survey of the road to Katmandu at the same time. In Nepal we tried consistently to avoid duplication and competition with other friendly countries helping Nepal.

Five years later the U.S. Government provided $5,000,000 as a part of the funds for a regional project under the President's Asian Economic Development Fund to help build 900 miles of road in Nepal. About 300 miles were to be surfaced, 300 miles unsurfaced, and 300 miles of jeepable roads. The Government of India joined in this project and agreed to furnish one-third as much as the U.S. Government. Nepal is providing the equivalent of $700,000. If the work progresses satisfactorily it is anticipated that the U.S. and Indian Governments will each increase its contribution by 50% because only two-thirds of the anticipated amount required to build the roads was

subscribed initially. The road construction under this project began a few months before I left Nepal.

Our Ambassador John Sherman Cooper supported the request for this regional project and his successor Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker helped to negotiate the agreement.

In addition to the regional project we helped Nepal to construct fifty-two miles of excellent road to open a large valley of 100,000 acres for resettlement of landless people and another fifty miles of village roads through the Village Development Service and about forty more miles in connection with the Flood Relief Program.

There were five developments we observed in Nepal in connection with cooperative road building that are worthy of mention because of their potential significance to the future development of roads in Nepal: 1) surplus U.S. grains were used successfully to employ labor on some of the construction, 2) Nepalis were trained to operate and maintain

heavy equipment to build and maintain roads, 3) a cooperative system was developed in which three countries could operate jointly to build roads 4) the Public Works Department was strengthened as a permanent institution of the government through additional training and recruitment to build and maintain roads and 5) the Nepalese Army organized and used successfully a pioneer construction corp.

Ropeway. There has been a fourteen mile ropeway operating from Dhurving across the mountains to Kathmandu for the past thirty years. This has constituted a vital supply life-line to transport the most essential goods to about one million people dependent on the Kathmandu Valley markets. This is almost worn out, and although a road is now built into the Valley it is not only more costly to transport goods by road since the road winds around 80 miles of mountains to traverse the fourteen miles by cableway, but of greater importance the road has not been dependable so far in the monsoon season due to the many landslides. Through the

cooperative program a twenty-eight mile ropeway that will carry four (12) times as much as the present ropeway or 25 tons per hour is being installed between Hitaura and Kathmandu. This will lower the high prices of many products for all the people in Kathmandu Valley area and insure essential supplies throughout the year. The effects of the flood of 1954 dramatically emphasized the critical importance of this project. An American firm is under contract to construct this ropeway.

Causeways and small suspension bridges. Three large causeways for fording the rivers into the Rapti Valley were introduced as a less expensive means of dealing with certain types of stream crossings. Materials and designs were provided for several suspension bridges to accommodate foot traffic across the more dangerous mountain streams. Suspension bridges are important in Nepal because the most of the transportation is by people on foot. Money was available for a larger program in this field but the progress was limited by

the lack of engineering staff within Nepal and our mission.

Radio-telephone communications. A project was undertaken to build, through contract with an American firm, a radio-telephone communication network in Nepal that will connect when completed fifty-six of the most important locations in the country including all of the thirty-two district headquarters, certain border checkpoints, and the more important development areas. A thousand telephones are being installed in the capital valley to be tied into this system. Contact from all these points with India and the rest of the world will be possible through stations in Calcutta and New Delhi which are integral parts of this project. Another important element of the project is an intercommunication system in the 1000-office central Government Secretariat building. The potential significance of this radio-telephone communication project is difficult to overstate in a country that has relied almost entirely on face-to-face communication throughout its history.

The co-directors of the Nepal-American Public Works Cooperative Service who were most instrumental in getting these projects underway were General Surendra Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana and John W. Robison.

Education and Information

Democracies rely primarily on persuasion to achieve the dynamic unity of purposes and understanding of methods necessary for economic growth and social progress. But how can the leadership of an underdeveloped country persuade its people to work together to achieve the desired progress when the simple, basic rudiments of a system for communicating the inspiration, information and instructions do not exist? This question is crucial in many underdeveloped countries and it was extremely so for the leadership who took over after the Revolution in Nepal. The following factors in the Nepal situation illustrate the problem and justify the high priority given to education and information in the Nepal-American Cooperative Program.

First, more than 99% of the people of Nepal could neither read nor write. They had to do and entirely on the "grapevine" for their information. The "grapevine" operates in every country but the negative influence of it in under-developed countries is proportional to the extent to which it must be relied upon for the transmission of information. The "grapevine" generally becomes a negative force in the situation because of its propensity to increase inaccuracies and compound confusion as it goes through its human chain of ears and mouths. The extent to which it achieves these functions of increasing inaccuracies and compounding confusion varies with the numbers involved in handling the information; the inclination to interpret; the ability to remember; and the capabilities to transmit as received. Rarely does the same thing come out the mouth that went in the ear. The "grapevine" gets its greatest stimulus from the dissemination of sensational and negative news. It cannot be controlled in a democracy by negative

approaches -- the only hope is to supplant the "grapevine" progressively by reliable means of informing the people. Widespread literacy is basic to the ultimate achievement of this. On many occasions Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal, was characterized as "a rumor factory".

Secondly, when only 4½% of the people can read and write and the majority of these only at a very low level of comprehension and competence and when there is almost no emphasis on technical education, it restricts the nation's leadership sharply in its choice of goals and its schedule for accomplishments. Rapid advancement in a country's economy today is closely related to the application of modern technology and this in turn relies upon widespread technical training which is difficult to achieve without a high degree of literacy.

Third, despite the fact that a country has almost no organized means for training and informing its citizens, its

leaders may be led to believe they have to decide between two alternatives. "Should we give top priority to building up a nationwide system of education and information which will develop our human resources, or shall we concentrate on more tangible projects which may produce financial returns in a shorter time and serve also as visible monuments to our leadership?" Some leaders are not too sure how long they may stay in office so they favor the "monuments" approach even though some of these may turn out to be monuments to their bad judgment.

I am committed to the view that education is absolutely essential to sustained economic growth; that it is basic to social progress, and that education which is geared to the needs of the country as well as the individual is in the long run the most economic approach to nation building. I hasten to add that I recognize the need for other types of activities besides education and information.

Our mutual objectives in education and information were: 1) to provide specialized training for the technical leadership required for the specific projects in the various technical fields in which the two governments were cooperating, 2) to organize a National Education Planning Commission to get the facts and develop a national plan for education, 3) to increase adult literacy and develop a National Information Service and 4) to expand as rapidly as possible Nepal's rudimentary educational system.

Special Technical Training. Because the lack of trained manpower is one of the serious obstacles to economic development it was determined necessary and feasible to provide specialized training as a component element of each of the joint projects undertaken in order to provide the technically trained leadership to continue with the activity. This raised the basic question as to the department of government that should be responsible for this specialized technical training

and it was decided that in the beginning each technical department concerned should do it through its related cooperative service. Some expressed the belief that the Ministry of Education should be responsible for all education and training but this was abandoned when it became apparent that the Education Ministry was going to have its hands more than full with its other responsibilities excluding the specialised technical training programs. However it was decided also to develop these special programs with the understanding that they would be taken over by the Ministry of Education as soon as it can develop to the stage where it is possible for it to conduct them successfully. Then it was decided to establish new institutions within the country to train the great majority of the needed technicians. However in cases where advanced training was required for which no local facilities or staff was available, the decision was made to send the trainees abroad until the more advanced training facilities and staff

can be established feasibly within Nepal. In accordance with these policies, training institutions and opportunities were created in the fields of agriculture, health, village development, mining, industry, public administration, home economics, and public works. More than a thousand technicians were trained within Nepal in these special programs. An additional 150 technicians were sent abroad for advanced training under the joint program. These numbers excluded the training conducted jointly in the special education projects, over 1500.

National Education Planning Commission organized. A National Education Planning Commission was inaugurated on March 22, 1954 to survey existing educational facilities and to prepare a plan for universal education for Nepal. The forty-seven members invited to participate included a cross section of the nation's leadership. Sardar Rudra Raj Pandey served as Chairman and Dr. Hugh B. Wood represented the United States Operations Mission as Educational Adviser to the Commission. The Commission had the following terms of reference:

"1. The Commission should devote itself to studying the system of education in the country today.

"2. It should prepare an outline for the reorganization of schools on modern practical lines, with special emphasis on the development of primary education for all.

"3. It should draw an outline for the preparation of standard textbooks for national education and recommend adequate measures to the Government for the preparation of textbooks by competent authors and publish them by putting up a good printing press adequate for the purpose.

"4. It should recommend to the Government the establishment of a National University within five years, calculated to raise the standard of education within measurable time commensurate with the immediate needs of the people.

Very specific

"5. It should immediately give its opinion to the Government about teachers' training and see that the recommendation is implemented.

Vague

"6. The Commission should try to find ways and means for collecting funds wherever possible for the big job ahead.

Very vague

"7. The Commission should ask the Government for power to co-opt members deemed competent by them, requesting the government to send a circular to the government's servants so that they would aid the Commission wherever possible."

The Commission worked diligently for a year and submitted an excellent comprehensive report which was approved by the government and published as Education in Nepal, a 250 page book that is serving as the guide to the nation's efforts in the field of education. Important goals for the national program included universal primary education, widespread adult literacy, comprehensive secondary education and a national university.

Adult Literacy and Information Service. It seemed that nearly all the adults of Nepal would die without being able to read or write -- that they would have to sign their names with an "X" or place their thumbprints to documents they could not read or understand. The government decided to do something about it. Dr. Frank Laubach and his team of literacy experts were engaged in 1952 to prepare literacy charts, a primer, and readers in four parts in cooperation with a staff of Nepali educators. These were developed and finally received from the publisher in India about two years later. (Nepal had no printing facilities to do the job). A Bureau of Adult Education was organized and staffed to promote adult literacy and its representatives organized three hundred and forty-six adult education classes/its first year, 1957. during the Less than a year later 15,000 adults had become literate as a result. Several hundred thousand adults will become literate as this program continues. To support this expanded emphasis on

adult literacy the second part of the reading series was developed in 1956-57, a bi-monthly adult literacy magazine was begun in 1957, and ten supplementary reading titles for the new literates were published the same year.

Another important feature of the adult education project was the establishment of a Radio Education Program in 1958. To implement this, 123 radio sets were distributed on a pilot basis to selected villages to be used by organized listening groups; a regular broadcasting schedule of one-half hour daily five days a week was inaugurated, and the Adult Education Bureau set up a tape recording studio to enrich the program. 28,000 of these radios should be distributed, one to each village, with provision for several additional programs daily to keep the citizens informed and to help educate those who have no newspapers and who could not read them if they were available. This can be justified principally on the ground that only a few have funds to purchase personal radios and development requires purposeful communication.

Some informed people in the field of television have claimed that many improvements in performance and reductions in cost are ahead in this field and that it will be practical to have television sets for use by all villages on a group basis in Nepal. It is encouraging to contemplate the widespread use of this audio-visual means of keeping the people informed in a country like Nepal. Television should be an effective device if adequate provisions are made to maintain the sets and to prepare constructive programs to serve the needs of the people.

A printing press was secured under the joint program to print books for the school system primarily and to print educational materials for adults secondarily. In addition to the regular printing press, an offset printing press was secured for the government to print materials about the results of development efforts. Personnel were trained to use these facilities.

To help promote the idea of a national information service, USOM initiated bi-weekly press conferences to help keep the public informed about the accomplishments of the joint programs. This practice was begun during the last year I was in Nepal. I hoped the Government would initiate a similar practice of regular press conferences to keep the public informed about the development program. An average of twenty-five press men attended these conferences and some of them asked many times why the Government did not provide the same opportunities to the press. The answer invariably given: "Ask the Government." This was only one of several means of keeping the people informed but it was one of the most effective and cheapest as far as it reached.

Expansion of Educational Institutions and Opportunities.

The U.S. Mission assisted the Nepal Government in expanding educational institutions and thus helped to create many more educational opportunities for the people. Some specific examples of this expansion follow.

A College of Education was organized with subsidiary normal schools which trained more than 1500 teachers over the last three year period I was in Nepal. This was the first institution within Nepal qualified to grant a degree. The majority of the staff for this institution was trained at the University of Oregon. This institution was very significant because the shortage of trained teachers was considered the major drawback to a rapid expansion of the public school system.

Four hundred and seven new national primary schools were established and these employed more than 600 of the teachers trained at the new College of Education. It is worth mentioning here that a survey made by the Nepal Village Development Service revealed that a school was always listed as one of the three top desires of villagers who had no schools -- it appeared to be a symbol of the new freedom that had come with the Revolution. Contrary to the prevailing opinion of Government officials, the villagers were willing and did contribute substantially to the support of the establishment, operation and maintenance of these schools.

Three model schools were organized: two primary schools, one in Kathmandu in connection with the College of Education and the other at Batulechaur in Pokhara Valley, and a model multipurpose high school at Pokhara. It was planned to establish a model primary and a model high school in each of the thirty-two districts of the country to help establish a pattern for construction and operation for the national system.

The following institutions were established: a central audio-visual aids service, a Bureau of Adult Education, a Bureau of Publications with a printing press to prepare and print textbooks and a central library. All had well trained staffs and were equipped with necessary facilities.

In-service training was instituted through workshops, seminars, short courses and observation tours for several hundred Nepalese teachers within Nepal. Participant training was provided for forty-two Nepalese educators in the United States.

Assistance was given to reorganize the school inspectors

system and to improve the school curricula.

The Mission assisted in the planning and development of a national university by helping to prepare a charter for a comprehensive residential university; by drafting architectural designs for all major university buildings and a campus plan; by training several potential administrators and teachers for the university in the United States; and by helping to create a more cooperative atmosphere among existing colleges and administrators concerned. The cornerstone of the university was laid in June 1958 and it appeared that financial and other types of support would be available from several countries and agencies to augment the resources of the Government of Nepal and the contribution from their Majesties, the Queen Mothers who wished to memorialise the late King Tribhuvan.

When Dr. Edward W. Price, the able Chief of the Education Division of USOM/Nepal and Co-director of the Cooperative Education Service left Nepal he pointed to the need to continue

work which he and his colleagues in the Ministry of Education had been considering but had not been able to complete because of the many other activities that had engaged their time. These included: 1) completion of the reorganization of the education system, 2) preparation of legislation to establish a new education code and a more adequate and equitable spread of the financial costs of education and 3) more intensive training for those who are to administer the schools.

We contracted with the University of Oregon to help with much of the work in the field of education. The representatives of the university did a very creditable job.

Public Health

Disease destroys the productive capacity of people. It removes not only the diseased from the work force but it reduces the productive time of those who care for the sick. This is the economist's view but it tells only a part -- it leaves out the suffering and worry; the lack of hope and low morale; the trail of squalor and poverty that disease leaves

in its wake among people who live on a subsistence basis. A few people believe it is better that people die than that they live because there are so many of them and more are coming every day. It is frustrating for them to consider the future. They believe public health programs create more problems in underdeveloped areas than they solve. However these few people insist on health protection for themselves and their families.

The leadership and people of Nepal wanted to improve the medical services and facilities and we helped them to get a substantial start on the job. There were many problems in this field because Nepal was host to all kinds of human diseases and to an extreme degree with some. The principal diseases in Nepal were malaria, cholera, kala azar, tuberculosis, venereal diseases, filariasis, dysenteries, amebiasis, smallpox, leprosy, goiter, and many problems related to child birth. There is less than one hospital or dispensary bed to each 10,000 persons and the trained medical personnel are extremely limited.

Among the specific actions taken to alleviate the situation under the joint program were the following:

A limited health survey of the nation's health and health facilities was conducted as a basis for program planning and further action.

A malaria control program was initiated and the homes of more than one-half million people were sprayed with residual insecticides. An organization was established and personnel trained to bring about the control of malaria which the medical authorities considered the principal killer in Nepal. This will require further expansion but this is underway.

A public health unit was established in the government with its primary purpose being the control of communicable diseases. More than a score of specialists were trained and assigned to this work under the supervision of doctors who were given additional medical training in public health work. Provisions for further expansion of the program were made including health education, maternal and child care.

Two public health centers were organized as pilot demonstrations of many others that are planned.

Plans for the modernization of facilities and practices of the Bir Hospital in Kathmandu were completed and money was provided for carrying out the proposal under a joint hospital board.

Agriculture

Agriculture engages the energies of more than 90% of Nepal's people. There has been no national agricultural census or survey made to date but according to the best estimates available the country has about 4,300,000 acres of cropland and rice is the major crop; 7,000,000 head of livestock, 56% of which are cows and oxen and almost no horses; 14,000,000 chickens and ducks, but no turkeys. This means that the average Nepali has about one-half acre of cropland; one cow or sheep or goat and two chickens or ducks. As limited as these resources are, there are further important limitations which reduce their value and effective use. For examples: less than 20% of the land is irrigated and much

of this is only for a short period in connection with the monsoon season in tiny terraces on the high mountainsides; virtually no improved seeds or livestock had been introduced into the country despite the great progress that has been made in these fields elsewhere; there are very limited storage facilities for grain and these are not well protected against insects and rodents; the cattle cannot be killed or consumed because of religious taboos, and there is restriction on the use of cattle for draft purposes in some areas for the same reason; plant diseases and insects often take a heavy toll; there are no glass or tin containers produced in the country, and there is no refrigeration thus limiting the preservation of food products; no commercial fertilizers were in use and much of the value of animal manures was lost due to improper handling; green manure crops were not grown; most farm implements were inefficient; the cultivation practices were in need of improvement and there was no system for learning

and spreading information about improved farm practices; rural indebtedness was high and usurious rates of interest were charged.

Several actions were taken to improve the situation:

The organization for promoting the interests of agriculture was expanded and personnel were trained to handle problems more effectively. The Village Development organization was established to give principal emphasis to the agricultural needs of the country and in the beginning it was Nepal's limited agricultural leadership which supplied the major elements of top leadership for the Village Development Program. The Department of Agriculture helped to train Village Development Workers and a school for training agricultural specialists was established to support the village workers. The department was responsible for the preparation of technical agricultural information to be used by the village workers however this part of the job left much to be desired.

Introduction of improved seeds, livestock and poultry was emphasized rather than agricultural research in these fields because this was considered the fastest way to get the advantages of modern agricultural technology into practice./ More than eight hundred improved varieties of grains, grasses, legumes and vegetables were introduced from thirty-three countries of the world which had conditions that were ecologically similar to those in Nepal. These were given field trials in Nepal and the best were then placed with the Village Development Workers to get selected farmers in various villages to demonstrate them on their fields. The cost of this program was very little but the program had a significant influence where it operated. Some well-bred Sindhi cattle were imported from Pakistan and some excellent poultry were brought from India. More than 80[illegible] head of dairy heifers, sheep and swine were supplied from the United States in cooperation with the Heifer Project, Inc. The introduction of cuttings from improved fruit stocks was unsuccessful due to customs

(Research personnel and facilities were almost completely lacking.

difficulties through India. Whereas the introduction of improved seeds was easy and inexpensive, the introduction of improved fruit and livestock was difficult and expensive.

Three small irrigation projects with sixty miles of canals were completed which provided water for 21,000 acres of land north of Bamaul. An exploratory tubewell project was undertaken at the edge of the foothills where surface water was not available for irrigation, but this was not considered as feasible as concentrating initially on surface irrigation potentials. More emphasis would have been given to this crucially important field by the U.S. program but the Government of Nepal in its attempts to coordinate the efforts of foreign aid decided that irrigation was a field in which India could logically make an effective contribution. Accordingly, this sphere of cooperation was assigned to India.

Some good work was done to control insects, plant and animal diseases. This demonstrated the great values of this type of work to many people. However the lack of American

technicians to train Nepalis in these types of work prevented the establishment of a large scale, effective program in these fields.

Improved types of farm implements were introduced notably the steel moldboard plan, but only limited returns were realized from these efforts because of the excessive reliance on handtools.

Detailed plans and specifications for twenty-two grain storage facilities were developed in cooperation with the Swiss Technical Assistance team and the Nepal Ministry of Food. The construction of these had not been started before I left Nepal. These should be located in various surplus areas of the country to avoid the pressure for exporting the grain soon after harvest and the subsequent reimportation later. These could be considered also as a part of an ever-normal granary plan to deal with frequent floods and famines. And an expansion of this project could be undertaken in connection with the possible use of surplus

U.S. grains on a public works construction program in Nepal.

Scientific soil testing was introduced and a few Nepali technicians were trained in this field as a prelude to effective use of fertilizers, better crop management and more irrigation.

Commercial fertilizers were introduced but used sparingly in the hills because of the excessive transport costs. The expansion of the road network will make it possible and practical in some situations in the hills to increase the use of commercial fertilizers. In the lowlands bordering India, much can be done to increase agricultural production with fertilizers but the program there must be accompanied by the adoption of improved cultural practices and increased irrigation to get the most effective results.

The above accomplishments are significant but when one considers the relative importance of agriculture in Nepal it must be admitted that the chief weakness of the Nepal-American Cooperative Agriculture Program was its lack of coverage.

Mineral Exploration and Development

The mineral resources of Nepal are relatively unknown because there has been such little exploration of them. However scientific geological surveys are now being made and eventually there will be sufficient information to assess reasonably well the mineral resources if the work continues. Extensive knowledge of mineral occurrences and their magnitude would be helpful in making some of the economic plans of the country more fruitful. For example: the priorities for road and ropeway network could be determined more intelligently, and the plans for the industrial development could be formulated undoubtedly with better judgment.

Despite the fact that our mission maintained only one mining engineer on the average during the period and contributed a relatively small amount financially to the joint minerals development program the work that was accomplished is noteworthy. The more significant accomplishments were:

The preparation and enactment of a mineral code for Nepal that will encourage prospecting and provide reasonable assurance to those who discover minerals that they will share in the benefits of their discoveries.

The establishment of a mineral laboratory that was used in connection with supervised field explorations to provide practical training of a staff to augment the trained leadership in the country so as to accelerate the exploration and exploitation of the mineral resources. The laboratory facilities were used to test and analyze samples gathered by the survey teams during their field trips.

Mineral exploration constituted the major effort. During the last five years I was there survey teams of the Nepal-American Minerals Cooperative Services made field excursions, mainly in central and eastern Nepal, to locate mineral deposits. These investigations were followed by more intensive exploration in the areas that showed promise.

The Nepalese and American mining engineers were investigating quite thoroughly a discovery of a deposit of iron ore, lead and zinc located on Phulchoki Hill, seven miles from Kathmandu. The iron ore content of this deposit averaged 56%, and it was estimated that it could supply ore for nearly 100 years at a daily output of 300 tons. The Fulchoki deposit appears to be a continuation of the northern boundary of the Bagti Valley, along which traces of iron ore have been found. In addition to iron ore, evidence of lead and zinc, copper, mica, cobalt, quartz, coal and other minerals have been discovered in various parts of Nepal. Further study is needed however before it can be determined whether these deposits have commercial value. Their commercial value will rest in many cases on the building of transportation and communication facilities, power, and training of the people to exploit them.

The first mechanical diamond drilling equipment to determine the extent of underground deposits was introduced and personnel were trained to operate it.

A modern building to be equipped with laboratories, ore dressing equipment and essential offices had been planned for construction in Kathmandu to house the operations of a central staff for the mineral development of the country. This was to be large enough to accommodate the needs of all groups, foreign and domestic, working in this field. The agreement had been signed which provided the money for this development.

Industry

Nepal shares with many other underdeveloped countries the desire to become industrialized as rapidly as possible. However few people in the country realize the tremendous obstacles that have to be overcome in Nepal before any substantial industrialization can be achieved. This does not mean immediate steps cannot be taken to get Nepal moving faster in this direction but it does mean that the progress will be slow, the planning must be very sound, and the efforts must be well-coordinated. Some of the more important moves

that the government and people must make in order to expedite and effect substantial industrialization are the following:

The subsistence agriculture which presently engages more than 90% of the people must be made more efficient so more people may be released to work in industrial enterprises and so as to provide some agricultural products for small industries.

A general foundation to support industry should be established as rapidly as possible. This general foundation must be established largely by the government through the following measures: rapid expansion of education and technical training with a part of it specifically directed toward filling the anticipated requirements of an emerging industrial establishment; creation of a widespread network of transportation and rapid communication designed to connect the points with the greatest potentials for industrial development; organization of an adequate banking and production credit

system commensurate with the growing needs; enactment and implementation of legislation that will encourage and assure investors; negotiation of agreement for free port facilities in India with provision for passage to Nepal inasmuch as the country is landlocked; efficient customs administration to reduce the incredible delays and red tape which characterized the situation in the past; more control of the dual currency system and the foreign exchange; development of a part of the tremendous hydro-electric power potential.

An effective way must be developed to secure a higher percentage of investment in economic growth. One method will be discussed later under the caption, "Nation Building Tax."

The Nepal-American Cooperative Program made a contribution to the cause of industrialization in Nepal by helping to increase the efficiency of agriculture; by helping to develop a general foundation to support industry in several of the ways enumerated above and reported briefly elsewhere

in this report; and by the following specific measures:

We helped to establish an Industrial Development Center in Kathmandu in July 1957 to study and evaluate industrial plans and proposals, to furnish technical assistance and financial advice to existing plants, to conduct raw material and market surveys, and to establish pilot plants when necessary. Under this institution industrial surveys were conducted in Biratnagar, Birgunj, Hitaura and Kathmandu with the objectives of improving some of the existing small industrial enterprises and setting forth the best prospects for others. Market surveys have been similarly carried out in the Kosi and Pokhara Valleys and in the extreme Eastern and Western districts.

Preliminary plans were formulated for establishing industrial districts at Biratnagar and Hitaura. These districts were to be organized to provide necessary centralized services such as power, water, central machine

shop and foundry, local transport, training facilities, and such other services that will encourage the growth of small, private industries.

Two pilot industrial enterprises were launched; the first was the introduction of two small sawmills in Hitaura to demonstrate the wisdom of Nepal converting her timber into lumber before exporting it. These were the first machine-powered circular sawmills in Nepal. The other enterprise was the construction of a modern wool carding and spinning plant to convert wool, which had been exported previously in a raw state, into various yarns for local weaving and knitting.

A cooperative agreement was signed by Nepal and the U.S. in 1952 to establish and jointly finance the Timber Corporation of Nepal, a public limited company open to private investment. The forests of Nepal which had been mostly in the possession of the previous ruling Rana family were recently nationalized. The prevailing practice in the past had been to auction the timber on the stump to lumber men from India consequently realizing a low rate of return. The excellent forest

resources are considered the best potential opportunity for a sound and prosperous industry in Nepal if suitable mechanized equipment is secured and the Nepalis are trained to operate and manage it efficiently. The plan provides for the purchase of a large modern sawmill and other equipment to process timber into finished products. An American contractor is to secure the equipment, help set it up, train the operators and managers and then turn the operation over fully to the Nepalis. A large market exists in India for the products and there is a growing market in Nepal.

An application was made to the Development Loan Fund of the U.S. to help establish an Industrial Credit Corporation to finance small scale industry on a reasonable basis. This was planned to function in close cooperation with the Industrial Development Center. The Government of Nepal had earmarked a substantial sum to help capitalize the Industrial Credit Corporation but the amount would be insufficient without augmentation from other sources.

Rapti Valley Multipurpose Development

After the waters of the Great Flood of 1954 had receded and it was found that the land of many families had been covered with deep deposits of sand making it difficult and expensive to reclaim, it was decided that it would be better to reclaim some land elsewhere for these people to resettle. Ten possible locations were considered but the most promising by far was the Rapti Valley which a few of the people who knew the valley had been wanting to reclaim for some time. There were more than 100,000 acres of potentially good level land in this valley covered only by tall grass in some areas. But in spite of the great pressure on land in Nepal, where people spend a lifetime trying to eke an existence out of tiny strips of land on steep mountainsides, only a few were willing to take their chances of survival in the Rapti Valley. This was because of deadly malaria. The Rapti Valley had two other important disadvantages. 1) It was inaccessible about four months of the year because it was situated in a triangle

bounded on two sides by rivers difficult to cross in the monsoons, and on the third side by a high mountain range; and 2) it is the most populous center of tigers, rhinoceros, bear, leopard, wild boar and deer. The deer eat the farmers' crops; the tigers eat the farmers' animals, and the rhinoceros, tigers, and bear kill or maim the people. The people had no guns to protect themselves from the animals but if they had been fortunate enough to own a gun they would have been prohibited from using it because the Rapti Valley was the best hunting preserve of the heads of a family that enjoyed hunting -- the Rana Prime Ministers. In substance this is the story of the pearls and perils of the Rapti Valley.

Agreements were reached to reclaim this valley primarily for landless people. It was decided to develop the valley into a good place to live by the various ministries of government joining forces to extend their services to this area and by using the Rapti Valley Development Service to

coordinate the program of development. In the three years after the agreement was signed ~~immediately~~ prior to my (August 1958), departure/excellent progress had been achieved and the prospects were bright for a continuing rapid rate of improvement.

Control of malaria and construction of a road were considered the keys to the Valley's development. Malaria was brought under control through the joint efforts of the Cooperative Health Service which initiated the program and furnished the first supplies and equipment, and the World Health Organization which was carrying through. An all-weather road, fifty-two miles long, from one end of the valley to the other, was completed and several more miles of access roads had been built. Two power sawmills, the first in the country, had been imported and were in operation sawing lumber needed for construction of buildings and small bridges in the valley. Twenty new schools were opened and adult literacy classes were underway. The Village Development Program had assigned fifteen workers to the area and their efforts were beginning to pay dividends. A decision had been reached to build

in the Rapti an institution to train leadership for village development in Nepal. The Ford Foundation had agreed to join with Nepal and the U.S. in the construction of this center and the training of the staff to man it. An experimental-demonstration farm had been established, and a scientific soil survey of about 10,000 acres of the valley had been completed. Two health centers had been constructed and staffed with doctors and nurses. These became the headquarters of young health specialists who were carrying out a public health program to prevent the spread of communicable diseases through immunizations and health education. More than 15,000 in the valley had been immunized against smallpox and cholera. Many wells had been bored and hand pumps installed to supply safe water. A craft training program with buildings and equipment had been organized at Hitaura in one end of the Valley. Eighteen cooperative societies had been formed and hundreds of acres of the stubborn, virgin soil with its grass high as an elephant's back had been plowed with tractors

and 2200 families had been resettled already on it with some help through credit that was extended to get their rude huts built and their work stock, seeds and hand tools. Thousands more had filed their applications for settling in the valley and it was expected that about 5000 more farm families could be accommodated. In the late forties an English firm made an engineering survey of a site on the Narayani River on the western side of the Rapti Valley for a hydroelectric power plant which will provide 22,000 kilowatts if constructed. Should this be constructed the valley can become a small industrial center. The Rapti Valley is one of the few places in Nepal where water transportation can be developed as a link with India. A ferry is now planned to provide a crossing of the Narayani River at Narayangarh which will join the valley with an important trade route on the western side of the river.

Flood and Famine

Nepal is the victim of recurrent floods and famines. These are accentuated by the topography of the country and the

marginal living standards of the people.

The U.S. Government assisted Nepal in two national disasters: the "Great Flood of 1954" and the famine of 1957. In both disasters the two countries developed effective methods of cooperating and the results were satisfactory. In the flood relief program the United States contributed about $2,000,000 to provide food grains, salt, kerosene, cloth, seeds, farm implements, hand tools, hand pumps, cement, suspension bridge materials and reclamation equipment. The Government of Nepal contributed Rs. 2,000,000 to the project to finance the transportation of supplies and certain local costs of the relief and reconstruction projects. The flood victims who were able worked on the projects to restore the facilities damaged or destroyed by the flood and they received the supplies and materials they needed in lieu of wages. Those who were not physically able to work were provided direct relief.

The drought of 1957 resulted in a famine and many people who live normally on a subsistence level began to starve. Fortunately the United States Government was able to arrange for the diversion, on a replacement basis, of 20,000 tons of wheat which it was delivering to the Government of India in Calcutta. This provided relatively rapid relief. The Government of Nepal picked up the wheat in Calcutta and distributed it to their needy people throughout the famine stricken areas. Because of the inaccessibility of many places within Nepal it costs two and three times the money value of the grain to distribute it to the more remote areas. This necessitated selling some of the wheat to cover a part of the costs and to establish some work projects so penniless people who were physically able could work for what they needed. To those who were unable to work and unable to pay, the grain was given as direct relief. This project meant much to the people and Government of Nepal.

Activities that were Omitted

It is worthwhile mentioning important activities that were omitted in this program and to indicate the reasons for their omission.

Public Administration. We considered this a top priority project and on a few occasions indicated our willingness to get a competent team to assist the Government of Nepal to develop a modern system of administration suited to the needs of the country and to establish on-the-job training for the staff to follow through with the new system but this was a sensitive area on two counts. First, the Government of India had loaned three senior members of their Civil Service to assist Nepal immediately after the Revolution with solutions to some of their most pressing problems of administration. These advisors were followed by a commission under the chairmanship of Mr. N. M. Buch, also a very competent member of the Indian Civil Service. The Buch Commission on request of the Government of Nepal studied the Nepalese Administration and made recommendations for a comprehensive reorganization.

Some of the recommendations were adopted but much opposition to other arose which tended to defeat the overall effectiveness of the commission's plans of reorganization, particularly with respect to its orderly implementation. Elsewhere we have indicated the second reason which was a built-in resistance on the part of a number of career government employees who on the one hand were afraid their status might be jeopardized by the changes, and on the other held a strong belief that the existing system was as good as could be developed for the Nepal situation, regardless of suggestions to the contrary. We did some things that helped indirectly to improve administration and in the six years I was there a number of improvements were made by the government on a piecemeal basis. I gathered the general impression that a few highly placed Nepalis considered assistance in public administration as meddling in the internal affairs of the country.

Land Reform. Land reform was a hot political issue but it was one which each change in the Government leadership

promised to do something about. The Government did do something about it allright but not as much as was needed. A Land Reform Commission was established by the Government soon after the Revolution to study the problem and to make recommendations. The study was made and there were recommendations presented. One of the principal recommendations was to impose taxes on the tax-free "birta" lands which had been granted to individuals over the years. These grant lands represented about one-third of Nepal's area. In 1959 His Majesty's Government promulgated legislation to tax these lands. Another act was the nationalization of the forest land which had fallen into the hands of a few people largely through the system of grants to favorites or to members of the ruling family. Regulations were promulgated to encourage security of tenure and to limit rental rates for use of the land but how effective these turned out to be in practice was not clear to me. Our mission secured the service for a few days of a consultant on land reform, Wolf Ladejinski, who had worked

on the successful land reform program in Japan. He met with the commission but there was not sufficient interest among the controlling group to get him or someone else for a longer period.

Farm Credit. As I reflect upon the people's problems in Nepal I am inclined to believe that a liberal farm credit program, particularly production credit, soundly conceived, ably administered and closely associated with a good agricultural extension program would do more to improve the lot of the farmer than any other one thing. Rural indebtedness was high and the interest rates charged by the money lenders were generally usurious according to reliable reports. We offered assistance in Farm Credit provided an expert consultant were engaged to appraise the situation and to help develop a national system. We were willing to provide the consultant. The Finance and Development Minister indicated some interest from time to time but never enough to justify our going forward with such a program. However the same minister was much concerned about establishing credit for industrial development.

This is one illustration of the problem of determining priorities.

Power. In the first years of our mission, the generation of power was of relatively low priority because of the many other actions that had to be taken before power could be used productively. Later when consideration was given to parts of Nepal's first Five Year Plan, in which the various cooperating countries would be requested to render assistance, the Government of Nepal requested the Government of India to help them develop their power potentials.

CHARTS

The next three pages reflect graphically some financial aspects of the joint program. These charts were prepared by the USOM staff in Nepal prior to my departure August 7, 1958.

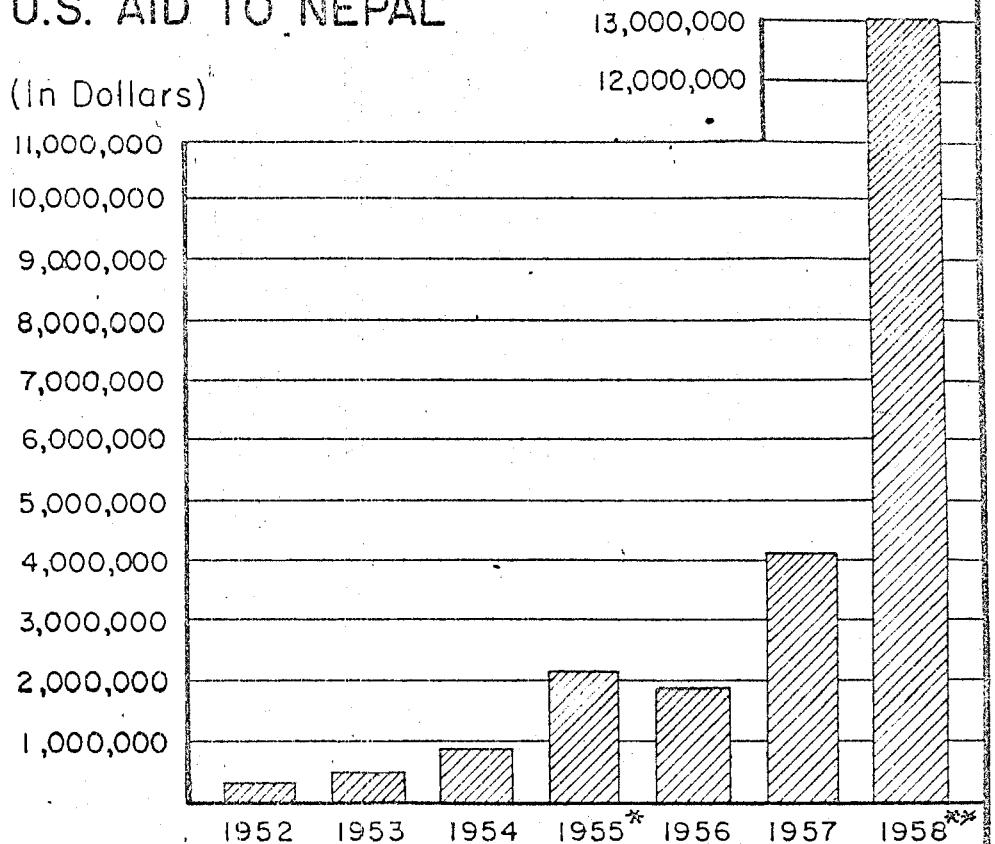
When we evaluate the respective contributions of two economies so vastly different as Nepal and the United States, I believe it is appropriate to consider the respective values of money and labor in each society. I believe this is

particularly appropriate when the U.S. contribution is used primarily to purchase American supplies, equipment, instruction and technical know-how. Skilled craftsmen in Nepal, such as carpenters and bricklayers, could be employed for two rupees or about 25¢ a day whereas their American counterparts would have charged about sixty times as much.

The charts do not reflect Nepal's contributions for the first two years because we were operating under a system where the records of their full contributions were not recorded and available to us.

U.S. AID TO NEPAL

(In Dollars)

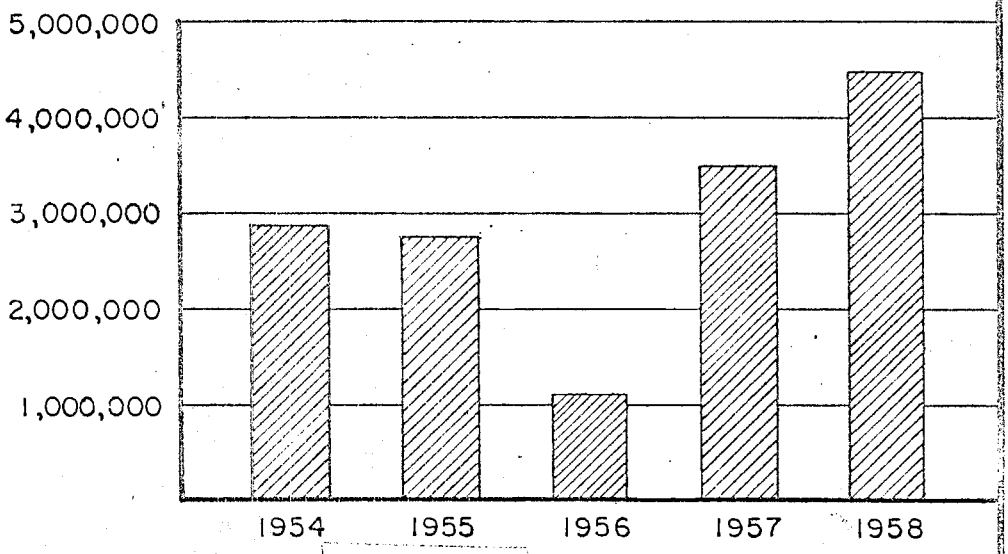


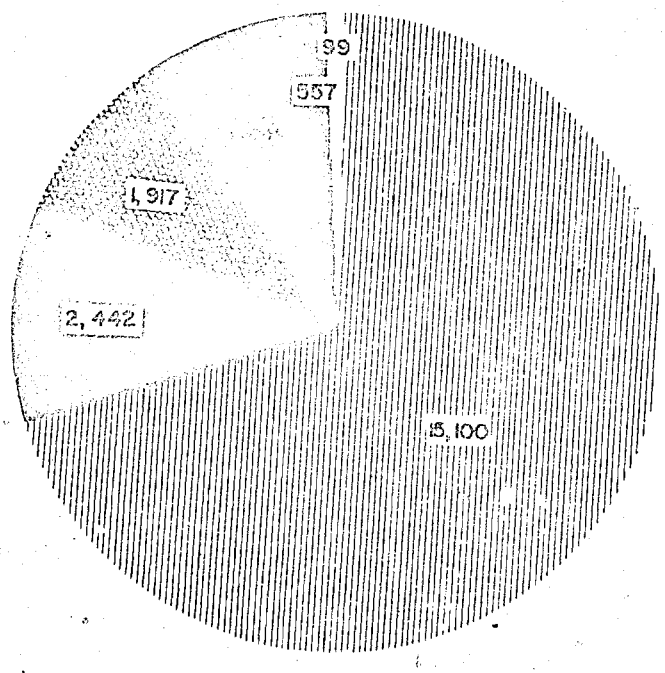
*Includes $1,600,000 For Flood Relief.

**Includes Regional Road Project, Famine Relief and Telecom.

NEPAL'S CONTRIBUTION TO NEPAL-AMERICAN PROJECTS

(In Rupees N.C.)

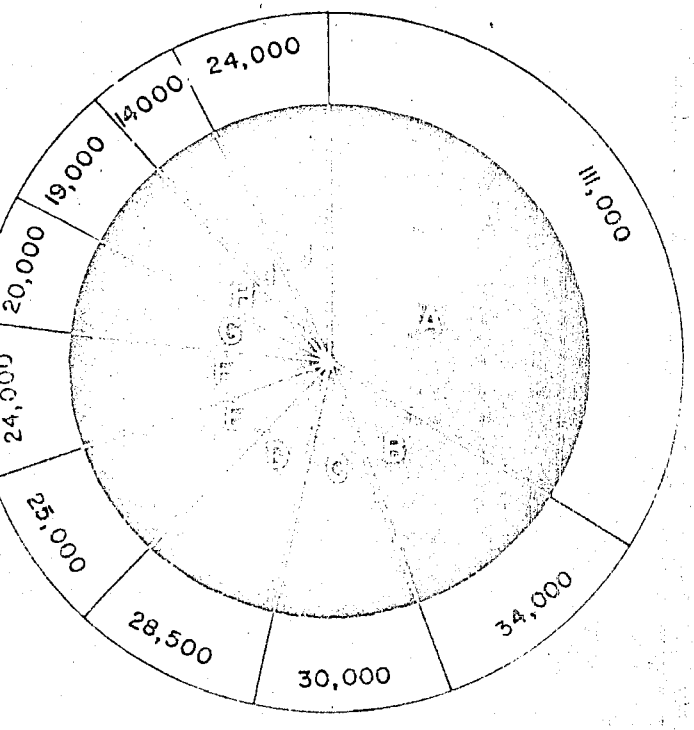




THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS

U.S. AID BY COST COMPONENT, 1952-58

- Supplies & Equipment
- Contract Services
- Joint Fund Contributions
- Technicians
- Training Abroad
- Other Costs

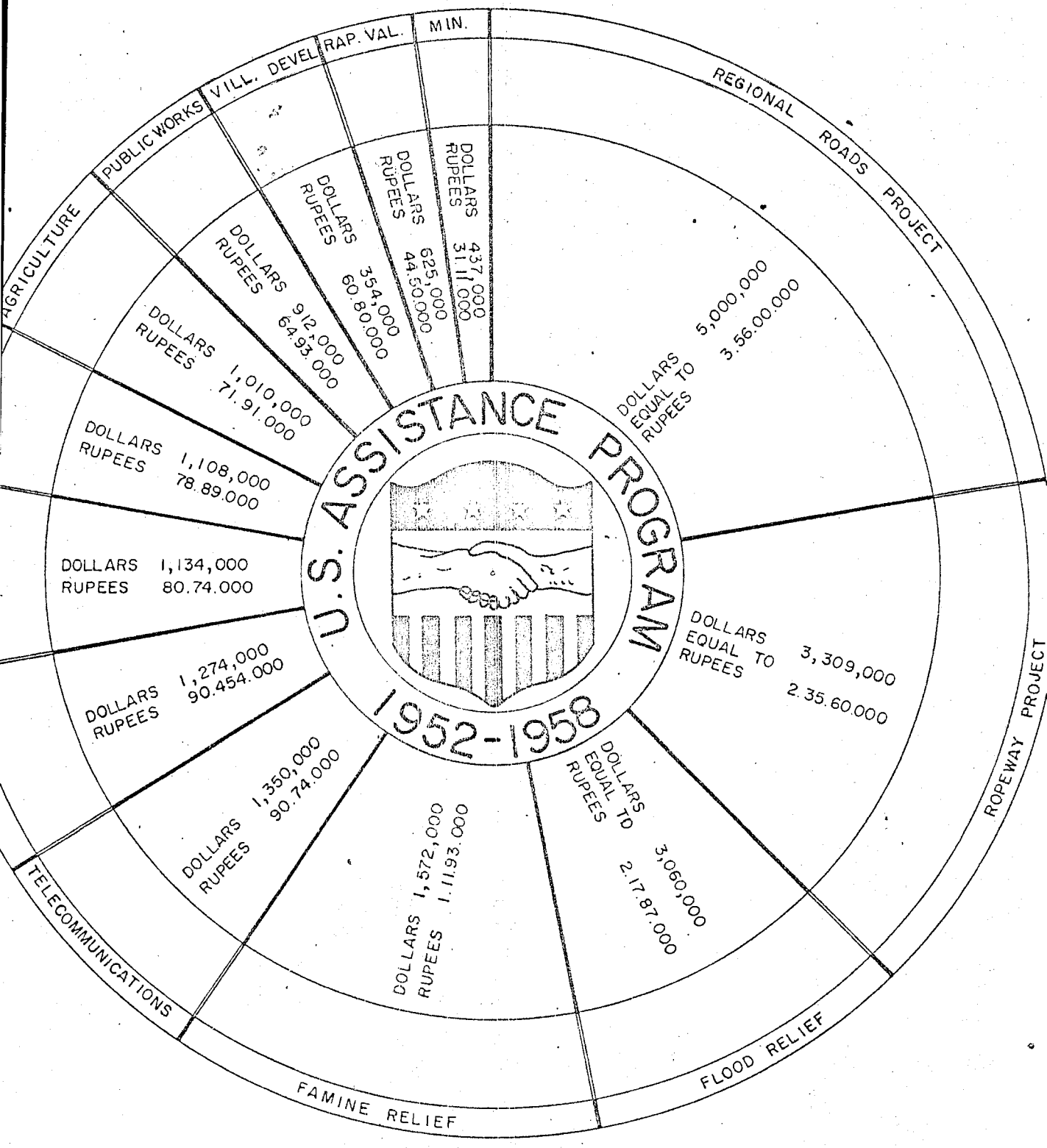


THOUSANDS OF RUPEES N.C.

PROPOSED EXPENDITURE BY NEPAL FOR First 5-YEAR PLAN

- A Transportation, Communicatic
- B Agriculture
- C Power
- D Village Development
- E Health
- F Industry & Mining
- G Forestry
- H Education
- I Rapti Valley Project
- J Other

NEPAL



In dollars and Nepali Rupee Equivalent

CHAPTER VIII

SIX WAYS TO PROGRESS

There are six ways to accelerate economic growth and social progress that I would recommend if I were returning to Nepal to advise on its further development. These are not all inclusive - and they should be considered in the context of the general and specific situations I have discussed in preceding chapters. These measures are designed to deal with situations which confront Nepal at this stage of development.

1. New approaches must be used to mobilize local resources to increase the nation's investment in economic growth.

2. The army should be employed to help build the country as well as to defend it.

3. A sound national system of liberal credit must be established to finance both agricultural and industrial production.

4. A national information service and communication network must be developed to insure widespread public understanding of the nation's purposes and plans and to help unify and coordinate the efforts of the people to achieve these purposes and plans.

5. The nation's leadership must understand how the public persuasion process of democracy can be used most effectively to increase the rate of economic growth and social progress.

6. The government's organization and administration must be re-geared to support an acceleration of economic growth and social progress.

Nation Building Tax

One way to mobilize local resources for a greater national investment in economic growth activities is through the imposition of a nation building tax on every adult payable in money or labor.

Most underdeveloped countries do not have a rapid rate of economic growth because they have not invested much of their national income and other resources in projects that provide the foundation for economic growth generally and industrial production in particular, such as roads, transportation, power, communications and technical training. It is difficult to attract much private investment where these basic facilities and services are not well developed.

Many of these countries have recently changed their systems of government and new leadership is at the helm. Their citizens are demanding more public services but the new leadership is reluctant to increase taxes substantially to pay for these because the vast majority of their people are poverty stricken and have very low money incomes. When the leaders consider taxing the minority that is able to pay they find many times opposition that is strong enough to frustrate their efforts. Therefore, I believe one of the really big

problems which confronts democratic leaders of the less developed countries is to persuade their people to make the sacrifices necessary to increase greatly the investments in public facilities and services that are required to establish the base required to sustain the economic growth necessary to support the social progress desired and demanded by the citizens.

How can a nation building tax help to solve this problem in Nepal? First I will summarize the situation in Nepal which I believe justifies its use.

Whereas a reasonably good beginning has been made in some areas, it is true generally that the foundations have not been established adequately for any substantial increase in economic growth in Nepal. The transportation and communication network is extremely limited. Power is almost non-existent. The mineral wealth is relatively unexplored. The literacy rate is 4½% and only a few have any technical training. A minor percentage of the land is irrigated and agriculture is generally

on a marginal subsistence basis holding more than 90% of the population on the land to feed the total population. There are only a few small industrial enterprises and the most of these are nearly bankrupt resulting in private investors being afraid to invest. Personal incomes are unbelievably low resulting in a scarce money economy from which only a small amount can be drawn off in money for taxes. There is much pressure upon the Government to increase its investment in public services. The Government's annual tax revenues are only about $6,000,000 and the annual expenditures are in excess of this. The Government has a national plan for development but no funds to implement it. With external aid and by drawing down on its reserves Nepal has been able to make some progress as we have indicated in this report, but the situation is critical because it appears on the surface that Nepal has almost nothing to invest in projects and enterprises that will increase the economic growth of the country. The big question is where will Nepal get funds, or

their equivalent, to invest? One answer is more external aid but this has limitations. First, it is uncertain. Second, other countries like to help countries that will help themselves. In this situation I recommend a nation building tax as one of Nepal's best means to increase its public investment in economic growth and social progress during the sixties.

Now for a description of the device and an estimate of what it will produce. The Government of Nepal can levy a nation building tax on every able-bodied man and woman in the country between the ages of 16 and 55. To illustrate, let us assume that each able-bodied man would be taxed annually ten days labor or double their equivalent value in money, to help build the nation; and that each woman would be taxed half as much. The reason for the difference between men and women would be justified on the grounds of greater domestic duties of women. Any person who did not wish to satisfy the tax obligation with work would be able to satisfy the requirement

by paying a sum equivalent to twice the established labor rate. This policy is proposed to encourage more people to choose to satisfy their obligation with labor. This tax could produce a labor force the year around of 100,000 persons and an estimated 6,000,000 rupees fund -- a lot of progress can result from such a force and fund when well organized and directed. This estimate is based on the assumption that about 50% of Nepal's population of 8,400,000 are able-bodied between the ages of 16 and 55 and therefore subject to the tax.

2,100,000 men	x 10 days each =	21,000,000 man days
2,100,000 women	x 5 days each =	10,500,000 woman days
	Total	31,500,000

31,500,000 minus 1,500,000 estimated days for which people would prefer to pay double the financial equivalent rather than to work = 30,000,000 divided by 300 working days annually = 100,000 man years. 1,500,000 days x 2 rupees (estimated daily labor rate) X 2 = 6,000,000 rupees. This tax would produce the equivalent of roughly twice the amount of internal

revenue which the government is receiving annually for all purposes at the present time. All of this could be invested in development to establish the basic services required for rapid economic growth, whereas without this tax, almost nothing was available from current revenues for development purposes.

This is one of the logical taxes for Nepal to levy at this stage of her development because a large percentage of Nepal's people are not fully employed throughout the year since more than 90% live on farms and the agricultural work is seasonal and they are very short on cash. It should be understood by the people at the time the tax is levied that the Government will make the necessary arrangements to levy taxes as rapidly as possible on people who are most able to pay other taxes such as income taxes, business taxes, and residential property taxes above a certain valuation. (At the time this report was proposed (1959) about the only taxes Nepal was levying were taxes on land and custom duties.)

Here are the guidelines I would recommend for the administration of the nation building tax:

1. When development is undertaken in a country everybody wants it in his home area. There are 109 constituencies in Nepal and each has its representative in the Parliament which was established in July 1959. A modern census has been taken recently in Nepal which will provide a factual basis for calculating the labor that will be available in each constituency. I would recommend that the money and labor which result from the Nation Building Tax levied in each constituency be used in that constituency on projects that are mutually agreed upon by representatives of the constituency and the central government. This procedure has several advantages that are obvious but I will mention them nevertheless. It enables people to work near their homes; it boosts the morale of the people throughout the country because they can see things happen in their own communities and as a consequence

it reduces opposition to the tax; it makes it simpler to ensure compliance from all parties because local people will insist on everyone doing his part; and wisely, the local people can participate in the planning and the decision making.

2. The national planning agency should compile a list of the types of work projects considered of highest priority and eligible for supplementary help from the central government. From this approved national list each local constituency should choose the type of project or projects its representatives, in consultation with an able and informed representative of the national planning staff, believe to be most essential for their area. The decision should be made on the basis of the estimated labor available, the estimated labor required, the local availability of supplies, equipment, technical personnel and supervisory staff, and the requirements and availability of supplies, equipment, technical personnel and supervisory staff from outside the area to

complete the job. The national list of work projects should include but not necessarily be limited to: the construction and repair of roads and communication facilities, foot and vehicular bridges, trail improvement, air strips, irrigation projects, schools, power development, water supply, land reclamation, reforestation, grain storage facilities, the sawing of lumber, the making of bricks, and the transportation of supplies and equipment required for local projects. An advisory committee of five to nine should be appointed or elected in each constituency to advise and assist the director of the work in the constituency.

3. Labor should be used as far as possible in the seasons that will not reduce the agricultural production.

4. Surveys should be conducted in each constituency to discover and list the technical and supervisory personnel locally available for the local public works projects. The German soldiers who have retired from the British, Indian and

Nepalese armies will be among the good prospects because they have been well trained and disciplined and many retire quite young.

5. A nation-wide system for supervising the work program should be developed that will include provisions for: a. Adequate planning in coordination with the national planning staff; b. logistical support of equipment and materials; c. engineering and design; d. supervision of the project operations. This program will be the biggest and the most difficult in the country to administer, therefore the chief combination of men should be chosen to direct it and administer it.

6. A national information program should be established to help insure a widespread understanding of the reasons for the program, the progress of the undertakings, and the impact on the country for good. This is of vital importance.

If the Government of Nepal will adopt this policy and administer it well, it is not likely to have any difficulty getting any supplementary aid required from external sources such as loans, grants, equipment, supplies and technical assistance. However if Nepal should get no external aid it could make substantial progress with this approach. So we must recognize that one potential of this approach is the probable development of a sense of independence, national achievement and integrity - tremendous assets for a growing country.

Durlive the Army's Role

Nations need security and until an international police force is established nations will maintain armies. But the question here is how can an underdeveloped country maintain an army and get more than security from it.

When I first heard that 50% of the Nepal Government revenues was budgeted for the army I was surprised. But one of my Nepalese friends inquired "Isn't it true that the United States Government spends about half of its revenues

for defense too!" I had to reply in the affirmative and to suggest this was possibly one instance in which it would not be desirable for Nepal to emulate my country's example and cited some differences in our countries' respective situations.

There is a way that the burden of heavy defense expenditures can be partially offset without impairment of the defense capability in a country that has a poor transportation and communication network such as Nepal. The army can be assigned two functions: defense and construction. The construction and maintenance of roads, bridges and communication facilities should increase the defense capabilities of Nepal's army by enabling it to move rapidly within the country to deal with any dangers that may arise. A major function of the army in Nepal is to help maintain internal order anyhow.

In Nepal the army has a large percentage of the Nepalis who are best qualified to engineer and supervise the construction of roads, bridges and communication facilities.

If the army would divide its time equally between the functions of defense and construction, the proportion of the national expenditures chargeable to defense could be properly split between defense and construction. Such a policy, accompanied by the much needed and highly visible construction projects would create a more favorable reaction among the people toward the army and the government. I expressed this opinion informally several times soon after I arrived in Nepal and referred to the ways we employ our army's Corps of Engineers during peace time. About four years later the army began to build a sixty-five mile mountainous road from Hiteura to Kathmandu in collaboration with a pioneer corp of civilians. They were doing a good job too. But this represented only a fraction of the army's potential in this vital area.

This policy would make the administration of the proposed Nation Building tax much more effective in Nepal.

There were many other things that a 10,000 man organization of the country's best young men and their trained leaders could do to help build their country. They could teach adults to read and write; they could help to control malaria,

the country's $1 billion; they could help to build schools; they could assist with the engineering and construction of irrigation and drinking water supply facilities.

Production Credit

Practically the only sources of credit in Nepal were the private individual money lenders and the landlords. These were not subject to any strict public standards which safeguarded borrowers against usurious rates of interest and other mal-practices. Under such circumstances the potentials for increasing production through the extension of credit were seriously limited. Several public policies should be enunciated and implemented in this connection.

Since more than 90% of Nepal's people are engaged in farming, the first consideration should be given to a system of credit that will help to increase agricultural production. However the agricultural holdings are small in many instances and there is no organization working with farmers as yet

throughout the country. Both of these factors will make it difficult to administer a nation-wide system of agricultural production credit. They will also slow down the rate at which the system can be established. But these should not be used as excuses for not undertaking the initial steps immediately to establish such a program.

The logical first step is thorough fact-finding and analysis which should encompass all factors bearing on the success of production credit institutions. The second is the formulation of a comprehensive long range plan with provision for phasing the implementation as the analysis warrants, including the preparation and enactment of enabling legislation. The third step is the ~~operation~~ recruitment and training of the personnel required to establish and maintain the credit institution in accordance with the comprehensive plan formulated for guiding its development.

With a sound plan and a trained staff, both of which can be developed in a comparatively short period, capital

subscriptions can be encouraged from both the private and public sectors to the extent possible. The Government of Nepal may wisely negotiate a long term loan and technical assistance from an external source to help establish production credit institutions.

A system for industrial production credit was under active consideration when I left Nepal. Although the need for industrial credit was less basic than agricultural credit, the actions for establishing an institution in this field were further advanced. There were, two reasons I believe, for this: the process of developing an industrial credit institution was simpler in Nepal than for agriculture and the Finance and Development Minister was more interested in establishing the industrial credit institution. It was proposed that an Industrial Credit Corporation be established to work in collaboration with the only bank for individuals in the country, by providing technical services associated with the appraisal of applications for funds and guaranteeing a percentage of the

loans. An application for funds was made to the U.S. Development Loan Fund to help capitalize the Industrial Credit Corporation and the Government of Nepal earmarked funds for this purpose in hopes the application would be approved.

Information and Communications

When it takes a month or two to get response to a communication in many parts of a country, no one can question the wisdom of assigning communications a top priority for improvements if a country expects to make rapid progress on the economic development front. Nor should there be any question as to the wisdom of giving top billing to the expansion and development of a nation-wide information service in a situation where nine-tenths of a nation's people are largely ignorant of what is going on in the country.

Questions arise as to how fast an underdeveloped country can improve its organs of information and its network of communications and the degree of control a government should exercise over these.

It is more important that an underdeveloped democracy give a high priority to information and communications than totalitarian regimes because democracies must rely principally upon persuasion, public understanding and popular support to achieve their objectives. But unfortunately it appears that they do not assign as high priority in most cases.

Once the leadership of a developing democracy appreciates the importance of involving the masses of the people in both the decision-making and the operations of the country, the importance of developing facilities and techniques to inform and persuade becomes apparent.

Guides and Conferences for National Leaders

Sufficient experience has been gained by leaders from the U.S. and other countries in economic and social development to develop a sound guide for national leaders of less developed countries who are or may become responsible for their countries' economic growth and social progress. Many of these leaders are short on experience, short on contacts

with people skilled in producing change, short on reference materials, and short on the time and inclination to read materials from many sources in this important field. This guide should be prepared by the ablest people available in the most practical terms and it should be put together in the best known way to be used as a ready reference for the leaders of the less developed countries. Resources should be available to reproduce it in the language of each country desiring it. This basic guide should be supplemented by national guides which help to apply the principles and methods outlined in the international guide to the specific situations in a particular country. Preliminary work on these specific national guides can be accomplished from secondary sources but the final work should be done in association with the leadership of each country. Much information is available for these purposes in ICA and the Department of State. Other essential data can be secured without great trouble. The tough job is the practical correlation of it under relatively rapid changing situations

but this can be done.

When these guides are prepared the job is only half done. On the latter half rests the greater promise of beneficial results. Teams should be selected carefully and drilled rigorously to conduct a series of discussions in each of the cooperating countries. These discussions should be based on the guides for each country. These conferences should start from where the specific nation happens to be in the development process.

Organization and Administration

When an underdeveloped country decides to try to expand rapidly its economy it is faced with the necessity of reorganizing and expanding its administrative structure. The shape this should take and the extent to which it must be expanded can be much more soundly planned and publicly justified after a soundly conceived comprehensive national plan for development has been prepared. If such a plan has not been developed, or developed only in general outline, then the first step is to

give top priority to the development of a good and complete development plan, and to concurrently lay the foundation for an intensive in-service training program in the improved techniques of modern public administration. The training program has to be adjusted to the level of the prevailing administrative experience in the government at the time.

Government organization and administration is a field in which foreign technical assistance should be sought and it should be drawn from the most expert talent available. This talent should be qualified sufficiently to tailor a system to fit the requirements of the particular country to achieve its objectives of rapid expansion in economic development and public services. They should not have to resort to almost complete transplanting of a pattern from some other country or lifting one largely from some text book unless these truly fit the local situation. I believe there are cases where it is more difficult to draft a sound plan of organization

and to develop an efficient system of administration for a poor, underdeveloped country than for a rich, developed one. Surely the margin of error which a less developed country can afford is less, and for this reason if no other the assignment of mediocre personnel to help build the basic foundations for the country's accelerated development cannot be tolerated.

The job of reorganizing and expanding the administrative structure must have the enthusiastic sanction of the top leadership of the country and it should be undertaken as a complete overhaul job, not a piece-meal operation. The group commissioned for the job should be a joint commission of the best available nationals and foreign experts and the number should be large enough to do it thoroughly and in a relatively short time. The work should not be done sporadically or by several individuals working independently without strong central coordination and control over the final recommendations. If these principles are not observed a confusing hodge-podge is

likely to result.

The plan for the reorganized system should be accompanied by ample justifications to support every element of it and these should be given widespread publicity. The publicity should be given in an orderly and effective manner so as to overcome the inevitable opposition from certain quarters that can be anticipated, such as persons with honest differences of opinion, others with entrenched interests. The plan should contain provisions for, and insist upon the reorientation and training of all personnel required to implement successfully the plan. This reorientation and training may be done either on or off the job, but it is essential that it be done. Any measures short of these are likely to result in a bogging down or unwise changes that will undermine the results of an otherwise effective operation.

No plan for reorganization of a developing country should overlook the basic necessity of providing for, and safeguarding, the sovereign rights of human beings to

participate actively in the basic processes of governing themselves.

The National Plan

All of the foregoing activities and emphases should be integrated into Nepal's national plan which has been evolving since the latter part of the Rana regime. This national plan emerged with an excellent assistance from the U.N. Economic Study Mission, as Nepal's Five Year Plan in 1956. This has been subjected to numerous discussions which have resulted in several modifications, particularly where more adequate information has become available.

CHAPTER IX

OUR AMBASSADORS

I served under four great American Ambassadors during my assignment to Nepal: the Honorable Chester Bowles, George V. Allen, John Sherman Cooper, and Ellsworth Bunker. I had respect, admiration, and affection for all of these men. It was a difficult job for them to serve as ambassador to two countries simultaneously, such as India and Nepal.

Our ambassadors visited Nepal only two or three times a year and when they came they stayed about three days to a week. The 1400 miles round trip with uncertain transportation schedules; the lack of communication facilities between Kathmandu and Delhi which almost isolated them while they were in Nepal, and the pressure of responsibilities imposed by the Indian situation, were the stubborn deterrents to the realization of the repeatedly expressed wish of everyone

of our ambassadors to spend more time in Nepal. (It was not until November 1959 that we had a resident ambassador in Nepal - the Honorable Henry E. Stebbins.)

Ambassador Bowles, who served concurrently as American Ambassador to India and Nepal, was understandably concerned about maintaining relationships which would be mutually advantageous to the U. S., Nepal and India. In discussions I had with him from time to time, the following factors took on significance as they related to Nepal - U. S. - India relations: (a) The U. S. recognized Nepal as an independent, sovereign nation. This is the basic factor which governs our policies and relations with Nepal; (b) The United States believes that India has encouraged the growth of freedom and independence in Nepal; (c) The United States appreciates the concerns of both India and Nepal which arise out of sharing 700 miles of common border. (India's primary concern in this regard appeared to be reasonable security against the danger which lies beyond the Himalayas; while Nepal's basic concern appeared to be associated with economic considerations which are a part of being landlocked.)

We were friendly with Nepal and India and we wanted to see them and alone well together. Naturally we did not want

to be caught in the middle but we found ourselves in the middle on several occasions nevertheless. For example, our government was accused by some Nepalese leaders of following policies in Nepal that were subservient to the interests of India while at the same time the Indians were accusing us of undermining their position in Nepal. This was a part of working in the Nepal situation. But let us turn to a short discussion of the men who served as our ambassadors to Nepal from 1952-58.

Ambassador Bowles had a great gift of perception and a good understanding of the urgency of the problems that faced democracy in Asia. He believed the progress of democratic India could be the key to certain situations that were emerging in a number of South and Southeast Asian countries. He believed if India's progress were dynamic and spectacular enough it could become the example which the leaders in Asia could point to with confidence and maintain that economic growth and social progress is achievable without sacrificing human freedom. The

enthusiasm and confidence of Mr. Bowles was contagious.

The Honorable George V. Allen followed Mr. Bowles as our Ambassador to India and Nepal. He handled the situations of his time as only an ace diplomat could have handled them. He came at a time when India's sights had been raised considerably with regard to the possibility of more American aid when in reality our Government was undergoing a reappraisal of our foreign economic policy as a consequence of a change of our national administration. It was during his tenure of service to India and Nepal that our administration decided to give mili/tary aid to Pakistan. This move sorely strained the U.S. - India relations. George Allen piloted us through these situations with the sureness, dexterity, and understanding that could have resulted only from broad diplomatic experience and rare good judgment.

As Director of the United States Operations Mission to Nepal I was indebted to Ambassador Allen for the forthright and effective manner in which he dealt with situations involving my directing the United States Operations Mission to Nepal. I cite two examples of vital importance to our operations in Katmandu, seven hundred miles away from the Embassy. The first was the restoration of our line of our classified communication line from Washington. This line had been virtually closed for a period of more than six months before his arrival. The second was a practice engaged in by a few embassy officials during the interim between the departure of Mr. Davies and the arrival of Mr. Allen. This was the practice of amending some of the recommendations which our mission made to our headquarters in Washington when they passed through New Delhi enroute, without advising our mission of the changes and giving us an opportunity to react accordingly. Ambassador Allen set these situations straight as soon as they were brought to his attention.

The members of our mission were appreciative too of the direct and unequivocal manner in which Ambassador Allen investigated charges which had been brought against our mission for its alleged implication in a mass demonstration against the Parliamentary Delegation from India which came to Nepal. The allegation was to the effect that the Americans had organized and paid demonstrators and furnished transportation to get them to the airport in large numbers to show their lack of appreciation for the visit of members of the Indian Parliament. In the course of the demonstration at least one rock was thrown through the Indian Ambassador's car which was transporting the delegation from the airport. Investigation of the incident revealed that no member of our staff, American or Nepali, had been at the airport at the time of the incident. The only American who was there was Father Moran, a Jesuit Father who had organized a school for boys in Nepal. I was in India when the incident occurred but if I had been in

Nepal at the time, I am sure I would have been at the airport when this delegation came as a matter of courtesy. Our Ambassador got to the bottom of this incident quickly with the principal parties concerned, including high officials of the Government of Nepal, the Indian Ambassador, and some newspaper reporters who had reported the incident.

Mr. Allen left us to head the worldwide operations of our United States Information Agency. He was succeeded as ambassador by Mr. Cooper.

Ambassador Cooper had developed to a high degree the quality of objective fairness in his dealing with people. Integrity was stamped clearly on every act, thought and expression of John Sherman Cooper. This quality is one of great value to our government and people when it is evident in our officials abroad.

Ambassador Cooper was much interested in Nepal's needs and progress. He had proposed Nepal's membership in

in the United Nations while he was a member of our delegation to the U.N. General Assembly. He supported with vigor the request of the Government of Nepal for funds to help them build more roads. It was during his service that a request went to President Eisenhower's Asian Economic Development Fund that we join with India and Nepal to build about nine hundred and jeepable trails miles of roads/in Nepal. This project was approved during his tenure of office but before it could get into operation the Republican High Command prevailed upon him to return to the United States and run for Senator from Kentucky. The Republicans and Democrats were about evenly split in the Senate so Ambassador Cooper's running was considered of critical importance.. The High Command was confident he could win because of his previous record as Senator, the recognition of his great leadership in his home state, and his qualities as a man. He proved their judgment to be correct by winning.

It would have been unfortunate to have lost such an able ambassador as Mr. Cooper in such a vital post as India and Nepal if President Eisenhower had not been able to get Mr. Ellsworth Bunker to assume the responsibilities as Ambassador. I would not use the adjective serene to characterize many high officials in our public service but Ambassador Bunker brought the quality of serenity to his post in New Delhi. I believe this quality was recognized and appreciated by the leadership of India and Nepal. It is a quality which I presume Gandhi had to a marked degree. Serenity is a quality I believe which many people in India and Nepal associate with Nirvana. However Ambassador Bunker brought more than serenity to his office. He brought a record of high achievement in two former posts as ambassador, an excellent background of business experience, a depth of human understanding and a breadth of perspective in dealing with problems. These

accomplishments and qualities resulted in excellent working relationships and understanding which have been mutually advantageous to India, Nepal and the U.S. There were three major projects Ambassador Bunker helped us to get through before I left in 1958: radio-telecommunications, regional roads and famine relief.

now
let us/turn to the lighter side of an ambassador's job. One of the entertainment highlights while I was in Nepal was the presentation of credentials by our ambassadors to the King of Nepal. This was a rare spectacle which few people have the opportunity to witness. I watched four of our ambassadors and their staffs go through the rituals. Each time I saw one of these presentations I had about the same feeling I have had when our daughters were in their first public performances. The reaction was comparable in its combination of amusement, pride, and sympathy - amusement at some of the unexpected turns events take; pride in their being our representatives; and sympathy with the look of ease that is sometimes evident in the performance when somebody

forgets his cue. These presentations are formal occasions at the court -- they are the most formal of any the Nepal Government has. They take place during the day. Top hat and striped trousers or full dress uniform are prescribed for the occasion. One of the more uncertain elements in the situation is how Americans will respond to royalty, inasmuch as we have had only extraterritorial relations with royalty since 1776. We acknowledge readily that we have a lot of royal virtues among our top officials in the United States but no crowned royalty.

The ceremony for presentation of credentials had been formalized very strictly by the officers of the Nepal Government. They expect those who present their credentials to follow the routines precisely, otherwise it may develop into a debacle. At the appointed hour the Government sends a splendid coach with four fine horses to draw the Ambassador to the ceremonial hall - the Durbar Hall in the center of

Katmandu or the Royal Palace. Other carriages follow the Ambassador's carrying members of his staff who are being accredited to the government at the same time. An impressive guard of honor mounted on champing chargers precedes and follows the Ambassador's coach. These are colorfully uniformed members of a select contingent of the King's Royal Lancers. Split-minute timing prevails.

The impressive hall in which the presentations are made is lined on each side with the ranking officials of the Government and the King is on his throne in the far center end of the long hall. He views the actors without a trace of emotion as they come stiffly up the center of the room often with inaccurately measured and sometimes uneasy tread. Outside the hall the Royal Band in rich red uniforms plays stirring music. The music helps those who face the ordeal of trying to gauge the distance accurately to the point where they must begin bowing to His Majesty. The accurate gauging of the

distance is important because a part of the ceremony requires the person who is presenting his credentials to come to an abrupt stop at an appropriate place, bow low with feet together smartly please; take another step forward and bring feet together smartly please and bow low again; take another step forward bring the heels together smartly please and bow low, very low. When the third bow is made one should be in exactly the right place to shake hands with His Majesty. Anyone who thinks this is a simple routine should try it under conditions which prevail at a Nepal presentation. I am glad to report our representatives put on splendid performances.

This ceremony was not easy for the Nepalis either, because their Government's officials changed so many times during the period of transition that a new group seemed to be officiating on nearly every occasion. It is traditional for the King to give attar and pan to those whose credentials

he receives. But what to do with the perfume and the delightful masticatory wrapped in a betel leaf is a question which plagues some of the participants in the ceremony. When Ambassador Allen presented his credentials, he went through the prescribed routines with a daredevil confidence which almost shocked some of the Nepalis. It drew this comment from one of the Nepalis who had been received at the Court of St. James: "The Americans do not take these ceremonies as seriously as other nationalities."

I found myself wondering how long it will be until the rigid formality which is maintained in the presentation ceremony will be replaced by a new tradition, a tradition in which the parties in the act will feel more at ease and concentrate on the substance of the function rather than the form. There are two factors though which may perpetuate it for some time to come. One is the validation of the judgment and economy factors which influenced those who have had to buy

these glittering uniforms or hats and tails. Each new ceremony must convince them that they are getting a little more out of the investment and that it was a pretty good deal after all. On whom will they unload the regalia if the tradition wears out before the pants? The second factor is a deeper impulse in man -- the dramatic impulse -- the impulse to be the star performer in a first rate show.

Some of you may recall the story about our Ambassador Bowles not receiving his top hat and tails prior to the presentation of his credentials to the President of India. He had to borrow the regalia from the Italian Ambassador who was constructed along the same general lines. But when Mr. Bowles presented his credentials in Nepal he was resplendent in his own natty attire. However two of his subordinate officers were undoubtedly caught in about the same predicament in Nepal as he had been in India - or else a bee had stung one on the head and the body of another had shrunk beyond the wildest fancy of a fat man on a diet.