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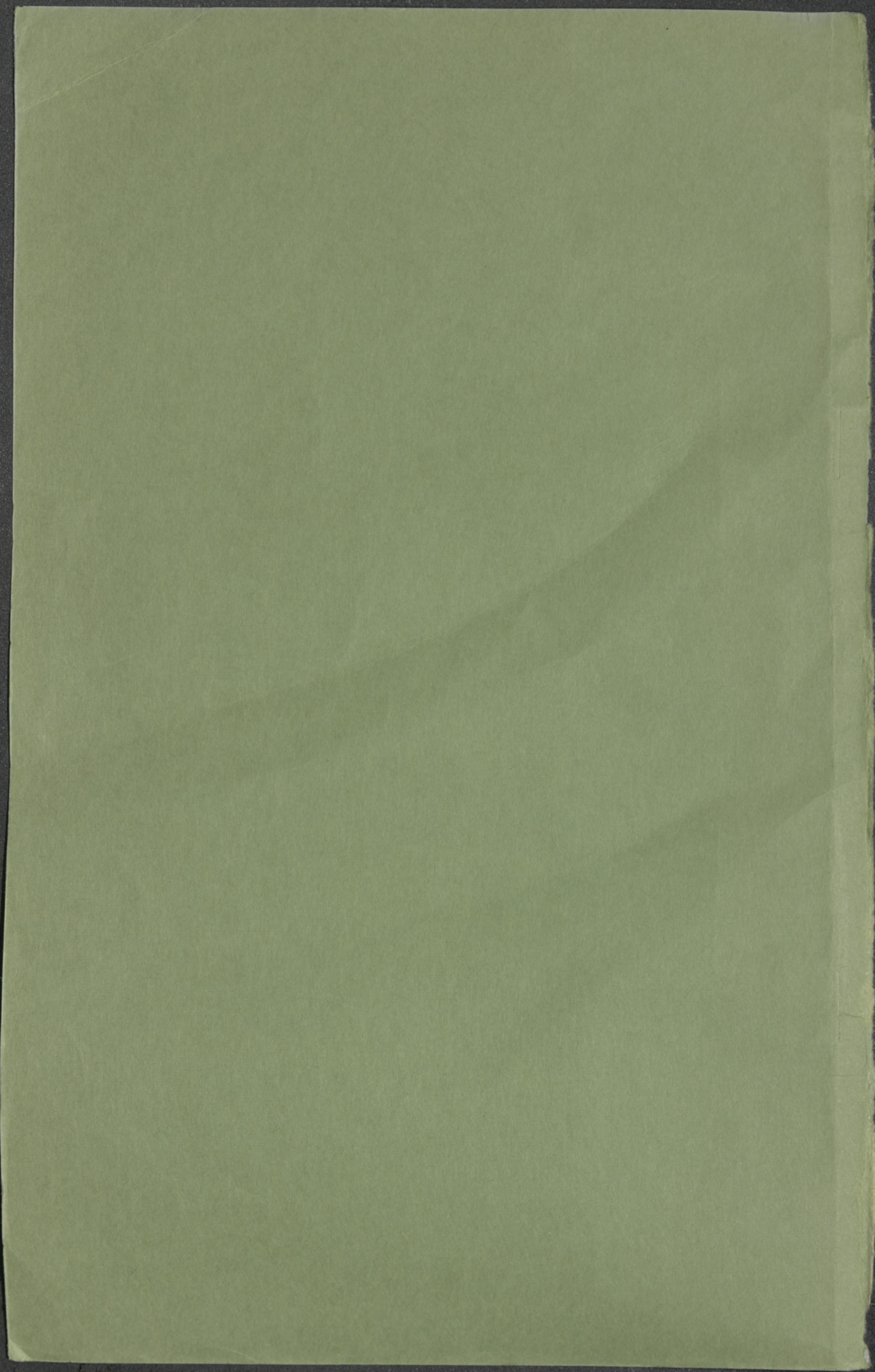
RT ON ROME: THE CHALLENGE OF FOOD AND POPULATION

ST COMMITTEE ON NUTRITION
AND HUMAN NEEDS
UNITED STATES SENATE



DECEMBER 1974

Printed for the use of the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs



93d Congress }
2d Session }

COMMITTEE PRINT

NATIONAL NUTRITION POLICY:
NUTRITION AND THE
INTERNATIONAL SITUATION—III

REPORT ON ROME: THE CHALLENGE OF
FOOD AND POPULATION

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United States Senate

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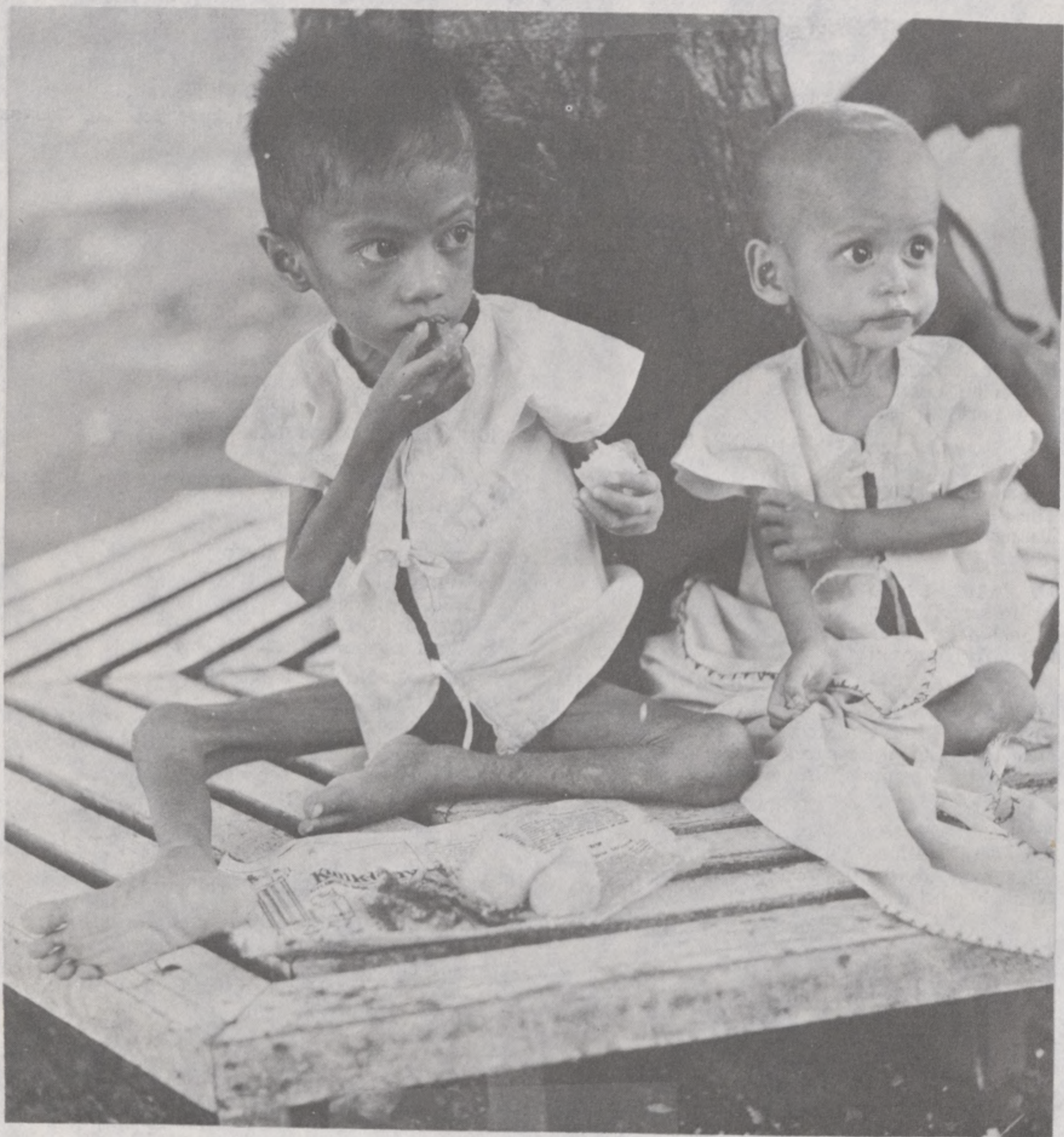
COOPERATING NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

American Academy of Pediatrics
American Dental Association
American Dietetic Association
American Heart Association
American Institute of Nutrition
American Public Health Association

American School Food Service
Association
CARE
Grocery Manufacturers of America
Junior Chamber of Commerce
National Association of Food Chains

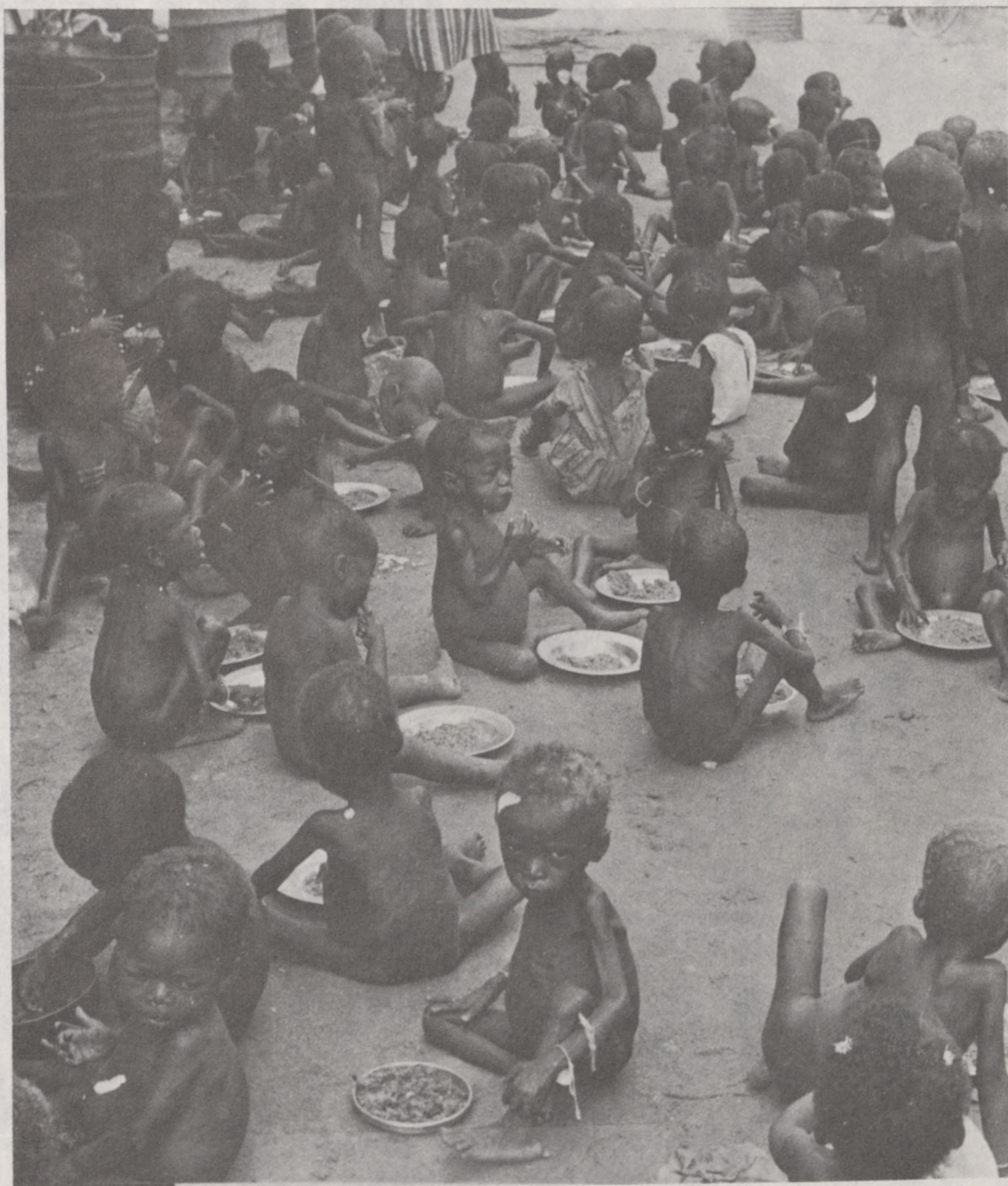
National Congress of Parents and Teachers
National Dairy Council
National Foundation March of Dimes
The American Society for Clinical Nutrition
The Institute of Food Technologists
The National Consumers League
The Society for Nutrition Education

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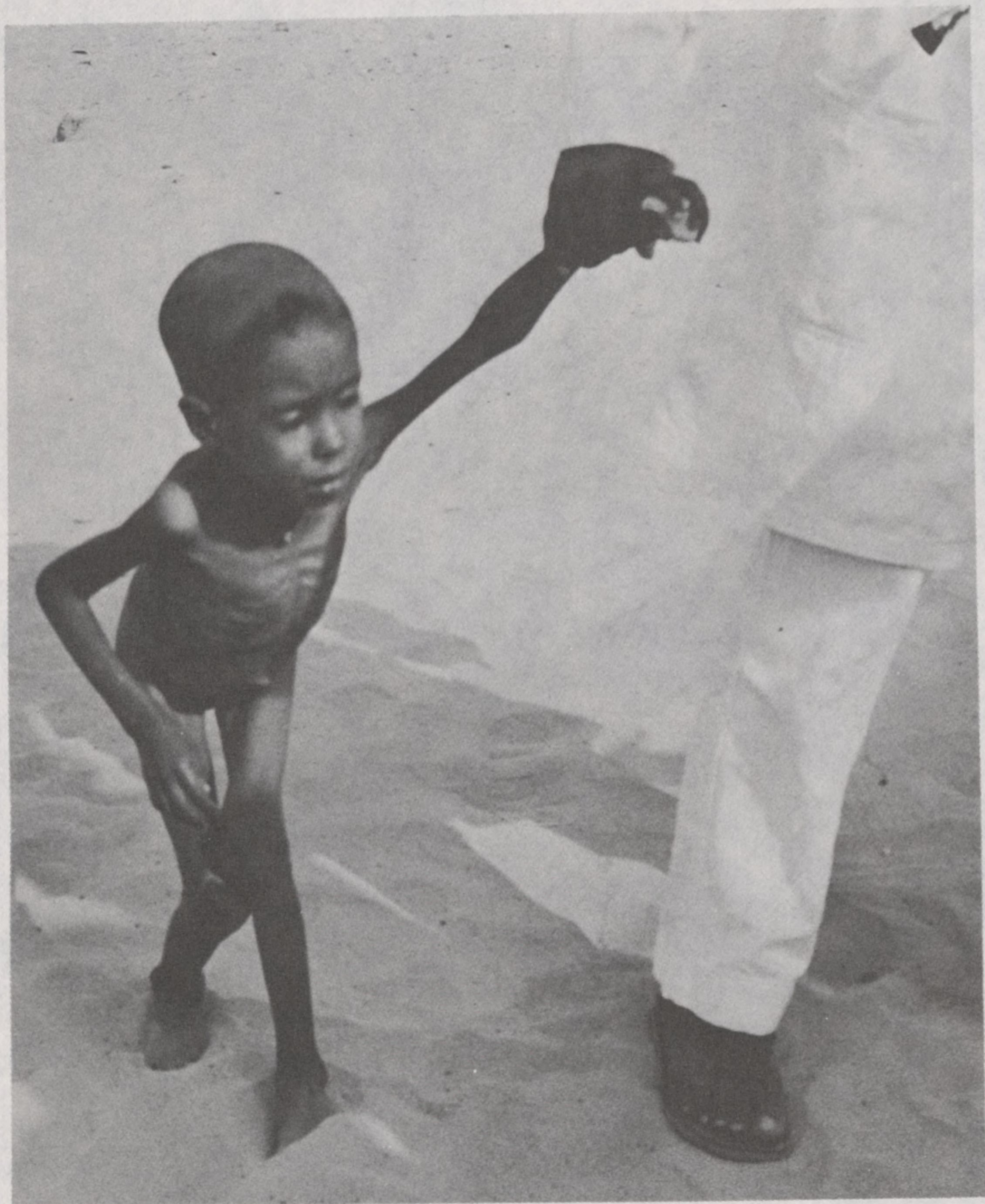
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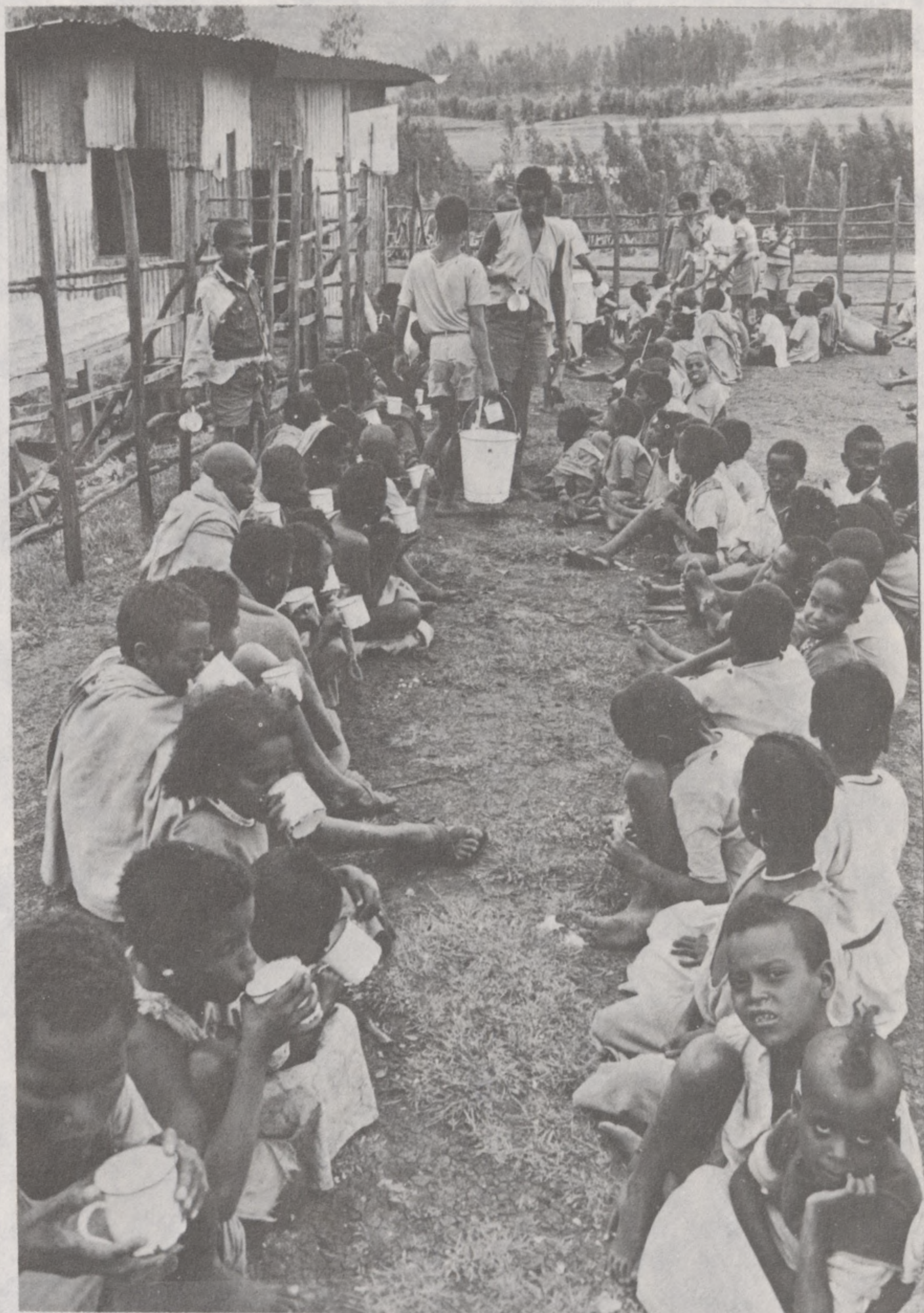
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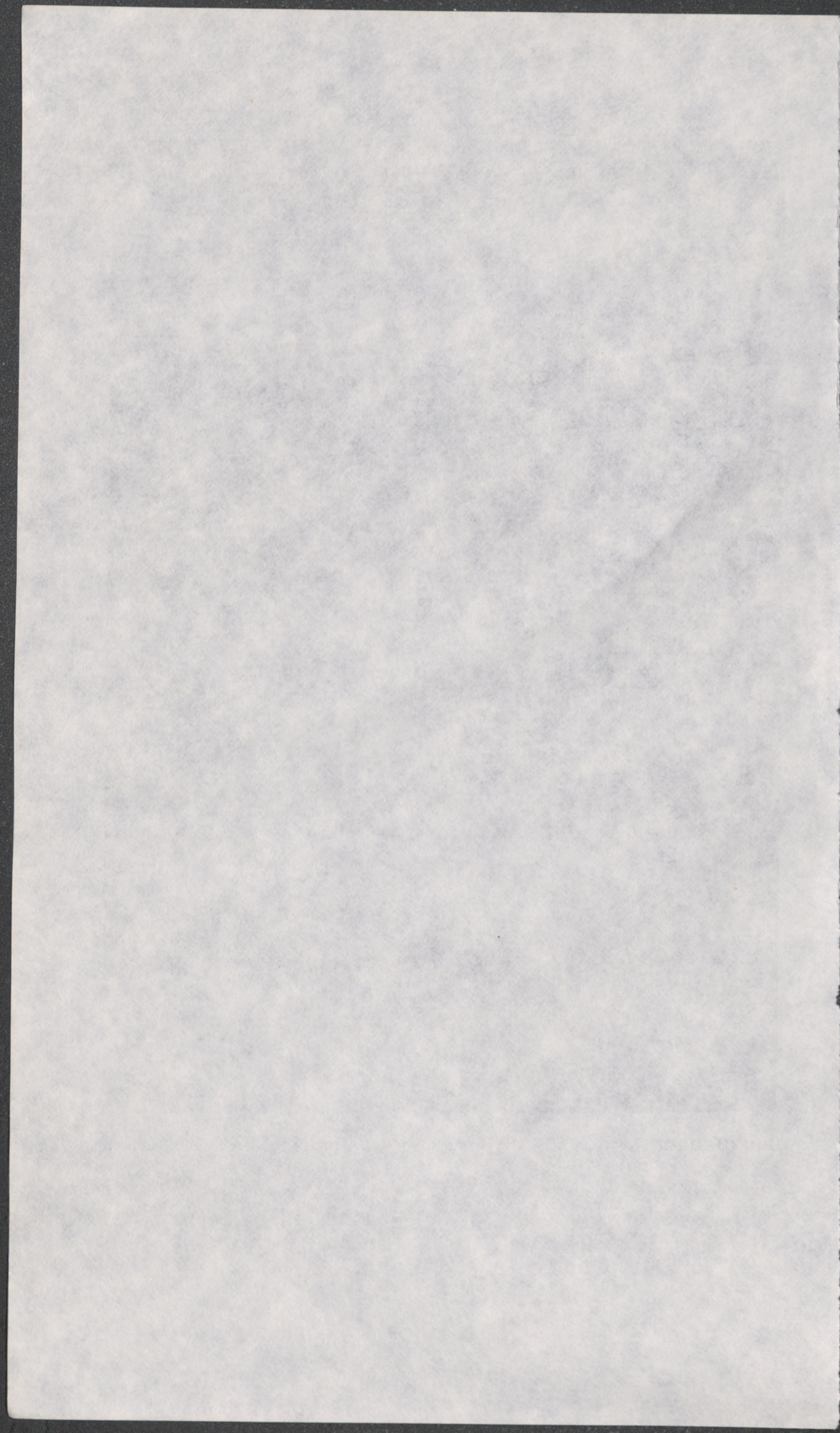
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NUTRITION AND THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION—III

Report on Rome: The Challenge of Food and Population

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1974

U.S. SENATE,
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
NUTRITION AND HUMAN NEEDS,
Washington, D.C.

The Select Committee met at 10:15 a.m., pursuant to call, in the auditorium of the Dirksen Senate Office Building; the Honorable George McGovern, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators McGovern, Percy, Abourezk, Clark, and Javits.

Staff members: Kenneth Schlossberg, staff director; Gerald S. J. Cassidy, general counsel; Alan J. Stone, counsel; Marshall L. Matz, assistant counsel; and Vernon M. Goetcheus, chief, minority staff.

Senator McGOVERN. The hearing will come to order.

The concept of this ad hoc hearing grew out of the discussions held at the World Food Conference in Rome last month. The feeling by some of us who were there was that the problem of hunger ought to be discussed—even this late in the session—not only by Senators and Members of the Congress who attended that conference, but also on the part of some of the private groups that have had a long-time interest in this very serious problem.

OPENING STATEMENT BY SENATOR MCGOVERN, CHAIRMAN

Senator McGOVERN. As this meeting convenes today, the world is facing a catastrophe. Millions of our fellow human beings in far-off areas of the globe are growing weak and dying.

They are not dying of an epidemic or an unknown disease; they are dying from one of mankind's oldest enemies—famine and hunger. They need only one thing to live, and that is food.

Before this day is out, thousands of these unfortunates will have perished.

I believe that these deaths are unnecessary; and I find it difficult to understand why—while human beings starve—the world waits.

There has been adequate warning. Two years ago the Secretary General of the World Food and Agriculture Organization predicted this disaster and called for an emergency program at that time. More than a year ago, Secretary of State Kissinger called for a World Food Conference to make plans to meet this current crisis.

Just a month ago this conference took place. And while much was discussed in terms of long-range solutions to the world food problem, the inability of the nations assembled to agree on providing food to meet the immediate crisis was disheartening, to say the least.

Norman Borlaug, this Nation's eminent Nobel Prize winner in agronomy—a man whose life is dedicated to helping other people feed themselves—said the other day, "Millions will die from hunger during the the coming months and the recent World Food Conference did nothing to prevent their starvation."

Somehow the dimensions of this tragedy—which we are only dimly aware—are not really reaching us in terms of the kind of reaction that is desperately needed.

Somehow, the suffering and death of fellow human beings from starvation does not command the same response as the suffering from a single calamity—such as an earthquake, or a flood, or other catastrophies of that kind. Yet the suffering, today, from famine across the globe is no less real, and the consequences no less tragic.

As we assemble here today, once again we ask—and the hungry ask—how long will the world wait before we respond with the kind of action that this desperate situation requires?

Senator Percy, do you have a statement?

STATEMENT OF SENATOR PERCY

Senator PERCY. Mr. Chairman, I would like to say I think these hearings are extremely timely. I think it's fortunate we have a balance up here. You and Senator Clark both attended the food conference in Rome. I attended, briefly, the Bucharest conference on population.

These days are the days to kick the U.N. around. It has become sort of a tyranny of the majority up there.

I have just completed a term as a delegate. I think we can not overlook the extraordinary contributions the United Nations has made and the sense of timing it did have in calling for a food conference in Rome.

I am not one who believes that that conference was a failure. I think, taking everything into account, it was an extraordinary success; and a great effort by the world to cooperate on a common problem faced by all mankind.

Certainly the population conference in Bucharest came up with an action plan that was bold, dynamic, and absolutely necessary, because food and population go hand-in-hand.

If we continue to let our population worldwide grow at the present explosive level, we will be running to stand still or even recede; no matter how fast we increase production with known techniques, we are going to be running behind increasing per capita consumption, if we do not do some sensible population planning.

I think, it is very fortunate indeed that Russell Peterson will be one of our leadoff witnesses. We have a distinguished panel of witnesses today. We are looking forward very much indeed to hearing them.

I trust they will understand if we duck in and out occasionally. It is not through lack of interest, but because in the last few days of a Congress we are extraordinarily busy on the floor. We will have to go back and forth, but we welcome everybody who is here. We are very appreciative of your interests.

We trust that by the end of these hearings, we will have enlightened ourselves and everyone that has come this morning a great deal through the expert testimony we are going to hear as to the nature of the problem and what we can do about it.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator McGOVERN. Thank you very much, Senator Percy.

Although I was not permitted to attend the conference on population in Bucharest, I wholeheartedly endorse the point you make.

I think anyone who has looked seriously at the problems of hunger around the world recognizes that it is a part of a twin problem of mounting population pressures and finite food resources.

So it is very important to keep in mind the point Senator Percy has made.

Senator Clark?

STATEMENT OF SENATOR CLARK

Senator CLARK. My statement will be very brief, Mr. Chairman.

I view the Rome conference basically as a failure; not that it did not have certain redeeming features. I think, over the next 10 years, certain mechanisms have been established which at least give us the possibility—if goodwill should occur in that period—to look at such things as an international grain reserve. Also, that it has potential in certain other areas.

It seemed to me that even in the long-term goals, however, that at this point it is not very encouraging. But in terms of dealing with the immediate problem, namely the fact that we face the most serious famine that we have faced since the Second World War, and dimensions of about a half-billion people—500 million people—who are now either going to face starvation in the next 7 or 7½ months, or very serious malnutrition, by which I mean they would suffer permanent physical or mental damage; a half-billion people in terms of facing that problem insofar as I can see, was a total failure.

We know that in meetings since that time, that we need about 7.5 million metric tons of food to meet that demand. We have identified about 2 million tons of that 7.5 million tons in terms of aid programs that are being planned by the United States and by other countries.

That means that in the next 7 months, we must find 5.5 million tons of food. All of the nations—insofar as I know, particularly those that met at Rome following the conference on November 29—agree that there is 5.5 million tons of food available to feed hungry people.

They do not agree on raising \$2 billion to find that food and set it aside for hungry people.

As we came out of the Rome conference, we really resolved nothing in terms of coming up with that money or setting aside that food. Not one bit. We did agree to meet on November 29 in Rome. That meeting was held. The dimensions of the problem were clearly identified; nothing was done.

Since that time—I know in our own administration, we have had at least one major cabinet meeting several days ago—nothing has come from that.

So I view the conference with much more skepticism and sorrow, in a sense, particularly in terms of the immediate problem of the next 7 or 7½ months.

As I have indicated, I am also somewhat pessimistic about the long-term results. But the mechanisms were established there with a reserve, with long-term world development, that if the will begins to develop from leadership from our country and others, that in fact we might begin to solve the problem of world development around the world.

In terms of the short-term problem. Unless this country, in particular—the traditional leader in world food aid—is prepared to take a leadership role which we show no indications of taking so far, we are going to face massive starvation. And time is running out on that problem.

Senator McGOVERN. Thank you very much, Senator Clark.

Senator PERCY. Mr. Chairman, I think in response to Senator Clark, I should mention that I had grave concerns about what the U.N. General Assembly was going to do with the Rome report.

I am happy to report that at midnight last night, the General Assembly adopted a resolution endorsing and complimenting the report of the World Food Conference. The World Food Council of 36 members was set up—the United States is a member of that council.

The grave concern we had that implementation might be delayed up there was not borne out. I think the U.S. delegation did a pretty good job on it.

Senator McGOVERN. Thank you, Senator Percy.

Our leadoff witness this morning is Mr. Howard Jost, who is with the Church World Service, and their representative to Bangladesh.

STATEMENT OF HOWARD JOST, CHURCH WORLD SERVICE, REPRESENTATIVE TO BANGLADESH

Mr. Jost. Mr. Chairman, honorable Senators, ladies and gentlemen, thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to speak on behalf of the neediest of the world—particularly those who live on the Asian subcontinent, and also for the others around the world.

Let me describe in my own words the situation as I have seen it.

For the past 2 years, I have been serving as the director of the Christian Commission for the Development of Bangladesh—sponsored by Church World Service—and working with this organization, which has been formed by the Bangladesh National Council of Churches, to develop and execute programs which will aid in the social and economic development of the country, particularly in increasing food production and in decreasing the rate of population growth.

This organization, CCDB—one of the largest of the private voluntary agencies working in Bangladesh—is a very good example of what can be done with an international body.

Our support comes from church groups around the world through the World Council of Churches. Our staff is also international. We are very fortunate to have on our staff people from the developing parts of the world, particularly Asia. This is a very effective means to work in Bangladesh.

This is the first opportunity that I have had to describe the needs of Bangladesh; and, by implication, those of the other needy countries of the world, to such a distinguished audience. I am grateful to you for providing this forum.

I also find it encouraging that the World Food Conference is being followed up by this hearing, and by the actions of the United Nations, as Senator Percy just told us.

The situation in Bangladesh is very bad. It is, perhaps, in many ways peculiar to Bangladesh. But, on the other hand, there are many, many similarities with parts of the Sahara and other parts of the world where hunger is stalking the land.

Since my experience has been in Bangladesh, I will address myself particularly to that situation.

As I say, the situation in Bangladesh at the moment is very bad. Much more food is immediately required to feed hungry people adequately and to keep them alive. While, at the same time, much more additional aid for development efforts must be provided to enable the country to develop its own ability to feed its own people. At the moment, neither of these have been supplied.

The most recent reports that I have indicate that the Bangladesh Government is now operating more than 5,700 feeding centers across the country of Bangladesh, which attempt to give a bit of food—I mean a very small bit of food—to more than 4.2 million people, mostly children, women, and the sick and infirm men. In addition, various food-for-work projects are being developed for able-bodied men to enable them to receive food while doing something for that food.

The country does not have enough food. It does not have enough or adequate means of transportation to move that food to the centers where it is required—in spite of large-scale efforts which include even the use of helicopters. The problem is a shortage of grain. The food gap for 1974 and 1975 is estimated at 2.3 million tons—much of that caused by the destruction of the floods.

I understand that the U.S. Government has now promised Bangladesh a total of 250,000 tons of grain. But, even if we include that with what has been donated by Canada and other countries around the world, the country still needs at least 1 million tons of grain in order to meet the deficit just until June.

This I believe is still true, despite the fact that, at the moment, a harvest is being garnered in Bangladesh. However, this harvest has been figured into the amount of food that they anticipated. Thus, the deficit of 1 million tons continues to exist in spite of the present harvest.

The government is taking steps to deal with the situation as best they can. One which I find very encouraging is a program of compulsory food procurement—particularly in the border districts—as in an attempt, a much more severe attempt than any previously, to curtail smuggling and hoarding of food.

Their plans are to keep this food in the distribution centers, and to use it in the feeding centers which they have set up. Thereby eliminating, to a certain extent, the difficulties of transporting food from the single port that they have to the distribution centers in the countryside.

Even if their procurement program is as successful as they hope it will be—and there are some doubts as to that—still, it will not replace the food which has been lost in the floods. That must come from outside.

In spite of the efforts of the government and the private agencies, both foreign and local, at least 1,500 people—perhaps many more—are dying every week of starvation and hunger-related causes.

Accurate figures are impossible to obtain. In Dacca alone, the place best supplied with food, over 500 unclaimed bodies have been collected from the state's feeding center and hospitals, during the 3-month period from August to October. Since Dacca has approximately one thirtieth of the population of the country, a straight-out extrapolation would result in a figure of approximately 16,000 deaths during a 12-week period.

A more recent figure, released by the Government of Bangladesh, puts the figure at 27,000 people who have died of starvation since the floods until the middle of December. That is approximately 1,500 people per week. Unofficial estimates range much higher, perhaps as many as 100,000 in a 3-month period.

The number of people who have been affected is, of course, much larger. Perhaps as many as half the people in the country have been severely affected, maybe as many as 5 million people. In this huge crowd of people, it is hard to see the individual faces, and to understand what all this means to the people involved.

Because of Bangladesh's large and rapidly growing population, farm sizes have shrunk to 2 acres on an average. And, considering that there quite a few large farms owned by wealthy people, there are many, many people whose farm-acre range is much, much less than 2 acres.

These landless and near-landless people must work at other jobs to supplement their income. When the recent floods wiped out the crops nearly ready for harvest, they also wiped out the employment that these people were expecting. With no harvest and no work, they have been forced to sell their household belongings and also their land—what little of it they still had—in an effort to raise money for food to tide over the hard times.

They joined the swelling ranks of the landless wanderers, who move from place to place in search of a handout from someone who has a little bit more than they. Many of them come to the cities where food is more sufficient, looking for food and for work. Usually they find little of either, and the process of starvation continues a bit more quickly.

Their children, weak already, now crowd the feeding centers—which haven't enough food, let alone milk, to feed them. They roam the streets near the shopping areas and the wealthy residential sections of the city, begging for food.

Others too weak and dispirited, sit mutely by the side of the road, waiting for passersby to throw them a coin or two. Some women are forced into prostitution, some men to thievery. The rank of suicides has increased dramatically, including whole families taking poison rather than face the hungry days ahead. Disease is increasing rapidly. Cholera epidemics have broken out in many parts of the country.

The costs in terms of impaired mental and physical ability is enormous.

After the liberation in 1971, massive relief operations by the United Nations, government agencies, and by voluntary organizations helped to minimize the time required to restore conditions as they had been before the war, and hastened the beginning of development projects. The recent flood, along with the increased cost of fuel and other imports, has basically set all of the priorities to naught; and are delaying our efforts to get at the basic causes of the misery of Bangladesh.

These causes are common to many of the underdeveloped nations of the world—lack of adequate resource base. Bangladesh, as a whole, has no oil at the present, although they are drilling for some. They have no mineral ores, no cement, not even rocks—they have to import rocks from India.

It has a high density of population, perhaps as much as 2,000 people per square mile of arable land; and a very, very high rate of of population growth which eats up all the progress which is made.

They are dependent on one or a few agricultural projects for their foreign exchange earnings, and are, therefore, extremely vulnerable to the vagaries of an international market. Their government is inexperienced; only recently they became independent. They have a government of people who were, previously, the governors of states and administrators of cities and towns.

As I see it, the solution to the problems lies in a rapid improvement of agriculture, food-producing industries, fisheries, and agriculturally related industries. Through the provision of sufficient seeds, fertilizer, or the means to produce it—fuel, pumps—and strenuous efforts to reduce the rate of population growth. Without these two efforts any industrialization will be quite futile. With it, it will be quite useful.

These two areas of increasing food production and reducing the rate of population growth, are precisely the areas in which we, the CCDB, are increasing efforts. The government is increasing the area of irrigated land in the country; although, I am sorry to say, their efforts in the areas of family planning so far have been less successful.

Irrigation, using ground water during the winter season, offers the most hope of increased crop yields with a minimum of danger from the vagaries of weather. The Government of Bangladesh with World Bank assistance, has a very large project for the sinking of deep tube wells. We are adding our own contribution. Even if we can put in as many as 3,000 or 4,000 more tube wells in the country, there still remains the problem of finding enough fuel to run the pumps to pump the water.

Perhaps in the Bay of Bengal, after 10 years, we may be able to get some oil—if they find any.

What will happen now? The foreign exchange reserves—what little there were after the war—are basically exhausted. Inflation continues at a frightening pace, and the government cannot really control the lawlessness that prevails in the countryside. Everyone agrees that the present government is weak, but there seem no others to take on the job.

People sometimes ask me what I think would happen if the deficit of 1 million tons is not provided. It is very difficult to say. I am not a political scientist. I can say that the rate of 200 pounds per person per 6 months is a minimum diet—1 million tons represents the diet of 10 million people. Obviously not that many people would starve, but it would put a very serious strain on the government to maintain order if such shortages continue for very long.

I don't see how we, and other wealthy countries, would be able to allow such circumstances to occur—particularly since we do have the resources to avert such a horrible development.

Given the size of the need in these parts of the world, I find it discouraging to read reports concerning the Food for Peace Program and see the amount of aid which is being sent to countries which are relatively less affected by the problems of famine and hunger. I par-

ticularly noted Cambodia. With a population of only 7 million people, they are presently receiving five times as much food aid as Bangladesh—with a population of 75 million. Were Bangladesh to receive assistance on the order of that magnitude per capita, the present situation would be radically altered.

It is, however, heartening to hear increasing criticisms of these inequities from Members of Congress. I urge you to continue these objections until the requirements of the neediest countries receive their due consideration.

The present is difficult and the future is uncertain. At the request of the National Council of Churches in Bangladesh, I am returning for another 2-year term to help. I hope that, in response to the request of the Bangladesh government, the Government of the United States will respond with much more assistance than is presently planned.

As long as the people of Bangladesh ask for help, and we have the means to help, we must continue to do all that we can.

Thank you.

Senator McGOVERN. Thank you very much, Mr. Jost, for your statement.

It always becomes apparent, as we listen to witnesses discuss the food situation, that it breaks into two parts. There is the immediate crisis and then the long-term problem of how we increase food production and distribution in these deficit areas.

You have seen the situation in Bangladesh at close hand. Do you view it as a temporary crisis; or, is it a chronic situation that we are going to have to deal with for a long time to come?

Do you see the possibilities of that country being able to feed itself, or meet most of its needs, at any time in the foreseeable future?

Mr. JOST. Technically if you look at the statistics, yes. The amount of food production per acre in Bangladesh is extremely low by comparison with what has been achieved in other countries such as Japan. If we could introduce the kind of modern agricultural practices which are used in Japan to Bangladesh, we could dramatically increase the rate of food production.

Senator McGOVERN. That will take a great deal of capital to do that, will it not?

Mr. JOST. Yes.

Senator McGOVERN. And technical know-how.

Mr. JOST. And organization of the people.

Senator McGOVERN. Do they have any of those ingredients?

Mr. JOST. They need training. They need the ingredients. I was discussing the fact of irrigation, which is a critical part of this program. That means pumps, and fuel for the pumps as well. It means fertilizer, because the improved seed cannot be grown properly unless they have adequate fertilizers.

Bangladesh has a field of natural gas and they have a factory for producing urea fertilizer from it. Recently an explosion destroyed the control room. It is presently being rebuilt. I am told that the country could produce enough urea fertilizer for its own needs and could, in fact, export it. So far, they haven't the capacity to do that.

Senator McGOVERN. How effective are the programs that are in operation there now, in terms of meeting this immediate crisis?

We have seen films showing people waiting for days without relief. What is the reason for those long lines of people, slowly starving to death? Are there not distribution kitchens and facilities, throughout the country, designed to meet this situation?

Mr. JOST. That film was taken in August, which was very shortly after the flood. You saw the water still high in the fields. At that time, the government had not set up any of the present 5,000 or so kitchens across the country, which are now in existence.

I am told, at the moment, the government is collecting people from the streets as they come in and taking them to these areas. In some sense keeping them at the place where the food is available—what little there may be of it.

I don't believe that the present situation is quite as critical—in terms of people sitting for days at the railway station waiting for someone to give them food.

Senator McGOVERN. Then the big problem, now, is simply to get more food into the distribution network that is operating?

Mr. JOST. I would say so; yes.

Senator McGOVERN. If they had additional food supplies coming in, they now have the know-how to get them into the hands of the hungry people?

Mr. JOST. They do. The government, immediately after the floods, began to use up at a very fast rate the reserves they had in the country, with the expectation that—at the other end of the pipeline—sufficient food would be given which would enable them to continue in the future.

At this point, I think that if we were to commit ourselves to a larger amount of grain to the country, the Government of Bangladesh could immediately step up the amount of grain they are distributing to the hungry people.

Senator McGOVERN. Did I understand you to say that five times as much of our food aid is going into Cambodia as is now moving into Bangladesh?

Mr. JOST. Those are the figures that I have seen in "The New Republic," of December 7—nearly five times as much food aid to Cambodia's 7 million people.

Senator McGOVERN. To me, this is one of the central weaknesses in our Food for Peace Program. In all too many cases it has become a "food for war" program—heavily colored by political and military considerations. It is one of the major problems that has developed in that program. One of the great disappointments to me, as one who once was connected with the Food for Peace Program directly.

I am glad for your testimony on that point because I think the American people would not tolerate it, if they understood the full implications—their tax funds and their resources being used in that way.

Cambodia ought to be a net exporter of food, not an importer. Certainly not a recipient of five times as much food aid as we are sending into a stricken area such as Bangladesh.

I want to thank you for your testimony, Mr. Jost.

Senator PERCY?

Senator PERCY. I have very few questions. We have a full agenda.

I wasn't sure what you felt about the corruption, inefficiency, in Bangladesh. I went through there a couple of years ago, and talked with Prime Minister Rahman in New York last month.

Do you feel that they are getting a handle on this, that this is not going to be in the future a major problem and that it is the problems of drought, lack of food and other natural forces that we have to work against here?

There is not an awful lot we from the outside can do about the internal problems.

Are they getting a handle on a control of those problems?

Mr. Jost. It is difficult to say. Before I left Bangladesh the government made some strong efforts to weed out some of the corrupt elements in the government; some high officials and many lower officials were removed from office.

In a country where everyone seems to have needs, it is very difficult for people to ignore the needs of the families and so forth. The problem is the various ways in which the problems could be attacked.

Senator PERCY. I would like to ask you how your efforts as a representative of a voluntary agency relate to efforts of the U.S. Government, through AID, food for peace. You get food for the needy in Bangladesh. Is there a coordination between private and governmental programs?

Mr. Jost. Yes; there is. On an informal basis we are well acquainted with the food for peace—there is not a Food for Peace Program. The AID officials in Bangladesh, Church World Service used \$1 million of AID money to build houses immediately after the war. I was sent to, basically, administer that program. We have an organization called the Association of Voluntary Agencies in Bangladesh to which AID people are invited where we discuss our various programs and ways in which we can cooperate.

I would say, yes, we have a fairly effective way of coordinating our efforts.

Senator PERCY. I would like to ask whether you feel that given conditions that you have personally seen and the conditions you know of in Bangladesh and other parts of the world, if we were able to marshal our forces sufficiently and if we, along with other developed food-exporting countries, were able to help, whether the impact that we could make would make a substantial difference in the number of people who would die of starvation or be permanently injured because of malnutrition?

Do we have the resources and can we do this job? Are we capable of doing the whole job or are we just trying to cut the losses as much as we can?

Mr. Jost. Well, cutting the losses as much as we can and having a substantial impact, I would say, are the same thing.

If you are talking about such large numbers of people, it is impossible to guarantee that we could really solve the problems entirely.

I would say yes, we can make a substantial impact on the problem; but we also have to understand the magnitude of the problem that we are dealing with. However, a substantial impact on it may not mean that within 6 months there are no more starving people in Bangladesh.

It is a much, much larger problem than it may appear here on the face of it. A substantial impact may only reduce it from an extreme

disaster to a minor disaster, not to a glorified success. That is still a substantial improvement in the situation.

Senator PERCY. How much evidence have you seen that other countries—other countries who have the capability to assist and help—are concerned enough and are doing enough to help in a world-wide effort?

Could you name countries that are, in your judgment, measuring up to their responsibility now?

Mr. Jost. Well, in our own organization we are receiving very large support from the Government of Germany, and from the Government of Germany through the churches. Also through the churches in England as well as from the United States and other countries in smaller amounts.

As far as the government programs are concerned, I know that the Seed Depot in Canada and Sweden are very much actively involved. The World Bank, of course, has a very large program.

In my knowledge, that is about as much as I could say.

I would say, yes, that the other countries of the world besides the United States do have substantial programs in Bangladesh. They are also carrying a share of the responsibilities for providing assistance.

Senator PERCY. Before I went up to the United Nations in the early fall, I worked with the heads of most of our religious organizations in this country dealing with philanthropic service work as the cochairman of the advisory group of the World Hunger Action Coalition. I told them the great problem the legislators have because there is no home constituency for food aid or foreign aid. There is no organized effort to even have the American people express themselves. And I was very pleased indeed when a few months later they came to New York and I presented to Ambassador Scali as a conduit to the President and Secretary Kissinger, signatures of almost 300,000 Americans who said we should do our full fair share.

How much of a constituency do you see across the country? How much interest is there from the American people in this problem that you have seen with your own eyes and that you have seen this year in Calcutta and other devastated areas?

Mr. Jost. My home is in Kansas. As I have been speaking to various church groups and so forth about the problems of Bangladesh, I find that the response of the people is overwhelming. Their main questions to me are: "What can we do to have a greater impact on that problem?" "Is there any way that eating less at our tables will make an impact?" "Can we give more food?" "How can we see that the help we would like to give goes to the people who are really needy?"

One of my colleagues from the Church World Service will be giving you more details, later on today, about his knowledge of what other churches are doing around the country in terms of responding to the need.

Yes. I would say I am qualified to say, "yes; the people of the United States would like to do more to help the needy of the world."

Senator PERCY. Well, I think the World Hunger Action Coalition, who organized the effort to gather all of these petitions, had a marked impact.

I saw attitudes change as a result of that overwhelming response; and, as you know, the State Department and the delegation to the

United Nations, have been very aggressive in working for the larger budgetary amount for food assistance.

I would like to ask one last question regarding population planning.

In the areas in the countries that you visited that are devastated with this problem and have a hunger problem and a famine problem today and probably will next year, maybe the next year, do you see a concerted effort now to do something to implement, say, the population action program that came out of Bucharest and to develop a national program for population planning?

Mr. JOST. My experience is basically limited to India. Although the Government of Bangladesh is making a very strong effort in the field of increasing food production, it is disappointing to see they are not making a similar step in the direction of population planning.

As I said, in our own organization we are attempting to operate on both fronts. We have a program—a pilot program in a rural area which involves health and family planning. But the government, so far, is caught in an internal struggle over the problems of family planning and who is to do it.

I am sorry to report that that area is one which requires a great deal more work on it in Bangladesh, as well as in India.

I don't believe that the people there have fully realized the enormity of the situation, and what can be done by programs.

Senator PERCY. Thank you very much.

Senator CLARK. I will try to keep my questions brief as well. We have a number of witnesses.

I was particularly impressed by your remarks on statistics, the way in which our Food for Peace Program is working.

I know, last year alone, over half of all the food aid which we gave went to two countries—Cambodia and South Vietnam.

Witnesses who were involved in that program were before the Foreign Relations Committee and indicated that a great part of that food never actually got to the people; but, rather, was converted into the war effort in those areas.

I want to say for the record, and to you, that late yesterday afternoon the Senate adopted the conference report on the foreign aid bill which specifically limited the amount of money that could be spent in nonneedy areas.

In our Food for Peace Program, 30 percent—that is \$255 million—of our total went under Title I. I think that is very meaningful.

We have spent virtually that amount now.

What it would mean if the House adopts that conference report, today or tomorrow, is that we are mandating to the administration that they will not be able to spend further of our food aid program in areas that are not identified by the United Nations as being neediest.

Mr. JOST. I find that very encouraging.

Senator CLARK. Just one other point for the record. Then my question.

My question will be about your feeling as to what the United States should do in Bangladesh in the next 6 months.

I want to say, first, that there has been a good deal of mystery about just what the U.S. food aid program is this year.

Between 1968 and 1972 the United States contributed in food aid through our Food for Peace Program an average of 9 million tons per

year. It varied a little above, a little below, but almost exactly 9 million tons for 5 straight years.

In 1973 our contribution went down to 7.5 million tons. Last year it decreased to 3½ million tons—about a third of what we normally give.

Now, with those facts in mind, and with your testimony—having defined the nature of the problem in Bangladesh, namely that about 5 million people presently face either starvation or serious malnutrition, and that you have a gap of about 1 million tons, a need for about 1 million tons—what, in your judgment, should the United States do in this next 6 or 7 months?

What do you think our responsibility is as an American, and as a person serving in Bangladesh?

Could you define that at all? What are the dimensions of our responsibility?

Mr. JOST. Well, I think that, at the very least, we could increase the amount of food aid that we are giving back to the preliberation levels. I think that would, to a great extent, relieve the shortages as I have described them.

At the same time, I think there should be efforts required in Bangladesh itself, to assist in the transportation and distribution of these commodities.

At the present time, one of the AID projects is to build bridges. The problem of communication is one affected by rivers which cut through every road every few miles. There is a large problem in building bridges, both for inland transportation of the grain, storage areas, and so forth.

These are projects which have been and perhaps should be again emphasized to build up not only the grain that is coming in, but also the infrastructure to deal with that grain.

Senator CLARK. You talked about population control and the necessity of population control. In your judgment, can you achieve family planning, can you achieve population control, without substantial progress in economic development?

Mr. JOST. Yes, I think so. Our experience in the village area where we are working in providing contraceptives and advice, along with other medical assistance, is that when we began our family planning clinic and began asking every single woman or man who came to the clinic if they would like to practice family planning, would like advice and supplies to help them do so, we had an overwhelming response from more than 66 percent of the people in this village area.

They said, "Yes, we would like to practice family planning, can you help us?"

It indicates to me there is large unmet demand in Bangladesh for information and methods of contraception.

We can talk about the problem of the resistance of traditional culture to family planning and so forth; but, before we get to the point of having to deal with those problems we already have a large unmet demand for contraception and family planning.

Oral contraceptives are selling on the black market in Bangladesh for 10 times the price they are supposed to be sold. There is a large unmet demand for these devices.

I think that AID presently has a program to attempt to supply this gap.

Certainly there is a lot that needs to be done, at the moment, to provide the means so that whatever motivation the people have can be met. Then the additional programs can go forward, and increase their demand to reduce the size of their families.

Senator CLARK. Senator Percy accurately talked about the problem of a lack of constituency for foreign aid in the United States.

There is a feeling, as you travel around the country and talk to people, there is a concern about whether we, in fulfilling our responsibility in food aid and in foreign aid, whether we really earn enemies or friends by this.

Secretary Butz, I remember, at a conference in Rome—this was reported on CBS—summarized it very accurately, that point of view, by saying that you are never able to give poor relatives enough to really keep them happy.

What about the people in Bangladesh? What is their attitude toward food aid from the United States and other countries?

Mr. Jost. At the moment I would say they are extremely, shall I say, willing to receive.

As a new country they don't have the necessity of appearing to be totally self-sufficient—which, perhaps, India feels on the other hand. So I would say that as long as the government is asking for aid, I don't think we should feel any hesitation to provide the aid.

Certainly, from my perspective, we cannot always expect people to be extremely grateful for the aid that we are giving. No one likes to be dependent, to receive aid from another person, to feel that he is in some way inferior. To a certain extent, any time you do receive, you feel these kinds of emotions toward those who are doing the giving.

But we are not there to earn their thankfulness. We are there to help them in any way we can; and, particularly, in the ways they ask us to help them—particularly their government leaders.

So with that sort of a feeling—that we don't have to expect unqualified gratefulness, particularly in the long run, but that we know that what we are doing is definitely required—we have our own satisfaction in knowing that we have done what we could to provide the necessary help.

Senator CLARK. Thank you very much.

Senator PERCY. Mr. Jost, before you leave, I would just like to indicate for the record, because you have mentioned that five times the proportion of food aid goes to Cambodia as to Bangladesh, that according to the figures that the staff has provided to me, some recent Public Law 480 agreements for food aid involved 210,000 tons of food, rice, wheat products, and so forth for Cambodia; 250,000 for Bangladesh; 120,000 for Pakistan; 300,000 metric tons for India.

So that those are the most recent figures we have.

Could we ask you to reconcile with Vern Goetcheus, and the majority counsel as well, the figures you have for the five times ratio? Maybe they went back some period of time.¹

Mr. Jost. I think that may be the answer.

Senator PERCY. Thank you very much, indeed.

Now, on behalf of the full committee, I will call two very distinguished witnesses—Ambassador Martin, who was the U.S. coordinator for the World Food Conference at Rome; and Governor Russell

¹ See testimony of Mr. Larry Minear, p. 148.

Peterson, who was the Deputy Head of the U.S. delegation to the World Population Conference.

Governor Peterson, I don't know what the protocol is, but your conference in Bucharest occurred first. We will take the problem of population first; followed by Ambassador Martin.

**STATEMENT OF GOVERNOR RUSSELL PETERSON, DEPUTY HEAD,
U.S. DELEGATION TO WORLD POPULATION CONFERENCE,
BUCHAREST**

Governor PETERSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

First of all, I appreciate very much the opportunity to participate in this very important meeting. World Population Year, 1974, is drawing to a close. It could go down in history as the year a major milestone was achieved for the future benefit of people everywhere, or as the year in which the world gave lip service to the future welfare of mankind and continued full speed on a course of self-destruction to drag the world into a state of unprecedented misery.

On August 30, in Bucharest, the United Nations developed a World Population Plan of Action which, if implemented, could safeguard the world's future.

The Bucharest meeting, with nearly 1,100 registered delegates from 137 countries, and 33 specialized governmental organizations, was the largest United Nations conference ever. After wrestling with mankind's greatest problem for 2 weeks, the delegates finally approved, by acclamation, the Plan of Action. Just 2 weeks ago, the U.N. General Assembly endorsed this action.

The need for action is urgent.

Lest man become the architect of population change, he most certainly will become its victim.

Population has been outrunning the food supply in more and more countries. At the same time, consumption of other resources has skyrocketed, placing staggering burdens on the environment and heightening international competition for ever more scarce supplies. And, at the same time, the expectations of many peoples have been mounting. Frustration, fear, unrest have been growing. Clearly, these factors are a threat to world stability. And population growth is at the heart of the matter.

Political issues used to dominate the world scene. But now it is population, resources, economics, and the environment.

Until 1830, the population of the world grew very slowly. By then it had reached 1 billion. The growth rate increased modestly during the next century, so that by 1930, it was 2 billion. The growth rate increased further, so that after another 30 years, it had become 3 billion. And by next year, just 15 years later, it will cross over the 4 billion mark. Despite great scientific and technical advances, it is becoming impossible to meet the expanding needs of so many people so fast.

But the pace quickens. By the year 2000, if the present rate of growth continues, there will be another 3 billion people. And the next billion after that—the 8th billion—will appear in only 6 more years.

If the population could be leveled off at the 6 billion mark, most populationists believe the world might be able to support them. But because nearly half of the people in rapidly expanding populations are

15 years of age or younger, the population growth rate cannot stop suddenly. Even with worldwide action to limit the size of families to replacement levels—that is two children per family—it is obvious that the births of children and grandchildren together will greatly outnumber the deaths of parents and grandparents. Hence, even at the replacement level of fertility, the population will continue to grow for about 60 years before it would level off.

Thus, in order to have the world population growth taper off around the 6 or 7 billion mark, it is necessary to initiate immediately a world population policy that would bring the growth rate steadily down to the replacement level over the next 35 years. Such an accomplishment would be most difficult. In fact, it has taken our country about 150 years to do this. Delay will be costly.

If such a program is not launched until 1985, and is successful, the world's population will not level off until it is about 10 billion. If an implementation is delayed 20 years, the population will reach 12 billion.

In my lifetime, over 2 billion mouths have been added to the world's "chowline." In spite of the fantastic technological advances in agriculture during that time, there are more hungry people in the world than ever before. When my grandchildren reach my age, there will be at least another 3 billion mouths to feed, even if a major worldwide program to limit population is launched immediately. If it is not launched and the growth rate were to stay unchanged from what it is now, my grandchildren will live to see the world add another 12 billion human beings.

What a legacy that would be.

Such excessive population growth will almost certainly not happen. The grim reaper will see to that.

Already in South Asia the death rate is rising, reversing the hard-won gains in life expectancy that growing medical technology had provided. The very young and the very old, enfeebled by malnutrition, are expiring from what appear to be common colds and stomach ailments.

India's population is now about 620 million, or about three times that of our country. Her population growth is such that she would need 1,000 more schoolrooms, 1,000 more hospital wards, and 10,000 more homes constructed each and every day just to keep up. Even conceding full benefit from application of the Green Revolution throughout all available land in South Asia, the struggle for survival would be hopeless. The population growth rate declines so slowly that an equilibrium level is not reached until 2025. At that point, assuming enough food could be imported so that no mass starvation were to have taken place, the South Asia territory would need annual imports of 500 million tons of grain—twice the total amount presently produced in North America.¹ Such imports would be impossible.

If the population growth were reduced to reach equilibrium fertility levels by 1990—just 15 years from now—the imports of grain needed would be 100 million tons per year. This might be manageable, but would pose new staggering problems of payments. To handle that would require global cooperation to improve the economic capabilities of South Asia.¹

¹ These examples are taken from "Mankind at the Turning Point," the second report of the Club of Rome, November 1974.

Let us move closer to home—to our neighbor, Mexico. If her present population growth rate continues, her current population of 60 million, which is 28 percent of ours, will in 50 years grow to 340 million. This would be 1.3 times the population of the United States and would markedly increase the desire of many of our Mexican neighbors to cross the border into the United States.

I have reviewed these possibilities so that you may understand the significance of the World Population Conference at Bucharest.

Although the plan adopted there is replete with extraneous verbiage and references to many other global issues that are the perennial subject of U.N. debates, it does have clear language to guide nations in handling the population explosion.

For the first time in any U.N. document, the plan states forthrightly, and in simple sentences, the following:

1. All couples and individuals have the basic human right to decide freely and responsively the number and spacing of their children and to have the information, education, and means to do so.

2. The responsibility of couples and individuals in the exercise of this right takes into account the needs of their living and future children and their responsibilities towards the communities.

3. Governments should consider making provision, in both their formal and nonformal education programs, for informing their people of the consequences of existing or alternative fertility behavior for the well-being of the family, for the educational psychological development of children and for the general welfare of society, so that an informed and responsible attitude to marriage and reproduction will be promoted.

The plan recognizes that family planning programs are but a part, though an essential part, of social and economic development, and that these programs can assist social and economic development. It also recognizes that social and economic development can help moderate population fertility and that those sectors of development that accomplish this more effectively than others should be given priority.

The plan emphasizes that the principal aim of social and economic development, including needed population policies, is to improve the quality of life. It calls for greater attention to the role of women in development and to the need for taking measures to improve their status. A specific goal of the plan is to reduce, to the maximum extent possible, mortality levels, citing that as a prerequisite to a decline in fertility.

The plan notes that if birth rate projections in developing countries are to be reduced from the present annual rate of 38 per thousand of population to 30 per thousand by 1985, "substantial national efforts" supported by adequate international assistance would be required. The plan invites countries which consider their birth rates "detrimental to their national purposes" to consider "setting quantitative goals and implementing policies that may lead to the attainment of such goals by 1985." At the same time it acknowledges that each country has a sovereign right to set its own goals, or none at all.

Besides advising countries which have overpopulation problems, the plan gives countries which have at least a high stage of development and material consumption, a different, but equally urgent exhortation. It states:

Recognizing that per capita use of world resources is much higher in the more developed than in the developing countries, the developed countries are urged to adopt appropriate policies of population, consumption and investment, bearing in mind that need for fundamental improvement in international equity.

In view of our country's record of high consumption, this part of the plan is especially pertinent to us. We tend to point to the developing nations as being guilty of overpopulating the world and expect them to correct the situation. In turn they accuse us of high consumption that has global effects which will deprive them of future benefits. I think there is room for improvement on both sides. We need to stop waste, recycle and reuse more materials, and avoid unnecessary consumption of food and materials.

There are many other important points in the plan of action which I didn't have time to go into today. More than anything in prior history, the Bucharest conference has been a great step forward in preparing nations to deal with population matters. The U.N. has already experienced a large increase in requests from developing countries for assistance in family planning programs. Although some donor nations have increased their pledges of financial support, the total U.N. fund for population activities is far from adequate to keep up with the growing demand. Countries are holding regional conferences in Asia and Latin America to coordinate and intensify their programs. But, in the final analysis, it is up to each nation to take action for itself. And it is up to the developed nations to help the developing countries help themselves.

The U.S. delegation at Bucharest offered U.S. support for the plan of action, and a continuation of efforts to assure the availability of family planning services to all our people. The United States also offered to collaborate with other countries and with the U.N. agencies in assisting poorer countries to develop low-cost, basic, preventative and curative services, including maternal and child health and family planning services, reaching out into remote rural areas.

In addition, the United States offered to collaborate in research in human reproduction and fertility control covering biomedical and socioeconomic factors. The United States also offered to join with others in providing increased financial aid to the U.N. Fund for Population Activities.

The United States has set a good example in conducting its organized family planning programs to assist people to whom it provides financial assistance. Over the last several years, these programs have provided information and contraceptives to 3.4 million women. So far, this covers about half the women who want such help, and are unable to afford it on their own. As a result, the birth rate for economically disadvantaged people has been dropping rapidly, much more rapidly than it has for higher income people who have been purchasing family planning assistance from private doctors or organizations, and who have thereby already achieved a lower birth rate.

It may be of interest to note that for each dollar spent in this humanitarian program to assist parents in avoiding unwanted pregnancies, the following year Government expenditures for maternity and pediatric medical care are reduced by \$2. And many other benefits and values accrue to the whole community and especially to parents who are able to plan the size and spacing of their children. Certainly it is not sound for Government to cut family planning budgets as an economy measure.

Some small developing countries with financial and technical assistance from the United States and other countries have launched highly effective family planning programs that have brought down the

birth rate substantially. Reports out of China indicate significant headway is being made there; but the limited rate of progress of the world, as a whole, is far from adequate to avoid the rapid doubling of population that is leading the world to catastrophe. Much more needs to be done. Much more can be done if all of us, including the United States, face up to the magnitude and the seriousness of the task.

The plan of action forged last August at Bucharest is a triumph for international negotiations under the U.N. system. Let us hope that this spirit of Bucharest prevails in other international negotiations that lie before a troubled world as it strives to carry out the plan. Implementing effective worldwide programs now will avert untold human suffering and deaths numbering in the billions. The plan of action, if followed, charts the way for mankind to stop the world population growth and hence improve the quality of life for all.

Thank you.

Senator PERCY. I would like to comment for the record, much as we appreciate it, as I see it from the delegation standpoint, the great leadership you provided as deputy head of that delegation; and secondly, to observe, for some reason or other, there is only Mrs. Green and myself that went to Bucharest. Twenty three Members went to Rome for the Food Conference.

I hope that that is not an indication as to the proportionate amount of interest we have as to the problems which are really interrelated.

I think before we take any questions, Senator Clark, if it is agreeable with you, we will go to Ambassador Martin's testimony.

STATEMENT OF AMBASSADOR EDWIN MARTIN, U.S. COORDINATOR TO THE WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE, ROME

Ambassador MARTIN. I think it is appropriate that you have chosen to combine these two subjects this morning. It is an example of the degree to which the problems we all face are, in fact, interrelated.

On the specific question of population, we passed a resolution at the World Food Conference on population and food endorsing strongly the results of the Bucharest conference, and calling attention to the importance of seeing that they are put into practical effect.

We cannot treat the food problem alone, any more than we can treat the population problem alone. What happens with respect to the world energy situation has a direct impact on the success of any effort to deal with the food problem.

We also recognized, in our resolution, that what one does about food has important implications for the ecology, the environment; and, must be related to the objectives set forth at the Environment Conference in Stockholm.

The Law of the Sea Conference, which had its initial session this year, also has important implications for food and for energy.

We have a particularly difficult and important challenge, it seems to me, in not only seeing that global interdependence on each of these issues, but seeing the relationship among them. And to see that they march forward, to some degree, in step.

To turn to the food problem—and the food conference in particular—I think it is worth noting that we reached agreement without serious difficulty on our assessment of the problem to be faced.

Looking at the present situation, it was noted that—according to the best estimates available—there were perhaps 400 million people who were sufficiently undernourished to affect their performance. This was a problem which could not be tolerated as a continuing matter.

Secondly, looking to a medium-term situation—the next 10 years, which was felt to be as long as one could forecast with any degree of accuracy—one still had to make some very difficult assumptions. That the weather would be as good as it has been on the average during the past decade; that the world economy would function as well as it has during the past decade; and, that people would behave in their political life as rationally or less irrationally as they have in the past decade.

Given these assumptions, the conclusion was that there would be enough food produced to feed people as well or probably somewhat better, than they have been during the past decade. However, that the distribution of that food would be worse by a very considerable degree—with imports from the poor developing countries jumping from, say, 25 million tons on the average in recent years, to double or triple that amount—presenting, as Governor Peterson has pointed out, serious financial problems and physical problems of transport.

This was not a happy prospect to face. And what one had to attack was the problem of changing past trends to insure that there was a smaller gap between the production and the needs of the developing countries. I think it is important to point out that this growing gap did not reflect inadequate increases in the production in developing countries. They would probably increase as much, if not more per year, than in developed countries. What it did reflect was the growth of population at something like two to three times more than in developed countries; also the fact that people with low incomes spend a much larger proportion of any income increase on food. They have to. Therefore, this was No. 1 conclusion of our assessment about the situation.

Looking to a longer period, say to year 2000. About all one could say was that if these assumptions about weather, economy, and political intelligence prevailed that land and water available for food production would not increase on this earth. And, to meet the growth of population—2 percent a year—we would have to find means to make major increases in the productivity of the land and water available to us. Probably energy as well, as it is apt to become more expensive.

We not only have to find, through research, the means to increase that productivity, but see that farmers are able and willing and helped to adopt new technology. Particularly on the small farms where most of the farmers live. There the biggest gap between existing production and their potential lies, particularly in the developing countries.

This presented the challenge to us which we had to face in developing the policies at the World Food Conference.

Now, the objective of our policy work was set forth, I think, extremely well in Secretary Kissinger's keynote speech at the opening of the conference; as the initiator and adopted verbatim in the initial conference resolution.

What it says, if I may quote:

... Therefore, today we must proclaim a bold objective—that within a decade no child will go to bed hungry, that no family will fear for its next day's bread, and that no human being's future and capacities will be stunted by malnutrition.¹

In carrying out this objective, we attacked it on five fronts, also as outlined in the Secretary's speech.

First was to keep on the pressure to produce more in the developed countries, the exporting countries, so that there would be an adequate supply of grain to meet the import needs of the poorer countries, and to build up reserves.

Second, to increase production in the developing countries which is the critical area. Here it was agreed that there should be two major lines of approach. In the first place, the developing countries themselves had to give a higher priority than most of them had in the past, and more attention to food production, to the rural sector. This was a central prerequisite for achieving the results that we sought. But, if they did so, there would be need for additional external resources, and there must be a substantially larger volume of funds available on concessional terms for this purpose, to help them increase their output.

In this connection, Secretary Kissinger committed the United States to an increase this year of \$350 million in power aid to the food and nutrition sector, and promised this would be maintained so long as it was needed. Subsidiary to this question were very important resolutions with respect to research. The United States again promised very substantial increases in its contributions—if matched by others—in providing a better know-how, better technology, particularly with reference to the small farmers—the people who can't afford to take very much risks.

There were also useful resolutions on fertilizer, including a paragraph proposed by a senatorial member of the U.S. delegation calling upon governments to urge their citizens to restrict the noncritical uses of fertilizers, in order to make more available to developing countries for food production. There were also resolutions on seeds, on scientific water use, on scientific studies of soils. All this meant a package which we all felt was a highly useful and well-focused one on production in developing countries.

As a third major point, it was agreed that this was sure to be a slow process. There would still be a substantial gap. We needed to find the food and the financial resources to see that this gap was met; and met to an increasing extent if we were to reduce malnutrition. So, it was agreed that there should be a negotiation to reach a commitment of a minimum of 10 million tons of food aid a year available for developing countries from the grain surplus countries, and from the countries with extra financial resources.

Fourth, it was important to improve the quality of food. This was the nutrition sector.

¹ See complete text, Appendix, p. 224.

Here Secretary Kissinger proposed three specific steps: Namely, a global surveillance system for malnutrition among disadvantaged groups; a special worldwide program to deal with vitamin A deficiency, which has acute effects on blindness and iron anemia; and a major international applied nutrition research program—and committed the United States to specify dollar contributions to each of these programs as they were set up. The United States also put stress on the desirability of food fortification as a means for dealing with the nutrition problem.

Fifth, there was the question of reserves. No matter what we do, there will be years when the weather will not give us the crops we want. We still have no control over that, and we must have reserves to meet those contingencies. We proposed that the reserve be 60 million tons of wheat, grains, and rice over and above actual working stocks; and he proposed certain rules for the operation of this international system of reserves.

Again the conference agreed that the major grain importing and exporting countries should meet as soon as possible to work out such a reserve system.

Finally, believing that it was too often the case that U.N. bodies met and passed very worthwhile resolutions, which gathered dust in the archives, we were pressing for followup assignments, whether to existing agencies or new ones. All the resolutions of substance were assigned to existing or new bodies; and in most cases to the bodies which the United States had proposed.

The principal new institution is a World Food Council, composed of a small number of governments at the ministerial level, to oversee the implementation of the strategy on a political basis; to see that international institutions, governments, and peoples were kept aware of the critical nature of the problem and taking the actions that were required.

A consultative group on food production and development was agreed upon, to be set up by the World Bank, the Food and Agricultural Organization, and the United Nations development program. Also, a study of better coordination of the nutrition activities of some half-dozen U.N. agencies, as well as national governments and others involved in this field, was approved.

We felt that the results, in terms of implementing institutions, were somewhat better than we expected. This was particularly true of the proposal for an investment fund in agriculture. This had been under discussion with active negotiation since the beginning of the preparation for the conference with no visible result.

The second week of the conference, the OPEC countries proposed that such a fund be established; and on terms which were acceptable to the other members of the conference. This would be a voluntary fund—not an operational one which might duplicate the detailed operations of existing financial institutions—and only to be set up if enough money were pledged to make it a viable, really constructive new institution in an already somewhat crowded field of financial organizations in the international sense.

Now, what has happened?

With what, I think, is probably unprecedented rapidity the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly have approved the results of the conference. The resolution adopted and gone beyond

that in the sense that they have established, as called for, the World Food Council.

They have invited the ECOSAC to nominate members. And it is expected that this week these members will be elected to the World Food Council and they will be in being. This is something that 2 or 3 weeks ago we thought could not take place until next year's General Assembly.

This, I think, reflects the fact that having gone home and examined the results of the conference, governments found them good and were willing to endorse them and act upon them promptly.

The World Bank, the FAO, the UNDP are already in negotiation with respect to the consultative group. The FAO—at its council meeting, held just after the conference—has initiated a series of actions on the responsibilities assigned to it. This will result in a special meeting of the FAO council to take the firm actions, both organizational and budget-wise that are required in March of 1975—not waiting until the regular council meeting occurs next fall.

There is, therefore, a major impetus at the institutional level. I think that my own judgment has been that if the institutions were not well along, negotiations under way, or already established in 6 months, then we would have to write off the conference. They are moving.

At the U.S. level, the United States expects to call a first meeting to negotiate on the reserve agreement sometime the latter part of January, or early February, and get this started.

Whether the conference will have been a success, I think, will take much longer to tell. As a world conference, a U.N. conference can point directions. It can exhort governments. It cannot command action by governments. It cannot grow wheat; only farmers can do that.

I would say, perhaps in 5 years, we can assess with some degree of confidence, whether this conference has changed the trends; is enabling more food or helping to get more food produced, particularly in developing countries; has made a significant difference in the number of people that are undernourished, and whose capacities are diminished thereby. And if, in 5 years, this has not taken place then we will have to look for other measures to take. But, it just takes that long to develop projects, to make investments, to train farmers, to spread new technology throughout wide countryside.

This is what is required to get the concrete results which the world requires, and which the conference has asked governments and peoples to produce.

I hope, that, given this direction, this impetus, we can see such results. What concerns me most is that if, sometime in the course of those 5 years, we have 2 years of good weather it will be a happy thing for all mankind. But, only provided it doesn't induce complacency, forgetfulness, a turning away from the importance of agricultural and food production which over the long term—with the population prospects which we have—must be kept at the center of all our attention.

Thank you.

Senator McGovern. Thank you very much, Ambassador Martin and Governor Peterson. I am sorry I wasn't here to welcome you to the committee. As you may know, the Congress is in session today.

The Senate is in session. The Senators are going to be coming and going all day as the hearings progress.

I have one central question I would like to raise with you, Ambassador Martin. First, where would you identify the principal areas of acute famine and hunger now? That is if you had to tick off the half-dozen countries that most need our assistance, what countries would they be?

Ambassador MARTIN. Well, as you know, Mr. Chairman, I am now a private citizen and haven't had access the last few days to the Government reports. I have been spending a good part of the last several weeks winding up and reporting on the food conference at various places. So my impressions may be a little bit second hand. It seems to me, that the most critical spot as far as I am aware, is Bangladesh. The whole South Asian peninsula is in a very difficult situation due to bad weather, the absence of reserves, the shortage of foreign exchange as a result of high prices of oil, fertilizers, and food itself. This is a critical area from a standpoint of money and of grain and of distribution capacity, because this is also extremely important in getting food off ships to the people that need to eat.

There are also, I gather, several areas in Africa which still are in difficulty. There is much better weather this year in the Sahel region. This is just 1 year. A large proportion of their cattle, which were a major source of food, have been lost and continued activities are required there. There is also a serious weather problem in Tanzania, and there is a critical shortage of grains in that country.

These are the main areas that I am aware of where we will have, between now and next year's harvest, to pay close attention; and to do all we can not only to make the grain and the money available, but to help with the distribution problem—which may turn out to be the most serious bottleneck as it often has been in the cases of emergencies of this kind.

Senator McGOVERN. In light of that analysis it is in South Asia and the Sahel area of Africa where we have the most acute hunger. Does it disturb you that the President now has before him several options under the Public Law 480 program—the so-called Food for Peace Program—all of which would allocate a majority of our food assistance with countries that are not critical food deficit areas?

Ambassador MARTIN. Well, I think it depends on what other countries are doing, as well as what we do. What we do is only part of the total availability of food or money to these countries. I think it is important to emphasize that money is the critical factor. Actually in our Title I food aid programs, as you know much better than I, we don't actually give people food. We give them purchase orders to go into the market to buy food. Any country can give them purchase orders such as the Soviet Union and the OPEC countries. There is no limit to who can help in this regard. The central question is whether, working together as we have been doing for some little time now with other countries, we can find the money and the grain to go with the money to meet the capacity of these countries to use it, to distribute it, to make it available to hungry people.

Now there was the meeting, as you know, on November 29, 1974. This was a followup to meetings held in Rome—two formal lunches, several informal meetings—at which there was agreement on the amount of the shortage until next year's crops come in at about 7.5

million tons. Of this shortage, 2 million tons seem to be covered by financing under various food aid programs, including our own. There was also agreement that, as far as one could project commercial exports, the grain would be available. The critical question was finance.

I think the issue for the future is for the United States with other grain exporting countries and other countries with financial resources—socialist countries, OPEC countries, perhaps some of the European countries—to see whether they can find the finance for this additional 5.5 million tons which is presently uncovered.

Now what changes this may require to come up to that figure in the U.S. program, I think that will depend upon what other countries are doing, as well as what we do. We are not isolated in this field.

Senator McGOVERN. I fully agree, Ambassador Martin, that this is not a sole responsibility of the United States. We have been more generous with food assistance than any other country in the world. I am not trying to build a case that the United States ought to be carrying the burden alone. I think even if we supplied the bulk of the food, other countries should help finance it. They should be doing more in terms of providing assistance for the construction of fertilizer plants, building transportation systems, distribution systems, and so on.

The point I am making is: That it is very disturbing—to me as one interested in this program, as I know you are—to see so much of our food assistance, at a time in which an unlimited supply is going to countries for reasons other than feeding hungry people. I don't want to embarrass you here, but it is really used for political and military purposes. We are using food to prop up governments, rather than to feed hungry people. That is the reason, I think, a great many people in the Congress who would like to support foreign assistance, who would like to see an expansion of foreign assistance, find it very hard to lend their names to some of the things we are doing in the name of foreign aid.

Ambassador MARTIN. Speaking as a private citizen, I have great sympathy for what you have to say. I think there are two things that seem to be important in approaching this problem. One, as far as Title I food aid is concerned—and I would distinguish very sharply between Title I and Title II—it is a resource transfer like any other aid. We handle it in a separate package in our aid program. Other countries do not. Normally it is part of their aid appropriation—European countries, for example.

But the question of where this Title I aid goes is, I think, pretty inseparable from where our total aid program goes. We can give aid as program lending in order to buy food. As I have said, we can give, under Title I, purchase orders to buy food. We can give money for purchase of machine tools or the purchase of raw materials, and that saves foreign exchange that they can use to buy food.

What one needs to do, it would seem to me, is to examine the purposes of our aid program in general—including food aid—in Title I as far as financial transfer of resources is concerned.

Now, on the other side of the coin, is the question of grain availability. Where grain availability is short, then it seems to me one has to look at the total disposition of our grain availability and ensure that the grain goes to the countries that need it most. Whether that

involves a diversion from Public Law 480 recipients who don't need it so much, or whether it involves diversions from commercial sales where it is not needed so much. The total grain supply is what one must look at. Here I would strongly endorse a position—which I took before I left the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last summer—that when there is a scarcity of grain supply, after domestic requirements, Public Law 480 should be assured in the first instance; and the requirement for commercial exports, the potential for commercial exports, should come later. I think there is an amendment under discussion to Public Law 480 which would facilitate this kind of a determination—that, in terms of grain supply, the food aid program should have a priority over commercial exports. That seems to me to be right.

Senator McGOVERN. Thank you very much, Ambassador Martin. Senator Clark?

Senator CLARK. I know we have a number of witnesses. However, I would like to ask several questions.

We know the major purpose of the Rome food conference was to try to find solutions to the long-term problems of hunger. But, in the meantime because of weather conditions, there is the immediate problem of the famine that arose. Many of the countries represented in Rome represented literally millions of people who were going to be involved or are involved in either starvation or serious malnutrition. Now, it was your position at Rome that this short-term problem of famine was not the proper subject—or, at least, the proper focus and emphasis of that conference—and that the conference had been called to deal with the long-term problem, not the short-term problems. Many of the other countries felt that this was an occasion, regardless of what the conference may have been called for, to deal with this problem.

Do you still feel that it was improper for us to give strong emphasis to this problem—that we should focus on the long-term problem—that this was the proper focus in view of the changing times?

Ambassador MARTIN. I do still think that was the proper focus of the conference. We did submit a paragraph for the food aid resolution which pointed out the situation that a number of countries would find themselves in 1975, and probably 1976; and called upon countries with grain surpluses or with financial resources to work together to deal with this problem and see that serious starvation situations did not arise.

This was accepted by the entire conference, and I think it is proper it did so. Other than that, the question of dealing with the current situation did not come up at any time.

Senator CLARK. It came up from the floor?

Ambassador MARTIN. In the plenary from the floor. The failure of the United States to act during the conference with respect to its annual figure was not reflected in our negotiating task. Now it does seem to me—and I want to make a couple of additional points here to round it out—that one had to deal with the medium- to long-term problem at this conference. It was not possible to have another one next year, if we didn't deal with it. We had a very short period of time and a complex set of issues. It was essential to try to prevent this kind of a situation from arising again by having a better long-term policy that we all were agreed to.

Second, it seemed to me, and still seems to me, that a conference of 130 nations is not a good place to deal with the operational issue of transferring food or money, or to buy food for one country from another. If you have a fire—and we had a fire, undoubtedly—you call on the fire department. You don't call a town meeting to pass resolutions. The town meeting can pass resolutions to try to prevent fires by better inspection systems or to improve the fire-fighting capacity of the fire department. I think the food conference did that; but it can't grow wheat and it doesn't print money. It can't put out fires.

By and large, many of the delegates we met at the conference were Ministers of Agriculture. In many cases—not so much in the U.S. case, but in many cases—the people who deal with the current food aid commitments were not at the conference. They are the wheat board people, not the ministers of agriculture. This handicapped our efforts somewhat.

Now, as a final point, I thought at the time, that it would be helpful to the U.S. position in the world to take the occasion of the food conference—on which a great deal of attention was directed—if we could make an announcement about the minimum amount of tonnage of grain that we were prepared to give in fiscal year 1975. This could be helpful to the United States; and it might, possibly, be a stimulus to other countries. Although basically—as I think you would agree, and as Senator McGovern has suggested—we have taken the first step with our billion dollars for food aid this year; it was time for somebody else to take a first step before asking us to take a second step. It was a little unfair to focus entirely on whether the United States was ready to take step two before asking questions of other countries with either grain—the Soviet Union gave quite a large amount last year, but none so far this year—or with money, like the OPEC countries, before asking them to do anything at all. This was a little unfair, but the United States is, on the whole, used to that. We are respected for our humanitarian tradition.

I thought it would have been a useful thing to say. It was not possible to say it by a decision of the highest authority; but it did not affect the results of the conference.

Senator CLARK. I am a little confused about whether you did support or did not support the U.S. request for additional food?

Ambassador MARTIN. I did think it would be useful for the United States to get the credit, for what I was sure they would do in the end, at a place where attention was focused on the food problem. As you know, I drafted a cable recommending that this be reconsidered, and consideration be given to me making an announcement at this forum, where it would get worldwide attention.

Senator CLARK. I appreciate that.

I think many delegates felt, both from the United States and from around the world, with regard to this question of whether this was an appropriate forum to deal with the question of immediate starvation. I think that it put us in a somewhat hypocritical position to say that we are very interested in trying to solve the problems of world hunger 10 years from now, but we are not prepared to take this occasion to talk about people that are starving right now. This seems to me to be a rather hypocritical position. [Applause.]

I would like to ask another question beyond that. You have indicated that you feel that there is a fire and that the proper place to put out the fire ought to be at a meeting where we deal with this immediate problem of food aid. Such a meeting was held on November 29, as you indicated earlier, in Rome by the food and agricultural organizations as a followup to the food conference. This was our opportunity now to deal with the fire; and this crisis which you have appropriately identified, 5.5 million tons shortage of food. What part of that 5.5 million tons—that is needed over and above what the United States and other countries have agreed to provide in the next 6 months—of additional aid, in your judgment, should the United States be prepared to supply? I am speaking in terms of money.

Ambassador MARTIN. I can't answer that question, Senator.

I think we have to look at what others are prepared to do, what the residual problem is; and then the United States should do what it has traditionally been committed to do, what is necessary to prevent starvation. I think some of that could be filled, if there is a gap, after we have sat down with others and worked out the financing. It can be filled by Government. I think there is a role for a private endeavor also to make a contribution to filling that gap, including basically money to buy the food that is available on the market.

Senator CLARK. You are not satisfied, are you, that the United States if it simply continues its present program under Public Law 480, 3.3 million tons, you would not feel that that would be sufficient to deal with this additional 5.5 million tons, would you?

Ambassador MARTIN. I don't want to get into a discussion of figures in this field, which is a complex one. My understanding is the 3.3 million tons was the fiscal year 1974 figure, that there is no final figure for fiscal year 1975. When the President's budget was submitted to the Congress, early in this calendar year, for about \$990 million, it was thought that that would buy something in the order of 4.4 million tons of food. With the higher price of grains since that time, it will buy substantially less. But, I think that the decision is yet to be made on what the final dollar figure will be and how much that will buy; but, certainly in the first 6 months, we have already committed something in the order of 2.2 million tons. So that we are well on the way to doing even more than was in the original President's budget at the low price figure for grain.

Senator CLARK. Isn't it true to say that our Government, at this point, is unwilling to commit itself to the continuation of that in the next 6 months? We have made a number of requests that we do that. As far as I know, our Government has not taken a position that it would increase at all.

Ambassador MARTIN. Again, as I have indicated, I am outside the mainstream on this at the moment; but it is my impression that there has not been a decision to commit or not to commit to a continuation of the first 6 months. That is the issue which is now being discussed at the top level. There is no decision.

Senator CLARK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator McGOVERN. Thank you, Senator Clark.

Well, I am sure we have more questions, but we also have some witnesses that are waiting to be heard.

Governor PETERSON. Mr. Chairman, may I make one more comment, please?

I just wanted to emphasize the fact that when we are concerned about providing enough food for everyone on Earth—which obviously we must be concerned about, must work at much harder right now and in future years, too—that there are two key variables involved: The amount of food we can provide, and the number of mouths to feed.

Really they constitute one problem, not separate problems—and it is the population problem that is out of control. We could today, with the right effort and distribution, see that everyone on Earth went to bed without being hungry. But it is inconceivable that we could do that in the future, unless we attack that other part of the problem—population growth. This is different today than it was 20 or 50 years ago.

I think Senators, Congressmen, and executive agency leaders in our country should be sounding out loudly and clearly about the two parts of this problem. I was very unhappy about the food conference because so little was said about population. It was sort of a second comment. They need to be discussed. You need to have those pictures up there behind you, where you have population and food side by side. That is really one problem, and let's face up to it altogether and make something happen.

Thank you.

Senator McGOVERN. Thank you very much.

We now have Senator Mark Hatfield and Governor Averell Harriman who will appear together.

Senator Hatfield, we are sorry to delay your schedule. I know you have been under a tight time pressure today. We appreciate your appearance, not only before the committee, but your long-time interest in food and population questions.

Governor Harriman, I know the whole country is aware of your many, many years of service in this field and the distinguished record you have in the direction of some of our major assistance programs in the past. So on behalf of the committee and the entire Senate, we want to welcome you and your remarks here this morning.

We will begin with Senator Hatfield.

STATEMENT OF HON. MARK HATFIELD, U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF OREGON

Senator HATFIELD. Mr. Chairman, Senator Clark, I find it a real honor to be here at the same time with the very distinguished Governor Harriman, Ambassador Harriman, Secretary Harriman, many titles I could ascribe to the man of great public service.

One of the things that I have confronted, from time to time, has been the question raised as to the capability of the United States to really do a significant part in solving the world food problem. I think, sometimes, we have not learned enough from our own history to, not only analyze the problems of the day, but to help develop solutions from our previous experiences. I would like to present to the committee a brief résumé of one of those golden periods of American history where we demonstrated, not only the capability, but the will

to help solve an important issue of hunger. I refer to the aftermath and the time prior to and during World War I.

As we know at this time, millions of people throughout Central and Eastern Europe and Russia were threatened with starvation. Already ravaged by one of the Four Horsemen, Europe was haunted by the specter of his brothers—famine, pestilence, and death.

One contemporary observer described the scene in this way: No one who has not seen famine can have understanding of its hideous reality. Mothers at every meal watch the wilting away of their children. Gaunt mothers search for scraps of food, carry emaciated children too feeble to walk. Long streams of refugees flee from the famine areas, carrying their children and a few possessions, with many dead lying at the roadsides. Few people die directly, for disease intervenes. The hospitals and children's refuges are crowded with all who can lie on the floors. The dead lie unburied in heaps. And even worse things happen which I do not repeat here."

The eloquence is reminiscent of Senator Joseph Tydings' statement earlier this year on conditions in Calcutta,¹ and the situation described is much the same. As we discuss the outcome of the World Food Conference and the United States' response to world hunger, it is interesting and informative for us to see how America responded during and after World War I, when it was a matter of saving starving Europeans rather than Indians or Africans.

American food relief for Europe began in 1914, with the creation of the Commission for Relief of Belgium under the chairmanship of Herbert Hoover. The CRB became the neutral channel through which more than 5.1 million tons of provisions and supplies passed through the German blockade into Belgium and were distributed by local Belgian committees. Nearly 10 million Belgians and French were included in the relief.

The CRB secured basic foodstuffs by purchase or gift, transported these commodities into Belgium and guaranteed their equitable distribution under the supervision of American or neutral volunteer workers. World opinion mobilized in support of the commission's efforts was largely responsible for the success of delicate negotiations between the belligerent and neutral nations. Relief requirements were met by gifts amounting to \$152 million in cash and kind collections by volunteer committees in the United States, Britain and elsewhere; subsidies from Britain and France in the amount of \$314 million; and American loans of \$380 million. Altogether the CRB coordinated an effort costing nearly \$900 million at an administrative expense of less than half of 1 percent.

This success prompted President Wilson to appoint Hoover U.S. Food Administrator in May 1917. Although working with the poor harvests of 1916 and 1917 from which there was no "statistical" surplus available for export, the Food Administration and the American Relief Administration managed to stabilize prices, increase food production, maintain an adequate supply of farm labor, make great strides in food conservation and the elimination of waste, and still export nearly eight times as much food between 1917 and 1920 as in the 3-year period before the war.

¹ See *Famine and the World Situation*, hearing of June 14, 1974.

When Mr. Hoover took over the responsibility ascribed to him by President Wilson, he knew he was dealing with a crop already planted and could not increase its production through technology or increase acreage. He called upon the American people to conserve food, to reduce consumption levels.

Mr. Chairman, in that 1 year, out of the kind of leadership and the response of the American people, we were able to export to our Allies in Europe 5.4 million tons more than we had in the 3 years averaged prior to World War I. We increased that to a level of 18 million tons in 1918, and 20 million tons by 1919. The combination of increased food production and conservation.

So when people raise the question of capability of the American people and the American Nation to respond, I think we could cite as pretty hard evidence this experience of World War I.

The food was shipped all over Europe under war conditions; and I think this again adds to the remarkable record.

After the armistice, France, Belgium, Italy, Russia, Poland, and Germany—in all 33 countries and millions of people were aided by the American Relief Administration in its public and private phases. The more remarkable efforts were made in Germany, against the stubborn opposition of some Allies and those who denounced the relief as treasonable feeding of the enemy. And so also in Russia in 1922 and 1923 when an estimated 20 million people were saved despite the objections to assisting "Bolsheviks."

But the greatest of all these efforts was the child feeding program. Mr. Hoover realized that "stunted bodies and deformed minds in the next generation were not the foundation on which to rebuild civilization." When the American Red Cross was unequal to the task, the American Relief Administration took it up, and determined to make the program a gift of the American people. According to Hoover, 14 to 16 million children "passed from undernourishment to health" at a cost to the United States of \$325 million, the largest part of which came from charitable contributions.

In the 10 years, 1914-24, operations were carried on under Hoover's direction and by organizations which he headed involving the delivery of nearly 34 million tons of commodities and the expenditure of more than \$5 billion. In today's dollars, the sum would be about \$20 billion. And there were other voluntary aid organizations which made substantial contributions: the Red Cross, the American Friends Service Committee, the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Near East Relief, the YMCA, and others.

The operating costs for this massive relief program were nominal. The administrative cost of the entire U.S. Food Administration was only \$7.3 million, less than one-half of 1 percent of the cost of the aid provided. Indeed, other operations of the Food Administration actually netted the U.S. Treasury \$50 million.

These figures are startling in these days when the bureaucracy staggers us with 2 billion pieces of paper a year costing us \$18 billion to fill out and the Federal Government \$15 billion to read, and when U.S. food aid programs are continually frustrated by bureaucratic entanglements.

But they are more understandable in view of the massive voluntary cooperation and contribution of the American people. Hoover knew that "although Americans can be led to make great sacrifices, they do not like to be driven." While some punitive powers were granted the Food Administration by the Congress, they were rarely used, as the self-imposed controls monitored by the so-called war committees in each trade group were quite sufficient. The response was magnificent.

Twenty million Americans signed up as "members" of the Food Administration, and pledged themselves to close adherence to its production and consumption policies and conservation. Posters appeared everywhere with the motto "Save food for world relief." One effort to save fats and butter was so successful that the trades were demoralized, the Allies flooded with supplies, and the plea to save withdrawn. Charitable contributions from individuals and groups funneled through the American Relief Administration amounted to \$134 million after the armistice, when it was no longer a question of feeding our men in uniform and the Allied soldiers during the war. As mentioned earlier, Americans or their Government gave nearly one-third of a billion dollars for child feeding programs. Let me reiterate that in today's dollars the amount would be nearly \$1.25 billion.

RESPOND TO INITIATIVES OF LEADERS

In sum, the success of the European relief program during and after World War I is for the most part attributable to the willingness of the American people to voluntarily respond to the initiatives of their leaders when their leaders are willing to lead. [Applause.]

There is much more to the story of American relief to Europe from 1914 to 1924, and I would be happy to provide more information for the hearing record. Ambassador Harriman will be telling us of the efforts after World War II in a few minutes.

Even this brief review, Mr. Chairman, sheds an interesting light on the failure of the United States to respond adequately today to what is recognized the world over as a global food crisis. Despite the high-minded rhetoric and admirable intentions, our Government has sat on its bureaucratic hands while millions eke out a malnourished existence or starve. A simple request for an additional 1 million tons in immediate food aid has been denied; interagency squabbles have stymied action on "high," "middle," and "low" options for assistance under Public Law 480. Shipments continue to be used as political tools rather than as humanitarian aids. This Government inaction and confusion has increased public bewilderment about the world's food needs and our aid programs, and fostered cynicism about the prospects for any significant relief.

This need not be the case. Secretary Butz told us, as Senator Clark recalls, at the World Food Conference in Rome that we have available surpluses for a food aid budget of around \$1.4 to \$1.5 billion, enough to provide the 5.5 million tons of aid specified in the "high option" of food relief for this fiscal year. While this estimate is now disputed, I believe it could be done without initiating even the reduced consumption and waste elimination programs that could provide food aid in the amounts we were able to muster after World War I. Nor does it take into account the additional gains that could be achieved if we were to vigorously encourage all-out production.

For a variety of reasons of which we are painfully aware, these actions have not been taken. I suggest that our failure to act is simply a lack of political will and courage. I do *not* believe that it is because the American people would not support an immediate and intensive relief effort. My office is flooded with mail from constituents voicing their concern and pledging their support of private and public programs to feed the world's hungry people. They reflect the compassion of the American people. Despite ever-rising food prices here at home and the restrictions of recession, they are willing to make personal sacrifices so that others might live.

Let me illustrate that. As the Scriptures say: "A little child shall lead them." I received letters from a school in Oregon. "I was reading the Weekly Reader and I saw the boy on the front. You can see his bones. Would you buy cattle from the farmers and give it to the poor?" "I was reading my Weekly Reader. The little boy was eating a piece of bone, and they should have more in their mouth. Don't you think so? They were starving to death; if we was them they would send food to us. Why don't you do something? They need as much food as they can get. Why don't we give it to them?"

Another sentence: "I know the money and the tax, but do money matter more than lives? I hope not."

In a class from Portland: "Our class has been praying for the children of the Third World. We are trying to collect \$3 in a month. We hope it helps."

I think these are but illustrations, very brief in manner. Yet, I think they show the kind of compassion that exists in the American people's minds and hearts.

This willingness of the American people to help others in need is evidenced in an informal survey¹ taken by my office of private, voluntary relief agencies. A representative of CARE stated, "If the economy is having an effect on giving, it is a good effect. Our current receipts amount to about \$6 million as of November 22, and represent only cash gifts, not those in kind." The Mennonite Central Committee reports that their receipts are up 15 to 20 percent over last year, and expect their level will be maintained. They receive correspondence from all across the United States and Canada indicating the desire of their constituency to be of help and urging the Government to do more. Representatives of Catholic Relief Services report they expected a decrease in giving because of the economic situation, but instead have experienced an increase in individual gifts. One comment from this organization was particularly illuminating: "The American people are expressing greater compassion for the needy than is our Government."

These reports are most reassuring. Despite years of wheat deals, foreign aid failures, and a politicized food aid program, the American people are not yet content to withdraw into their citadel of affluence while people starve both here and overseas. We in Government sell them short when we view them as grim misers unwilling to make a few sacrifices for the benefit of others. I expect we take this view to rationalize our own impotence. The people of this country have never refused to help others when their leaders provided direction and the aim was clear. It is no wonder that they grow impatient and cynical

¹ See Appendix, p. 236.

when their representatives debate technicalities incomprehensible to those who are starving.

URGES PRESIDENT TO TAKE INITIATIVE

President Ford has the authority to take a humanitarian initiative of dimensions similar to that of Presidents Wilson and Truman to prevent the starvation of millions in the countries most seriously hit by the food and energy shortages and price increases of the past year. If he would do so, he could give meaning to the resolutions of the World Food Conference and a sense of leadership to the American people. I urge him to take that initiative.

And, Mr. Chairman, I propose that he do more. I propose that he take the lead of Presidents Wilson and Truman and appoint, with the consent of the Senate, a Food Administrator to coordinate, promote, and expand all U.S. food aid programs to countries in need. Like Mr. Hoover, he should be directly responsible to the President, and should receive the full cooperation of the Departments of Agriculture, State, and Treasury, in devising and implementing food aid programs. His office should be the clearinghouse for all information on food availability and need. He should be empowered to implement national programs to curb consumption and eliminate waste with an emphasis on voluntary action. Food and fertilization production should be increased posthaste and these programs of the Department of Agriculture and other agencies closely supervised through his office. So also with the shipment of foodstuffs and other commodities to foreign nations. Prices should be stabilized to guarantee the farmer a fair return for his product while preventing black markets and profiteering.

Furthermore, the Food Administrator should also be directed to work closely with voluntary aid agencies, facilitating their efforts through his office and coordinating them with Government programs. The continued public support of these agencies indicates a confidence in their efforts that must be retained. They have often been more successful than Government agencies in providing assistance. Such success should be fostered. Finally, he should make regular reports to the American people on the progress of programs and the success of their efforts.

I expect that much of this can be accomplished under existing authority providing the leadership is forthcoming. Other elements of this proposal may well require congressional action, and certainly the necessary funding.

Senator Humphrey has already drafted a Senate resolution calling upon the President to appoint a food coordinator to work with existing agencies in ways similar to those I have described, and I am pleased to join him in sponsoring that resolution.

I do so, and make my own proposal, in the firm expectation that we can bring relief to a hungry world if we will only rally ourselves and our people and make a determined effort. As Mr. Hoover said after World War I, "If every source of supplies will do its utmost, we can pull the world through this most dangerous crisis. The saving of these human lives is far more than an economic necessity for the recovery of the world. Such action marks the return of the lamp of compassion to the world. And that is part of the moral and spiritual reconstruction of the world."

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. [Continuous applause.]

Senator McGOVERN. Thank you very much, Senator Hatfield.

I think you can see from the response of our listeners that you have struck a note that has support in this room, and I suspect across this country.

I fully subscribe to your view that the people are ahead of their leaders on this issue.

Some months ago Senator Humphrey and I were conducting a hearing on the problems of food shortages just in South Asia. We had Dr. Lester Brown before our committee and he made a brilliant statement that day—more or less an extemporaneous statement—talking about the critical shortages not only of food but of fuel and fertilizer, and identifying other commodities that would soon be in short supply. I asked him why it was that all these shortages seem to be developing simultaneously. He said, "Well, it is because of another critical shortage that is even more important than any one of these, and that is the shortage of leadership, the shortage of foresight, the shortage of vision."

I am very grateful to you for your statement here today. I endorse it, and I endorse the concept that you have outlined.

I would add that the only way this system can work—even if you pick the most important person in the country to administer this program—is to insure that person the full backing of the President of the United States.

In the last analysis it comes down to that. Those lines of authority have to be very clear.

The man who can best comment on this whole matter including your proposal is here, Governor Harriman.

I think before we proceed with any questions to you, Senator Hatfield, we will give Governor Harriman a chance to comment and to outline his own views of this subject we are discussing this morning.

STATEMENT OF GOVERNOR AVERELL HARRIMAN

Governor HARRIMAN. Thank you very much.

May I express my gratitude to the committee that you permitted me to appear before you.

May I respectfully suggest that you stick to what you are considering until you get immediate action. I think it will exercise enormous influence.

I fully agree with everything that Senator Hatfield and you have just said. The people of this country are ready to act and are puzzled that the head of the Government is not acting. I believe in this very deeply, that the people will support this administration and the Congress in talking effective measures.

Now, it has been my privilege to associate myself with the position that Father Hesburgh has taken in his letter to the President. I would like to associate myself and direct my attention in my testimony this morning specifically to his proposal: That there be immediate shipments, within the next relatively few months, of 2 million additional tons of grain, and a program for a further 2 million tons to be considered along with other countries in attempting to take care of the immediate urgent needs.

Now, there is an answer from the President which speaks about the question of other priorities, inflation, and so forth.

I want to speak about what was done immediately by President Truman immediately after World War II.

Senator McGOVERN. Governor Harriman, could I interrupt you just a moment.

You made reference to Father Hesburgh. He has sent me a letter, under date of December 18, in which he reviews the efforts that he has made and others associated with him trying to persuade the President to move on this matter of emergency shipments. He also states his strong support for the concept that Senator Hatfield has outlined—that the President appoint someone to do what Herbert Hoover did after the World War I period, or what was done under the Marshall Plan following World War II.

At this point in the record I will insert his letter of December 18 to me; also his letter of December 14, 1974, to President Ford in response to his reply from President Ford of the 9th of December; and the letter of November 22, 1974 to President Ford.

December 18, 1974

The Honorable
George McGovern
U.S. Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator McGovern:

You and your Senate colleagues are to be commended for the initiative which is bringing the issue of world hunger before the American public through the special bipartisan hearing scheduled for December 18. I regret that other pressing business prevents my participating, because I am deeply concerned about this compelling human issue--both the magnitude of the need and the crucial role of this country in meeting it. There is urgent need for the U.S. Government to increase its food aid shipments to the countries most severely affected by hunger by 2 million tons this winter, with additional shipments later this spring--as well as a need for a major supplementary private effort, which hopefully would be coordinated with the governmental program.

I have recently engaged, on behalf of my colleagues from numerous religious and secular organizations, in an exchange of correspondence with President Ford on humanitarian food aid which I believe you will find relevant for this special hearing. This correspondence, which I enclose, reflects our anxiety over the adequacy of the United States effort. Our letter of November 22nd noted the imminent possibility of famine, called on the President to increase food aid by an additional 4 million tons, and pledged our maximum assistance to help reduce food consumption in the U.S. to avoid any inflationary result. We noted also that the hopeful results of the recent World Food Conference in Rome will be seriously jeopardized if the present starvation and malnutrition are not relieved. Our letter, accompanied by numerous messages of support from around the country, was inserted into the Congressional Record on November 26 by Senator Dick Clark of Iowa, together with related statements of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops and the National Council of Churches of Christ.

The President responded with a statement of his firm commitment to the continuation of food aid despite high food prices and low stocks, promised an early decision on the size of the food aid program, and asked for an intensified private effort to finance food for the needy

abroad in the next few months as a necessary supplement to any government effort. He assured us that the U.S. Government would do its part as well.

In a second letter of December 14, I expressed, again on behalf of my colleagues, our appreciation for the nature and tone of the President's reply and pointed out that we already have indications that great numbers of Americans will respond compassionately to national leadership by governmental and private leaders directed toward meeting urgent human needs. At the same time, we stressed that the time frame, the scale, and the nature of the necessary humanitarian effort all require the Government to take the lead by immediately providing an additional 2 million tons of food aid for shipment this winter to the countries most severely affected by hunger. Fund raising campaigns in the private sector take a considerable amount of time to carry through, and the quantity of resources needed goes far beyond the amount that any private effort could hope to produce in time to meet the urgent needs of the most distressed countries before their next major harvests in May and June.

Our urgent recommendation at this stage was that the President himself launch a coordinated public and private effort headed by a distinguished American public figure, along the lines of the post-World War I relief effort under Herbert Hoover, or the Marshall Plan, under Paul Hoffman. I am pleased to note that Senators Humphrey and Hatfield introduced a resolution to this effect in the Senate last Friday. I firmly believe that the urgency of the situation calls for such leadership, which, in turn, would evoke the same kind of generous response from the American people that they have given in other humanitarian crises.

I hope that your very timely hearing will add significantly to the public interest and concern for this issue and that it will help move the President to take the maximum action within his power to relieve this pressing need.

Sincerely yours,

Father Fred Hesburgh, c.s.c.
(Rev.) Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
Chairman of the Board

December 14, 1974

The Honorable Gerald R. Ford
 President of the United States
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your thoughtful response of December 9 to the letter I sent you on November 22. As you will remember, I wrote on behalf of a number of my colleagues from religious and secular organizations urging that the United States increase the PL 480 program for this year by some four million tons of grain. We pledged our support for whatever measures you think necessary to reduce food consumption in the United States to prevent these increased shipments from having an inflationary impact. I have conveyed your letter to my colleagues and we are eagerly looking forward to hearing at an early date your decision on expanding this year's food aid program.

We are most appreciative of your call for additional private efforts in this field, and believe there can and should be such a response as long as it is not considered a substitute for the principal effort which must be on a governmental basis in view of the scale and urgency of the need before the harvest next May and June. Churches, community groups, and other concerned American organizations and individuals can contribute most directly to the alleviation of this crisis through two quite simple commitments.

The first is for individual Americans to increase substantially their funding of private organizations in order to help finance food for the most needy abroad. You will be pleased to know that this effort is already underway. Contributions to religious and other voluntary organizations providing direct relief assistance to the most seriously affected countries are rising appreciably and now probably exceed governmental grants for humanitarian purposes.

The second response needed is a voluntary reduction in our own individual consumption of the types of food that would relieve the inflationary pressures if additional grain is sent this year from the existing supplies prior to the spring harvests. Many thousands of Americans, as you know, are already doing so even though there is as yet no assurance that their restraint will benefit those most in need abroad.

These recent trends indicate that great numbers of Americans will respond if leadership is provided on the national level by both governmental and private leaders. However, in the short run there is an immediate need for the U.S. Government to commit itself to an additional two million tons of food aid to the countries most seriously affected by hunger. This need arises for two reasons.

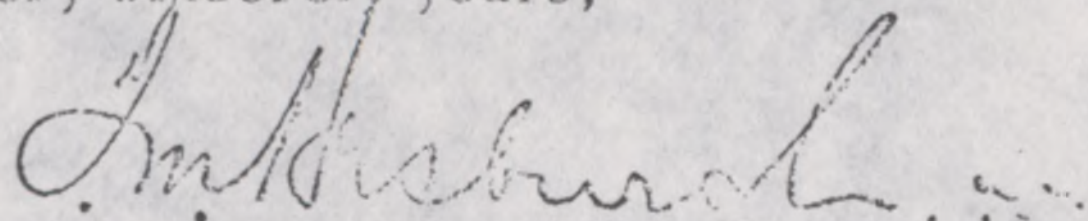
First, there is no way that aid can be initiated soon enough on the needed scale unless the U.S. Government takes the lead. Only it has the resources and administrative capability to immediately commit food and to ship adequate amounts of grain this winter. Despite the fact that private contributions are already increasing and will multiply greatly with the proper appeals, there will be a time lag before those private funds can be translated into food shipments to the hungry countries.

Second, because of soaring oil, food, and fertilizer prices, a major need of the most seriously affected countries is foreign exchange on concessional terms to procure grain for sale in their markets, and this is properly a governmental rather than a private function. We note that India, for example, has already paid U.S. suppliers over \$400 million more for the grain and fertilizer it has bought in recent months than if these same commodities had been purchased two years earlier.

There will be widespread, active leadership in the private sector for the measures outlined above if there can be a coordinated public and private response to alleviating the starvation and acute malnutrition now facing many countries throughout the world. This response might be enhanced if you were to appoint an overall coordinator, such as John Hannah or George Harrar, for this program, much as Paul Hoffman was put in charge of the Marshall Plan after World War II and Herbert Hoover spearheaded the total relief efforts after World War I.

As we approach the Christmas Season, I am confident most of our fellow countrymen would support you in a new set of programs designed to share our abundance and blessings with the hungry people of this world.

Very sincerely yours,



(Rev.) Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
Chairman of the Board

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 9, 1974

Dear Father Hesburgh:

I deeply appreciate your recent letter proposing that the United States provide additional food aid to the hungry peoples of the world. It reflects the compassionate commitment to help the less fortunate abroad which I know you and your associates, indeed all Americans, have maintained over many years. I share that commitment.

Your proposal is made at a time when America faces many difficult decisions and choices if it is to continue to play a responsible leading role in this interdependent world as well as provide for the needs of its own citizens. We must attack both inflation and recession at home and, at the same time, build new relationships with major adversaries abroad. We must also promote peace in the Middle East, improve the world trading and monetary systems, and assist the poorer developing nations. As you know, each of these goals is important, and failure to realize them could adversely affect the lives of many millions of people.

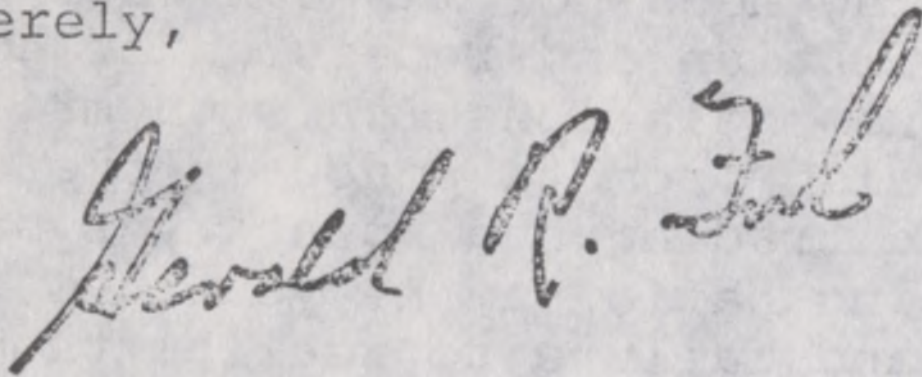
The wise use of our agricultural resources can help significantly in achieving our objectives, but because these resources are particularly limited this year they must be efficiently allocated. I know that you understand my firm commitment to the continuation of food aid despite high food prices and low stocks. My decision on the size of the food aid program will be made after the most careful consideration of needs abroad.

The problems that we face, though formidable, can and will be solved. I am sure of that because of the traditional willingness of the American people to make the necessary sacrifices which you so clearly see. Our confidence, however, contrasts sharply with the despair of people facing starvation. Although I am not now able to give you a final determination on this year's food aid program, I am exploring all means of meeting humanitarian needs abroad and I will make a decision soon.

However, I realize, as you do, that even the maximum effort which the U.S. Government can make in the near future to help feed the hungry will not meet the full need. I hope that more of this total need can be speedily met by other organizations such as churches, community groups and concerned Americans. The multiplicity of private efforts to finance food for the most needy abroad in the next few months can accomplish much.

On the whole, these efforts need not be inflationary if all cooperate; nor would they add to the Federal budgetary pressures that are so evident today. These efforts could involve those most able and willing to contribute to an effective and personal force for assistance to their fellow man at a time of critical need. And, such a cooperative, private effort would be fully consistent with my vision of advancing many local initiatives to help solve today's important problems. I urge you, and all concerned Americans, to do all you can to provide additional help for the less fortunate abroad. I assure you that the U.S. Government will do its part as well.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Gerald R. Ford". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a large, prominent "F" and "D".

The Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
Chairman of the Board
Overseas Development Council
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, NW.
Washington, D.C. 20036

WASHINGTON, D.C., November 22, 1974.

HON. GERALD R. FORD,
President of the United States,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Record food prices, depleted reserve stocks, and a disappointing harvest have raised the immediate spectre of famine for millions. I am writing to urge that the United States initiate immediately the shipment of 2 million tons of U.S. food aid additional to the amount now programed to alleviate present conditions of critical starvation, and also plan another 2 million ton increase for next spring and summer, contingent on matching commitments by other donor countries. I and the many individuals and institutions joining me in this appeal to you pledge our support for whatever measures you think necessary to reduce food consumption in the United States to prevent these shipments from having an inflationary impact.

The World Food Conference in Rome has ended with really quite excellent plans for addressing the world food problem in the middle and longer term. If the United States continues to provide leadership and if other countries take seriously the U.S. intentions stated so eloquently in Rome on your behalf by Secretary Kissinger, the world could create a successful new approach to hunger—mankind's historic scourge—that would stand as a great monument to the creative leadership of your administration.

This achievement will not be possible, however, if the United States and other relatively favored nations do not respond more effectively to the present food crisis. Despite the universal agreement in Rome that at least 5 to 6 million tons of grain in addition to the amounts now programed and committed need to be shipped to the most severely affected poor countries, the World Food Conference ended without a decision to meet these already recognized minimum survival needs.

The world's food supply for the coming year is inadequate to meet the global demand, and consumption will therefore be reduced in any case. The stark choice the international community must now address is: Will we act to insure that the minimum survival needs of the impoverished are met? Or will price serve as the global rationer, dooming millions to further misery and death?

We believe that the 5 to 6 million ton shortfall in grain availability before the next harvest in May and June cannot be met without a substantially larger and more immediate action than the U.S. Government has yet indicated to the American public, and are greatly concerned that the U.S. Government may not respond in time to avert hundreds of thousands and possibly millions of needless deaths over the next year. The immediate food problem appears to be seriously aggravated during each week that passes without a major response by the United States.

Exporting country stocks are daily being depleted—in many cases for relatively nonessential uses—and will not be replenished until the June wheat harvest in the case of the United States and the fall harvest in the case of Canada. Furthermore, if additional food is to be provided without having an inflationary impact, there will need to be some changes in present planned use and reduction of consumption.

The longer we postpone savings through consumption reduction, the greater the reduction that will be needed—and, therefore, the more difficult. Finally, the most acute need in South Asia will be in late winter and spring of 1975—before the June harvest—when existing stocks will have been depleted. It is imperative, therefore, that shipments begin as soon as possible, starting no later than next January.

We believe the crucial decisions on the scale of American response should be made within the next few weeks, and preferably before November 29, when the major grain exporting nations are scheduled to meet in Rome with the poor countries most seriously affected by import shortfalls. The United States—which, after all, earned \$6 billion more from grain price increases last year—should not further postpone action in the hope of persuading other industrial and OPEC countries to move simultaneously; Canada and the European community have already acted and we should likewise move now.

We understand, Mr. President, that you can make these shipments under your existing authorities without need of further prior legislative action by Congress, and we further understand that the Senate—in Resolution 329, sponsored by a bipartisan group of 38 Senators and passed in August—has also urged that you increase food aid this year by the amount we, too, are recommending.

We recognize that it will not be easy to provide an additional 4 million tons of food relief in the current crop year, which represents a doubling of the present announced level of the Food for Peace Program. But the alternative is not morally acceptable. The starvation of millions, while an even greater number are eating more than is healthy, will be worse than a moral travesty; the spread of famine and misery guarantee a degree of economic and political instability potentially disastrous for all in an interdependent world.

Moreover, the failure to muster up the political will to prevent a massive human catastrophe will further undermine the faith of citizens everywhere in the capacity of the world to cope with the problems it now faces. Such an indication that the world's problems had indeed become unmanageable would have dangerous psychological consequences everywhere.

Adding \$800 million to the Federal budget also will obviously be difficult at a time when large budget cuts have already been initiated. There is no escaping the question of priorities. We must ask whether the threat to human security and well-being posed by the food crisis does not outweigh some of the more traditionally recognized security threats—and whether a budgetary adjustment is not appropriate. Humans who die prematurely cannot be resurrected; military hardware which has been delayed in procurement can be acquired in a later year.

The anticipated buildup of 600,000 to 800,000 tons in U.S. rice reserve stocks can be tapped. Negotiated delays in commercial export deliveries to Europe, Japan, Iran, and the U.S.S.R. are another possible source of additional grain. They are not facing starvation; indeed, Russia wants grain to substantially increase its feeding of livestock. Finally, a selective program to reduce food waste and reduce American consumer demands for grain could be another element in the needed strategy.

In a telegram of support which I enclose, Governor Averell Harriman provides a useful reminder that in 1947, under even more difficult conditions, President Truman called on Americans to conserve 2½ million tons of grain to stave off famine in Europe during the winter of 1947. President Truman then called on Americans to take many specific actions to save food, including meatless days, saving a slice of bread a day, and closing distilleries for 60 days.

Today our total food supply is far greater and Americans consume far more than they did in 1947. The emergency relief now required could be made available without an inflationary impact through far less drastic measures today—if we have the necessary national political will and Government leadership.

Many Americans want to participate in a major global response to halt the epidemic of rising malnutrition and starvation in the world. This was illustrated graphically on the Thursday before Thanksgiving, while you were in South Korea, when hundreds of thousands of university students fasted as a food-saving and money-raising gesture. But Americans can participate effectively only following your leadership. This was the central thrust of the petitions addressed to you with 260,000 signatures, including many from Grand Rapids, which Senator Percy presented to Ambassador Scali on October 31.

Among the many leading citizens and private organizations joining me in pledging our full support to whatever steps you, Mr. President, urge upon the American public in order to make more grain available for food this year, are the following: Dr. W. Sterling Cary and Dr. Claire Randall, president and general secretary, respectively, of the National Council of Churches; Terence Cardinal Cooke, archbishop of New York, for the National Conference of Catholic Bishops; Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, national director of Interreligious Affairs of the American Jewish Committee; Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, president, Bread for the World, and former general secretary, World Council of Churches; presiding Bishop Allin of the Episcopal Church; Dr. Charles Kraemer, chairman, General Executive Board of the Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A.; William P. Thompson, stated clerk, United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; Herbert J. Waters, chairman of the World Hunger Action Coalition, and president of the American Freedom from Hunger Foundation; Mayor Wes Uhlman of Seattle; Mayor Kenneth Gibson of Newark; Robert O. Anderson, chairman of the board of Atlantic Richfield; Chancellor John Caldwell, North Carolina State; Frank Goffio, executive director of CARE; Terry Herndon, executive secretary, National Education Association; Ruth C. Clusen, president, League of Women Voters; and Jean Mayer, professor of nutrition, Harvard University.

Among the myriad global problems that beset you today, Mr. President, certainly there can be no greater problem or opportunity than that of sustaining human life itself. We count our blessings at Thanksgiving and we look forward to

Christmas joy in abundance. What greater moral uplift to our Nation, following the disillusionments of Vietnam and Watergate, than a call to the humane imperative of helping our less fortunate brethren around the world as only we can. It is given to you, Mr. President, in a most unique way, to sound the call that will spell the difference between global disaster and new hope for millions. In helping others, we will, I believe, most powerfully help ourselves and restore our moral leadership in this very troubled world.

Very sincerely yours,

(REV.) THEODORE M. HESBURGH, C.S.C.
*Chairman of the Board,
 Overseas Development Council.*

CONTINUING STATEMENT OF GOV. AVERELL HARRIMAN

Governor HARRIMAN. I do want to say this subject, to me, is one of the highest priority relative to other actions we take. I think the whole question of preserving foreign policy objective—of preserving the stability of the world—is involved. This is not just a question of humanity, but it has priority above other actions we are taking to preserve our security in order to assure peace.

People say it can't be done, that it affects inflation. I just don't agree with that, Mr. Chairman.

In 1947, President Truman was affected by the condition that existed in Europe—starvation and hunger that came from a very serious crop failure. It was after General Marshall proposed the Marshall Plan, but before the Marshall Plan was adopted. This was an interim period. And I think it was October 6, 1947, that he addressed the American people and he asked them to share the sacrifices. It worked.

I want to indicate that the situation then was much what it is today.

The election of 1946, if some of you remember, was known as the "meat election" because of the shortage of meat and the high price of meat. In that election the majority in the Congress changed hands.

In this case it was the Republicans that took control of the Congress, and it achieved one very important objective—that Senator Vandenberg became chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. I want to indicate to Senator Hatfield that the Republicans played a major role, through the efforts of Senator Vandenberg, in all the Truman actions. Action was taken through Senator Vandenberg's efforts in supporting President Truman. Both parties were involved in the action that was taken.

Now, President Truman called for certain sacrifices on the American people in order to save 2.5 million tons. It was 100 million bushels.

He called upon them to exercise restraint in their diet and exercise. And they asked certain industries, the distillery industry closed their operations for 60 days and saved hundreds of thousands of tons of grain. Other industries played a role.

I don't want to bother you with the details of that program. I simply want to say in 3 months that began to work. Some, of course, didn't fully cooperate. But he did save 2.5 million tons.

He asked the Congress, at a special session he called in December, for aid which would make it possible to finance the shipments—and the 2.5 million tons were shipped to Europe and it did save Europe from disaster. Then the following spring, if you remember, the Marshall plan was authorized by the Congress.

So it can be done, Mr. Chairman.

As I go around the country I feel the people, as Senator Hatfield said, want to have leadership. They want to do it. They are puzzled as to what they can do.

In an organized effort, they would respond.

May I say that the immediate situation does require a follow-through. This 4 million tons Father Hesburgh speaks about, in the relatively short run, must be followed by further action.

I hope this committee will point to the long-range, middle-range actions which this country should take and leave to the other committees of the Congress and the administration to work out the details. The things that you start, Mr. Chairman, should be followed through.

The question of changing of the diet of the people of the industrialized world. The United States should take a lead in that move because we will not have food enough at the present expansion of the misuse of our grain in producing food that is, in the first place, not necessary and not healthy. I am now referring to marbled beef which is the most expensive way to use grain; and, incidentally, our doctors tell us that it is one of the ways in which heart disease is offset by the fat which is consumed by the American people. We should go to leaner meat.

The Department of Agriculture should, at once, specify that lean beef that comes off the range is categorized as choice meat; and it should take its place. The people of the United States should understand they are not only aiding hunger in the world by taking grain away from the mouths of animals and giving it to the mouths of people, but by using fat-laden meat, they are hurting the health of the people in the United States.

This leadership should be taken internationally and it should be done to encourage the Russians to change their policy of increasing this type of diet, and also in Europe. Unless we do that, there will not be, in the long run, food enough to take care of the people of the world.

In the immediate future, these steps should be outlined. I agree fully with everything that Senator Hatfield has said, and particularly the point of the Food Administrator. He should point to the things that people can do at once; ask that they be done; do what Truman did, in 1947, with Charles Lockman as the chairman of the committee, ask the American people to do specific things.

I am not going to suggest what they are, but there are a series of things which the American people could be asked to do and which would save at least, if not more, the tonnage.

So this would not be inflationary. Inflation was just as much a problem in 1947 as it is today. The President, in getting the American people to reduce their consumption; his action, helped reduce the inflationary situation. There is no reason why we should excuse ourselves from taking this action, because it would affect inflation.

The President, as I understand it, has the power to make these 2 million tons available, now, through Public Law 480, and he should be urged to do so.

He has written a letter—as you have indicated, and as Father Hesburgh has written to you today—indicating he is studying the matter.¹ No action has been taken. Therefore, there should be a

¹ See pp. 41-42.

major pressure from the Congress on him—indicating that the Congress will fully support his action; and really demand that there be leadership on his part, in this most important action.

These additional 2 million tons are needed at once and can relieve the situation. The second 2 million tons should be done in cooperation with others that have grain available, or have financing which they can use to contribute to it.

Now, in my experience, Mr. Chairman, the United States must take the lead and then others will follow. We can't ask others to take the lead and suggest that we may do something. This is not the American way. This is not what the American people want.

We don't want to have gratitude. I know Senator Clark asked about gratitude. In the Marshall plan we tried not to get the gratitude of the European people. Our policy was not to ask for gratitude. But it was to ask for respect and confidence.

Respect and confidence of the United States around the world will add far more to the security of the world, and furtherance of our international objectives of freedom and peace, than any thought of getting gratitude. I speak of that because I went through it with the congressional committees at that time.

I think it is very important for the American people to realize that we have lost leadership because of actions taken which other people do not agree with. Certainly, a very large percentage of the Americans didn't agree with them. That was the war in Vietnam. We haven't lived that down yet.

I think there is nothing which would help us regain the position of respect in the world than to take leadership in dealing with this ghastly situation of hunger and starvation which faces the people.

I could go on and give further arguments, further discussions, but I think I have said enough to indicate to you, sir, that I believe your committee is doing a vital service. And I urge that you stick to it until the President takes action along the lines of Father Hesburgh's suggestion.

I am satisfied that the American people will support it, and I am satisfied that something can be done by the Government and people of the United States to regain some of the leadership and respect that we have lost. [Applause.]

Senator McGOVERN. Thank you very much, Governor Harriman, for your superb statement.

I want to ask you and also Senator Hatfield to comment briefly, if you would, on one concept that I have been thinking about for some weeks. It was an idea that I proposed at the World Food Conference, not on behalf of the American delegation, but as one member of that delegation.

After listening to the discussion, the debates, and so on about the enormous cost factors involved—not only in meeting the immediate short-term crisis around the world, but also advancing the development that needs to take place in these countries—I suggested the possibility that the United States take the lead, but joined by other countries, in the percentage reduction in our military outlay. Perhaps a 10-percent reduction—with the understanding that the savings would be set aside for food assistance and world development, both short term and long term; and that the oil-exporting countries do the same on their increases in revenues. My understanding is they have

about a \$70 billion transfer to the oil exporting countries in the last year.

If you look at the worldwide armament budgets, they are now in excess of \$200 billion. I think the Soviet Union and the United States represent about three-fourths of that.

If the increase in oil revenues is somewhere around \$70 billion, you set aside 10 percent of that total fund—10 percent of what we are spending on armaments, 10 percent of the increased oil revenues—you are talking about some \$27 billions that could be freed for development purposes.

Now, is that a “pie in the sky” program, or is it one that is in line with the kind of commitments that the nations of the world ought to be making to deal with the problems of human need?

Senator HATFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I think we have to go back and ask ourselves first of all a basic question: What is military spending? For what purpose do we make such large expenditures and, whether or not it's the objective, we hope to achieve by so doing?

I think we tend to think of it in terms of developing national security, protecting the American way of life, and to various other phrases that tend to define our purpose of preserving our own basic security in this Nation. That is the motivating factor behind many and most of the dollars we spend in national defense.

But the trouble is that we have adopted what I would call the “Magenot Line” mentality in looking at that defensive expenditure. We are assuming the national security is achieved primarily by military hardware; and the bigger the firepower, the greater number of various classes of weapons, and so forth in each weapon system is defined in ratio to what the Russians have or in quantum analysis. In so doing we tend to fail, as the French did, by putting their full security in the Magenot Line. To understand that the will of the Nation, the strength of the Nation, its people is really the basis of any offense or any security; that you can have the greatest amount of military hardware and lose the so-called security of the Nation, vis-à-vis the French.

That's an oversimplification, but I only use it as an illustration. Therefore, it seems to me then we must really recognize that famine, today, and starving people are identified as the most destabilizing force in the world—it's the most unbalanced balancing force of military power—than anything else.

As was indicated recently, in public testimony by distinguished Americans, that they are too weak to organize against the greater powers; but, rather now because they have nuclear materials. That to me emphasizes the need of looking at national security, military spending, not in terms of military hardware systems alone, but in terms of the strength and needs of people and what are the destabilizing forces.

That to me is, as I say, famine. If you don't want to look at the humanitarian aspects of it—which I think should be the motivating force—let us look at the very pragmatic hard reality of security, national security; and look at it in terms of being the greatest threat to our national security.

Therefore, the moneys we expend here for military hardware could be better spent, as you propose. Or other such formulas or schemes over here to relieve the famine and hungry people in famine areas

of the world. It would serve national security to a greater extent than what, I think, these continued high-expenditure levels in purely military hardware buildup.

Senator McGOVERN. Governor Harriman is one of our experts on the Soviet Union. It was interesting, to me, that entirely unknown by me and other members of the American delegation, the chairman of the Soviet delegation was making a proposal very similar to the one I made just shortly before.

I had no idea what the Soviets were going to propose. They had no idea what I was going to suggest. But he took the floor at the plenary session of the World Food Conference and suggested a 10-percent reduction in armaments on the part of all countries—with the savings to be set aside for development purposes, food assistance, rural development, and so on.

In light of that situation, I would be very much interested in your comments on this concept, Governor, or any idea you have for improving it.

Governor HARRIMAN. Well, Mr. Chairman, generally I am in full agreement with your approach. I am in full agreement with what Senator Hatfield said.

Our security is involved in taking the action which you are considering. A fortress America will not secure the United States. And, it won't get any of the world objectives that we want—developing freedom, peace, and stability. This program is of the highest importance; and, certainly, a reduction in military spending to contribute to it is a very wise thing to do.

Now we have before us, of course, this Vladivostok proposal which, to me, is a much higher level than we need. I believe from my talks with Mr. Brezhnev, if we pursue it, they can be reduced. And a reduction, not just a stoppage of the nuclear arms race, but some reduction of the existing capabilities can be achieved.

That is my opinion.

I think if we tie it into food, it will tend to force the Russians to cooperate more with our negotiators in the field.

The United States needs to take the leadership. I believe that if the United States does take the leadership and if we do tie it to the strength and the arms race, it will tend to contribute to the Russians taking a similar point of view.

Senator McGOVERN. Thank you very much.

Governor HARRIMAN. May I say one thing more?

Jim Anderson, who was then Secretary of Agriculture, and later became a Senator, you all know, was a leader in developing this program.

I hope the Department of Agriculture will change its attitude, its rather negative attitude, today, and join in becoming a leader in the things that we ought to be doing.

Senator Anderson, as you remember, came from a cattle State, New Mexico. One of your members is his successor. I am satisfied that the Department of Agriculture has to join wholeheartedly in the changes that must be made in our food and production program, our diet and food production programs here.

I wanted to mention, Senator, there were three men that the President appointed to the Cabinet Food Committee which was chaired by

Secretary Anderson, of Agriculture; General Marshall, the Secretary of State; and myself—then the Secretary of Commerce.

Agriculture can and must take the lead in this in order to make it fully successful. I hope that the President will see to it that the Department of Agriculture does take that position, rather than the negative attitude which is being expressed at the present time.

Senator Anderson went to Europe and saw for himself what was going on, and he came back. I wish that Secretary Butz would go and see what's going on. [Applause.]

Senator McGOVERN. Thank you, Governor.

Governor HARRIMAN. I might add to that the Secretary of Defense as well. [Applause.]

No number of Tridents is going to protect us against the kind of situation which will develop in the world. None of it will do.

Incidentally, this program of \$800 million is, I think, about half of one Trident.

Senator McGOVERN. I might say to you, Governor, I have drafted a rough resolution to try to put into legislative language the proposal that I made at the Rome conference. We want to circulate that with the Senators who are here, and also get your opinion.

Governor HARRIMAN. I want to make a point that you have to get all the agencies of Government behind this. It has to be done by voluntary cooperation, or else orders from the President of the United States.

Senator McGOVERN. Senator Percy?

Senator PERCY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

We would like to welcome Senator Javits to these hearings. His input and influence as ranking minority member on the Labor and Public Welfare Committee will be very important.

I would like to ask a personal question of my classmate, Senator Hatfield.

Does Antoinette happen to be in the room?

Senator HATFIELD. No.

Senator PERCY. Mrs. Harriman is.

If you don't mind, I am going to call Toni and tell her of the tremendous ovation that greeted the end of your comments. I think the two testimonies that we have had—and were proud to have had as one of those voices a powerful, strong voice in the Senate—but I believe to have two such remarkable statements as we have had this morning has advanced this program tremendously.

We are very grateful to you, Governor Harriman, for devoting your time and energy to this cause. Any time you can take away from the rebuilding of the Democratic party and put into this kind of project, Senators Hatfield, Javits and I would be very grateful.

I would like to ask Senator Hatfield about the bill that has been put in by Senator Humphrey. I certainly would like to join that effort. I won't if we couldn't convince Senator Humphrey to modify it and not call it a coordinator. I just dislike the word "coordinator." When you don't know who will run a program, you call him a coordinator. He runs around trying to beg and plead with people.

In your testimony you have called it a "food administrator." That he will promote, he will expand, he will devise and implement food aid programs. He should be empowered to implement national pro-

grams to curb consumption, eliminate waste, encourage production, and get production up. Those are not coordinating functions.

I think we need an administrator reporting directly to the President. If we can have it for energy—and we now have an energy administrator, not a coordinator—I think we need it for food as well.

I hope we can talk with Senator Humphrey today and perhaps modify that.

I, certainly, for one, would like to join you in seeing that we have such an organizational change. I can assure you very early hearings in the Government Operations committee at the outset of the new Congress on that.

I would like to ask your judgment on nutrition education.

Margaret Mead, before our committee some years ago, said that in all fields the average man has progressed in his knowledge except about food. Food production, yes; but in how to use it, how to consume it, in home economics, nutritional education, we have regressed.

During World War II, we as a Nation knew how to buy food, prepare it, use it, conserve it, everything else; but we have now moved away from it. We are very wasteful in what we do.

Would nutrition education, in your judgment, move us in the right direction so we can better utilize in this country the resources we have for adequate nourishment, but also take that tremendous harvest that we have and be able to share it more bountifully?

I think we can not only share it and cut down the waste, but we will be a healthier people if we eat properly rather than just eat a great deal.

Senator HATFIELD. Senator, you put your finger on a very important, vital issue.

Oftentimes when we talk about hungry people, we get into a lock-in position of trying to relieve the pangs of hunger in the stomachs. We feed them anything just to get that relief, or to sustain their life for another day, another week.

Now on the domestic scene, we recognize, too, the relationship between certain nutritional intake and the capacity for a child, let's say, to learn and to grow mentally as well as physically. We used to talk about the inattentive student; and then we began to realize that some of that inattention in class was, perhaps, due to a protein deficiency in the diet of that child. There are so many inter-related issues here when we talk about food and nutrition. I could not agree with you more.

Then it also relates to production.

The matter of protein that I have raised is best illustrated by the fact that we can get 600 pounds of protein from an acre of soybeans; but from an acre of land to raise beef, we can only get 9 pounds of protein. So, obviously, there is a very high cost factor there in just the production of protein. I use that as an illustration in terms of meeting our domestic needs from a standpoint of proper growth.

From an international point of view, let me also point out that we talk about famine in only the areas of people who have not sufficient food to put into their stomach, and who die as a consequence. We cite those statistics. We do not have the statistics as to the disease that is created by a lack of nutritional value; even for those who have an intake of food and who die as a consequence, or who do not develop as a consequence.

Therefore, nutrition on the international level must not only be considered along with food to sustain life, but also at what kind of level of life.

I could not agree with you more, that many times we have neglected that nutritional education is required. We attempted a pilot project while I was Governor, through the public welfare programs, to provide home economists to teach basic biology information to welfare mothers so that they could help develop a cognizance of what nutrition requirements were to meet the needs of their children. It was not a dollar volume, but it was the way in many instances in which they were not adequately getting the nutritional value for the dollar they were spending.

So these are various ways in which I think your point is applicable, and it certainly could be complemented through a national nutritional education program.

Senator PERCY. I am going to limit myself to just two more questions, so Senator Javits can have an opportunity to question you.

The first one will relate to my deep concern that we are not devoting adequate attention to the population throughout the world. We are focusing our attention, it seems, on food, on energy, our resource shortages, inflation, environmental degradation, and so forth. Great attention has been given to Dr. Norman Borlaug's statement that 50 million people, perhaps more, could perish from famine; but not as frequently quoted, not quoted at all, is also a statement made by Dr. Borlaug when he said last June before our committee, that when we talk about food, about unemployment, about stress and crowding, we are talking about different aspects of the consequences of a too rapidly growing population; and that certainly is true all over the world.

In some areas you have continuous 3 to 3.5 percent population increases. Population is just exploding in these countries.

Could either or both of you comment on how important you feel population growth is, in the long run, to our ability to solve these problems—despite our efforts to increase output of all kinds?

Governor HARRIMAN. I could say two words "absolutely essential."

Along with that, when we are asking other people to control their population there are certain things that we must do. Because the demand for food is increasing not only because of the population increase, but also because of the improper use of food by the industrial countries. More and more expensive foods—expensive in terms of grain—are being used in our country than in the other industrialized countries. You know the figures.

Therefore, while we are asking the other countries to control their population, we should control the waste of grain in the industrial countries. I think they both go hand in hand. We come with cleaner hands if we do take leadership and do our share for the conservation of the wasteful use of grain.

I am speaking now, as Senator Hatfield indicated, about the way our proteins are converted to human consumption. The Department of Agriculture, today, could do something. They have the right to specify that lean beef, off the range, is choice beef and change our habits. We have changed our habits in the use of margarine rather than butter. This can be done, but it must be accelerated.

So, when I say that it is absolutely essential that the population controls be extended, I think we have a much better chance to do it when people are not starving—but when they are leading a more normal life. That seems to be proved by the experience of the past. But we also have to do our share as well. You can't divorce one from the other, if you are going to have food enough for the world as a whole.

Senator HATFIELD. Senator Percy, I would agree with Governor Harriman. I would like to use an example to illustrate the validity of that point.

A few years ago they built a great dam, a great reclamation project up in a region of India where they retained power to conserve water, and as a byproduct of that dam they created nitrogen fertilizer. By introducing a form of the Green Revolution there, they showed the farmer how he could increase yield per acre with fertilizers, new seeds, and so forth.

Parallel with that, they undertook an intensive population control program—birth control. They had signed billboards. They carried it to the villages, to the workshops, to the farmers themselves. And, as the farmers saw the decreasing necessity of labors, they saw the decreasing need of social security in their old age to have nine children, to have three survive, and so forth.

So there was an interesting parallel of not only program, but there was an interesting parallel of results. You found the increased agricultural production and a decrease in population, or birth rate.

I believe, therefore, that illustrates how they are absolutely tied; and I cannot overemphasize the need for public education in these lesser developed countries. They have to oftentimes take a billboard and have a mother and father and two children only. That was their ideal or slowing answer, look before you leap, all sorts of things to bring attention to the necessity of paralleling agricultural production with decreased population.

Senator PERCY. Thank you.

My last question relates to your knowledge of public opinion and its influence in deciding governmental policies.

You both have cited situations in World War II and World War I where we had a devastating war; food production was cut way back because of that war, and then we had a response to that, a great humanitarian relief effort in this country once the war was over.

Now we have a different situation. There is not a war on, but there is famine due to population, nature, and so forth.

I mentioned before you came in the room that I worked for some months with the religious leaders of this country and urged them to prick the conscience of America from the pulpit, the temple, every place. We cannot go completely contrary to public opinion in these matters. Months later, they brought in, after a great deal of work, 300,000 signatures of people that said we should do our share in helping in this world situation.

Do you feel that we can create the climate? Both of you have in common one thing. You are way ahead of most of the American people and the Government in many major issues—including the Vietnam war. The people finally caught up, and the Government finally caught up.

In this issue, how long is it going to take us to prick the conscience of America and get the American people to support, as enthusiastically as they have in years past, noble and worthy causes that have really given us the quality of life and people that we are?

The circumstances are there now. What is it going to take to arouse the American people and the Congress and the executive branch to the level of support we should be providing?

Senator HATFIELD. Senator Percy, before you came in, I indicated a survey taken amongst the various nonpublic agencies—Catholic Relief, World Vision, Church World Service, Care, Mennonite Central Committee, Lutheran World Relief—in which they indicated, without exception, that their contributions and the giving from their constituency was up this year over last year. Stimulation by the need in the world for hunger relief was the main force attributed for this increase in giving.

In that one small segment of the American public, I think we have an indication that where the needs are presented there is a response.

Now, there are two key factors. One is leadership, the other is credibility, and they go hand in hand.

These groups are providing the leadership in the nonpublic area. They are credible organizations to their constituencies and, therefore, they have the response. I think the American people would give that response to their Government—provided the leadership and the credibility exists, in their thinking, in the Government. I feel that there is this element today, or environment, rather, which would be responsive.

Now, you mentioned that Governor Harriman and I cited two war conditions. That's why I also cited the famine in the Soviet Union in 1922-23 when we were not in war. We were not politically in relationship, not at war. Yet, at that time, there was still—out of the charitable hearts of the American people and other parts of the world—response to the needs of saving Russian Communist Bolshevik lives. Whatever you want to call them. They were still human beings, as Mr. Hoover said, and that's why we responded.

We can do this in time of war; but we can, also, do this in a time of nonwar.

Governor HARRIMAN. Senator Percy, I agree fully with what Senator Hatfield said. Leadership and credibility, and also an indication to people of what they can do themselves. I think they are way ahead of the Government, both administration and, certainly, of Congress as a whole. And I am satisfied that action can be taken.

I noticed in the letter that the President wrote in reply to the letter from Father Hesburgh that he suggested private institutions should undertake to do more. Well, I notice in the morning papers there was a meeting in Garrison, N.Y., by the National Council of Churches. They announced the doubling of their program. I haven't got the figures, but that is in the morning papers, in order to respond to the President's appeal.

However, it would be far more effective if the President, himself, would make this appeal. If the President would indicate what specific sacrifices each individual, each family, or each industry can do to contribute. President Truman did—in the national interest.

Senator PERCY. I think the testimony from both of you has been immensely helpful this morning. We will do all we can to see that as many people see it and hear it.

Senator McGOVERN. Senator Percy, thank you.

Senator Javits, we are glad to see you here today. You were the ranking Republican member of this committee when it was organized 5 years ago. You are one of the reasons why this committee holds these functions in a very nonpartisan way; and have had a great role to play in the expansion of our domestic food programs.

We welcome you, Senator.

STATEMENT BY SENATOR JAVITS

Senator JAVITS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I came today to identify myself with this cause as I was unable to be in Rome—where I was, also, named as an adviser to the delegation. I wish to identify myself with it, as stated both by Senator Percy, Senator Hatfield, and by you.

I shall join in the effort to have an administrator for a food program. I joined in the demand on our President to provide another million tons of grain, which you voiced from Rome. I believe that we must strongly persist in that. It is the least we can do.

I would like to take you one step further; and I shall join you in that. I believe also that we would be helped if we had a food budget—which is being sought by me in legislation and by Hubert Humphrey—which would lay aside a certain percentage of our production for famine relief and catastrophe, as well as for foreign sales.

I think, for example, that there is a decent impact upon what we sell to industrial countries, like the Soviet Union, and what we provide for catastrophe. And that, right now, it is very lopsided and out of balance. Also, that money should not determine people's lives. The big question here, I understand, is not the availability of the food—but who is going to pay for it.

That's a very, very critical matter, especially as the OPEC—the oil countries—are not showing any disposition to be responsive in view of their new-found wealth.

So I would like to ask you this: If we are going to mount a governmental effort—and we will push hard for that, I can promise you—should we not mount, as was mounted before, a private effort and that needs to be thoroughly organized, too?

I noticed the disparity in figures is amazing.

For example, in your testimony, Senator Hatfield, you say the American Relief Administration raised \$134 million way back immediately after the war. Twenty million Americans signed up as members of the Food Administration; that is, they would economize and so on.

The Republican economic statement the other day called for food advisory services by Government departments to the individuals to teach them how to raise food. Yet when you look further down in your statement, Senator, one finds that you speak with pride—and you are absolutely right, it is to be spoken of with pride—that CARE has now \$6 million which they are raising as of November 22—I assume annually. A drop in the bucket. Hardly a grain of sand in the sea.

Question: Correlative and coordinant at the same time with everything we do—and I am not going to repeat all the things we should do, in which I will join in trying to help get done—hasn't the time come for an enormous consortium led by the President?

As Averell Harriman says, for private giving and private saving, which could produce hundreds of millions—perhaps billions of dollars, so big is the heart of this country—and that the individual efforts which are being carried on; (1) are too small; and (2) too disjointed—much as we are proud of them. That we shouldn't absolutely depend on Government as our only card, because even we have a bigger responsibility. The people should not starve if we can't move our U.S. Government; but if the heart of America will give, it ought to have a channel for giving that is effective and big and which will move directly to the people in need of it the most.

I would appeal to the leaders of our lay community to organize a great consortium. I believe the President can be made to lead it, and should, for the purpose of raising, let us say, a billion dollars from the American people with which to help relieve famine and catastrophe now. I hope very much, Mr. Chairman, that we may be—as we have been on so many occasions before—the great sounding board for ideas, as well as the seedbed for law. And I greatly appreciate any comment either of you have to make.

Senator HATFIELD. Senator, I appreciate your comments. I would caution about adding oranges and apples together and coming out with bananas. In any kind of figure comparisons \$130 million was a composite of many groups and many campaigns. I did not give a similar composite of what is happening today in America, but only by a few that I surveyed in order to indicate what the direction of giving is, in terms of recession and inflation, that we find ourselves in.

I can cite to you world vision that is moving now for a \$20 million fund just for the Sahel in Africa. I did not get the composite figures for Catholic Relief or any other figures. I would assume from my involvement with at least three or four of these—directly, as a member of their board—that we are giving today in excess of \$130 million through these private charitable and nonpublic agencies.

I agree with you wholeheartedly that we can elicit more. As I indicated a while ago, if there is a belief and credibility, and the vehicle is basically well known by the people. I receive letters every day from people saying I have read about this or other comments you made concerning famine. Where can I plug in with my little resource? I may only have \$15, \$5. I read it before you came in—the letter from a school class that they are raising \$3, but they would like to give it to someone in need.

Second, I think you put your finger on a very important issue. That is, are we going to create production capacity in some sort of a reserve backup system to take care of the surpluses? Today we have 500,000 bushels of pears in one very highly special commodity in excess, surplus.

Now the Federal Government could buy that up for the School Lunch Program as an example to the farm community that they are interested in stabilizing production. So in terms of excesses or surpluses, the farmer is not going to face a depressed market.

Now there is where we get into the food reserve programs, the ever normal granary, whatever we want to call it. That shows your point that we have to take this in toto. We can't talk about administration unrelated to food budget, unrelated to food production, unrelated to care for surplus. I commend you on that. I certainly agree and would like to support you in that budget.

I feel very strongly that we can get from the American public this kind of support in such a way that we present it where they see the need; and they have belief in the ability of the Government to lead, and the organizations to transmit their resource to an actual person in need.

Senator JAVITS. Senator, only one other question, and one that has to be realistic about this. I would not dream of pushing the suggestion I made, if you or Governor Harriman thought situations would in the remotest degree reduce the intensity, force, or likely success of our effort to get our Government to do what we all want done. I wouldn't dream of doing that. Hopefully it would help us, because it would enlist more soldiers in the fight. I wondered whether you had a political judgment on that?

Senator HATFIELD. Again, Senator, prior to your appearance at the committee today, I made the observation that I think the American people are ahead of their Government in recognizing this need and are willing to respond. I am of the belief that these private groups can infect the Government with a new sense of need or of action. I think their activity now is already contagious and spreading throughout this country.

I believe that they do not see it as an either/or, but as a mobilization of all our resources because of the magnitude of the problem. This does not neglect the needs at home, either, of those who are hungry here in America—because sometimes we think of this as either/or. We are not going to send food over there to help starving people and neglect the needs of people here who are eating pet food because they can't afford to buy other food on social security benefits.

I believe we have to develop a national sensitivity, a national conscience as to the needs of people—at home and abroad—in the sense of identifying with our common humanity that transcends political ideologies and national and state borders.

I think that's what these private groups are doing now—they are pricking that conscience. They are enlivening that sensitivity in many American lives and homes.

Senator JAVITS. Thank you very much. That's very heartening. Governor?

Governor HARRIMAN. I agree fully with what the Senator said.

Also, the President indicated to Father Hesburgh that the private organizations should move. We have seen one move. I am sorry I haven't the figure. The National Council of Churches have developed, yesterday, their contribution to world hunger.

This is a request to the President; I presume it has to be tied together. The people have to feel that this is a whole national movement, private endeavor, that can play a role with that. I don't know just exactly how nor how much, but it certainly should be included in the activities of this food administrator and should be tied into the manner in which the food is set aside for shipment.

Senator JAVITS. I think you are absolutely right, Governor.

I think the key, if we could get an administrator appointed by statute, he could spark both the volunteer and the governmental effort. I shall do my utmost with my colleagues to move for that very strongly.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator McGOVERN. Thank you, Senator Javits.

I want to thank Governor Harriman, Senator Hatfield, and the other witnesses for their testimony this morning.

It is now 1:30 p.m. and we will recess for lunch. Since we are running about an hour behind schedule, let's resume at 2:30 p.m.

At that time I want to hold a few minutes for some witnesses who were not scheduled. They are a group of students from the National Student Association who, without very much leadership from anyone, have been organizing efforts on the college and university campuses to encourage action on the hunger front.

This movement began, as I understand it, on the Yale campus early this fall; and it's now spread to other campuses. It is one more indication of the segment of the population that's out in front of their government.

We will give them a few minutes at 2:30 and then resume with the regular witness list. We have a number of very distinguished witnesses. I hope members of the audience will be able to return.

Thank you very much.

The committee is in recess, to reconvene at 2:30 p.m. this afternoon.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Senator McGOVERN. The committee will please come to order.

We have representatives, as I indicated this morning, from the National Students Association.

While they are not on the printed agenda, I thought it was important to give them a few minutes for a synopsis of what they are doing, in terms of the congregation.

STATEMENT OF STEFAN PRESSER AND BOB TATE, REPRESENTATIVES, YALE HUNGER ACTION PROJECT, NATIONAL STUDENTS ASSOCIATION

Mr. PRESSER. Thank you.

Senators, friends, I am here obviously not as another expert on the world hunger crisis, but as a spokesman for a group of students—the Yale Hunger Action Project—and, by extension, for many young people throughout this country. The United States Student Organization, which represents students on over 700 campuses, has also endorsed the following statement.

Gentlemen, we are full of anguish. We know that the problems associated with world hunger are complex, but we also know that the complexities of the crisis cannot blind us to the clarity of its consequences. We do not wish to see millions of our fellow human beings starved to death.

This fall literally hundreds of thousands of students fasted and sent the money saved to various relief organizations, but we know how insignificant such a contribution is in the face of this catastrophe. Pity is no substitute for power, piety for politics. Now we are ready to work politically; but, as you can imagine, it is hard to organize on the grassroots level without national leadership. And to date such leadership has been sadly lacking at the highest of levels.

As far as we can see, the United States has no food policy other than the statements of Mr. Butz to the effect that food is a major weapon in the arsenal of our national policy.

Despite the pleadings of the American delegation at Rome, despite the urgings of Father Hesburgh and those of many religious groups, President Ford has refused to act. He hasn't even made the minimal commitment of 2 million extra tons of grain. Canada, Australia, and other nations have risen to this crisis, but we have not.

The President's argument is that the American people will not stand for any more belt tightening at a time of inflation. We are convinced that the American people are far more generous than President Ford thinks we are.

We urge you now to act on this generosity, to get the grain to those who, without it, would surely die.

As regards the long term, we think a global problem demands a global solution, preferably under global auspices. Our only viable future is a global one.

Senator McGovern, your call from Rome struck a responsive chord on American college campuses.

Would it not be possible to create an international organization which would, for example, ask of every nation 10 percent of its military budget for long-term development needs? We feel an international body could have tougher guidelines to make sure the developing effort really helps the bottom half of the economic ladder.

Yet even in the absence of such an organization, could this money not be given annually to some already existing international group such as the recently established World Food Council? Why can't the United States, beginning with this hearing today, show that it really is committed to emergency relief by making the necessary funds and grains to stave off massive starvation?

As I said, we are ready to work. We plead with you to help us by giving us a policy that makes sense, that has both logical and moral respectability and around which we urge our fellow students to rally.

PREPARED STATEMENT FOR THE YALE HUNGER ACTION PROJECT

Early this fall a group of undergraduates, graduate students, faculty, and chaplains, formed the Yale Hunger Action Project. Our goals are to confront the problem of famine on local, national, and global levels, and to provide a model of how universities all over the country can work towards solutions.

Our first move was to hold a fast on November 5, the first day of the Rome Food Conference, as both a symbolic gesture and a means of raising money. Approximately 2200 students fasted, almost half of the undergraduate community, and over \$10,000 was raised for hunger relief. We are now planning a lecture series to begin in February. Visiting nutritionists, economists, and other experts will discuss global potentials for food production and distribution, the roles of international organizations, the inequities in food distribution within the United States, and national policies of aid to the developing countries. In addition, we have asked the Yale Corporation to appoint a student faculty committee to investigate and determine an appropriate institutional response from the Yale administration.

Student task forces organized from the core group of the Yale Hunger Action Project are now setting up an intercollegiate news, research and information clearing house to keep in touch with what's happening on other campuses, pressing for congressional responses to the Rome Food Conference with letter-writing and petition campaigns, and holding teach-ins and discussions at many colleges and universities.

Thank you.

Senator McGOVERN. Well, thank you very much, Mr. Presser. It was a very compelling statement. I think you know, without my saying it, that I heartily endorse it.

I do think the concept of reduced military outlays is worthwhile in its own right. We should be doing that, even if there weren't hungry people around the world. But in view of the stated pressures on our budget, the problems of inflation, surely we have another reason now in the face of the hunger all around the globe, and hunger in our own country.

Mr. PRESSER. Certainly.

Senator McGOVERN. So we have another reason for scaling down some of these expenditures, that only add to the overkill capacity, and using those savings in the war against hunger—the battle against hunger.

I would hope that would extend not only to the hungry abroad; but, that we certainly will not go along with the proposal that has now been floated—to cut back on food assistance to our own people

here at home. We can least afford that now at a time when millions of our people are already hard pressed in order to find a decent diet.

Would you introduce the other members of the panel?

Mr. PRESSER. Ed Helm. I think I will turn it over to him.

STATEMENT OF EDWARD HELM, DIRECTOR, GLOBAL COMMITMENT COALITION, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. HELM. Senator McGovern, we have a petition we would like you to accept. This is signed by over 100 college newspaper editors. It focused on the Rome Food Conference.

I would like to read through the petition. At the bottom are some of the hundred signatures.

I think it demonstrates, as Stefan was saying, there is widespread concern for these issues. It meets, sort of, the two things that the testimony this morning was addressing; that is, the personal commitment of people—what we, as individuals, are willing to do in the face of this crisis—as well as the type of institutional responses which are needed. With your permission I would like to read it.

STUDENT LEADERS' PETITION

We student body leaders and newspaper editors, mindful of the following:

The United States consumes 35 percent of world resources, though it comprises only 6 percent of the world population;

The world population will double in 30 years; and,

400 million people throughout the world are now facing starvation

declare an international food and population emergency.

We demonstrate our commitment to solving this global problem by pledging to fast for 1, 2, or 3 meals each Thursday from World Population Day, October 24, until Thanksgiving, November 28, and then to give up meat at least 1 day a week, meatless Monday, until the world hunger problem is solved.

We urge the U.S. delegates to the World Food Conference to take this pledge with us as an expression of our commitment.

I might add that some of the leaders for World Population Day have responded in a very personal way.

Some of the people that were here speaking—Dr. Peterson, for example—has taken this global commitment pledge. Congressman du Pont, who was with you in Rome in the delegation, has taken this pledge as has Senator Tydings.

So that I think the student community is very aware of when American leadership does respond in an individual and personal way and not in the more institutional ways that were called for, too.

We urge other First World people to similarly take this pledge.

We call upon the leaders of all countries to enable the U.N. to establish and administer a world grain reserve program.

We call upon the U.N. and national governments to make land reform and agricultural development one of their prime goals.

We call upon the United States to lead in international priorities that will divert to positive humanitarian causes the hundreds of millions of dollars now devoted each year to war and its implements.

We beg the rich countries to declare Christmas a day of peace, and to thus stop on that day all military transportation, and to use the revenue saved for emergency food relief for the world's starving people.

We call for a redefinition of trade, tariff and structural barriers which now prevent the basic survival needs of humankind from being met.

Finally, we urge all people in the first world to recognize their responsibility to humankind to see their role in the resolution of human inequities and to make a personal commitment to fill that role in a global effort to ensure peace and dignity for all people.

Now, this was organized as part of a global commitment campaign. I think it addresses some of your sound proposals. And, with Stefan, from my area, in working with some of these student leaders, college newspaper editors, I think they were warmed at your very sound proposal—to have 10 percent fed into something that is positive and life affirming rather than that which is wasteful or extravagant.

I congratulate you and want you to accept this petition in the name of the student community.

Senator McGOVERN. Well, thank you very much. It is a pleasure and honor to receive the petition.

I want to commend the group on your efforts.

Do others have anything to add?

Mr. TATE. I would only say that students all over the country right now are ready to work. They are ready to make sacrifices. At Yale University we collected \$10,000 in one day, and if that is any indication of what can happen all over the country, then we have a massive constituency out there.

We are looking for leadership.

Senator McGOVERN. Thank you very much. We appreciate your attendance and your help on the hearings.

Our next witness is Dr. Philip Handler, President of the National Academy of Sciences.

STATEMENT OF DR. PHILIP HANDLER, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dr. HANDLER. Mr. Chairman, Senator Clark, I am very pleased to have the opportunity to appear before you this afternoon.

My acquaintance with nutritional problems has continued for my entire professional lifetime. I left Illinois to go to North Carolina, in 1939. At the time, a disease called pellagra was the leading cause of death in eight Southeastern States and filled the beds of every mental institution in the South, each spring. I had never heard of it until I went to North Carolina.

When I recognized that there was a rather simple way to deal with that problem, I made my first appearance before a legislative committee—a committee of the North Carolina Legislature—and proposed that it be made mandatory that we fortify commercial cornmeal with the vitamin nicotinic acid which had been identified as the responsible vitamin about 4 years earlier. Others joined me in that effort which was soon successful. That program, which cost pennies per person per year, combined with the improving economy of the South during those years—largely, I suspect, due to the preparations

for World War II—resulted in a complete disappearance of this disease within 2 years.

That was the most striking nutritional episode in the history of these United States.

For all the time since, I have been a professor of biochemistry and nutrition at Duke University School of Medicine and have retained this longstanding interest in nutritional problems. As you know, the world's most serious nutritional problems lie beyond our shores.

My major point is that the principal threat to the survival of our species is the growth of human populations. All other matters are secondary.

In order to understand the circumstances in which we find ourselves, today, it is rather necessary to go back in history.

For most of the history of our species, over whatever few millions of years we have been here, the rate of population growth was on the order of 0.02 percent per year.

If we had started with the Biblical pair and each generation had doubled thereafter, it would have taken 30 doublings to attain our current population. That need only have taken 1 millennium. Instead, it has taken something on the order of 5 to 10 million years, depending upon what the latest evidence is concerning the age of our species.

Population growth proceeded extremely slowly until historic times; the rate remained below 0.1 percent until the 17th century. Then, slowly, it began to rise. It rose rather sharply during the 18th century, more so in the 19th, but it didn't become startling until our own lifetimes. Indeed, it didn't really become startling until after World War II.

The growth rate of our species today, across the world, is about 2.2 percent per year. That may sound like a small number to those of us who have lived with what we took as a seemingly God-given rate of interest of 6 percent, and are concerned with current inflation at twice that rate. Anything growing at 2 percent per year seems relatively slow when initially encountered.

But the reality is that any number growing at 2 percent per year doubles in 35 years and increases sevenfold in a century. Growing at 3 percent a year, it increases nineteenfold in 1 century. Although we seem to appreciate that aspect of money, few of us seem to appreciate what such growth rates mean when applied to numbers of people, instead.

Strangely enough, the time of World War II became a time of transition in the history of our species.

For most of the time before that, most of the people of the world were poor. Certainly there were some rich people, but by present standards most people were poor in both what we now call the developed and the developing nations; per capita incomes differed but not strikingly so.

That began to change in the 1940's and the change has become more intense ever since. The disparity between rich nations and poor nations is continuing to the present time; per capita income in the rich countries is more than 10 times that in the poor countries.

During the period of the Depression yields per acre of the major crops were pretty much the same across the world, the same in developing and in developed nations. But in the time since, startling changes have occurred.

Yields per acre have gone up by more than a factor of two across all of the developed nations in the time since the Depression. In our country, they have increased by a factor of four. But, yields per acre have gone up only by 20 percent in the developing world during the same period.

In the same period, population growth in the developed nations has declined until it is now proceeding at the rate of 0.8 percent per year. In contrast, in the developing nations, the rate of population growth continues to increase, and is presently about 2.5 percent per year. The developed nations are going through what is called the demographic transition, in which population equilibrium is attained, and both the death rate and the birth rate remain low. The birth rate in our country, and other Western nations, is about 17 per thousand; whereas in many developing nations it is as high as 40 to 50 per thousand, and shows no signs of coming down. That, I submit, is the world's principal problem.

At the present time, as you know, the world population is of the order of 4 billions of people, but by the year 2025, if current growth rates persist, it may be closer to 12 billion people. Of those, 1.5 billion will be in the developed nations; all the rest will be in the developing nations.

That separation is the most dramatic aspect of the change in history which, more or less, started after World War II.

The developed and the developing nations look quite differently.

In the developing nations, most people have rudimentary housing, a few rudimentary tools, and live on 150 kilograms of grain per person per year.

In the United States, each of us consumes, directly and indirectly, about four times as much grain. Each of us has associated with us about 10 tons of steel, about 300 pounds of copper, 250 pounds of zinc, 50 pounds of tin, 250 pounds of aluminum. Each of us consumes the energy equivalent of about 7 tons of coal. Moreover, these differences are increasing, not decreasing.

The pattern of life also looks different. In the rich countries, birth rates are low, death rates are low, and lifespans are long. In the poor countries birth rates are high, death rates are high, and lifespans are short. To be sure, it is difficult and unfair to characterize all developing nations as if they were alike. There are horror cases, such as Bangladesh, and there are countries which are making real progress.

In some of the worst cases, annual rate of population growth is about 3.5 percent. Among those are Morocco, Algeria, Rhodesia, Syria, Iraq, Colombia, El Salvador, Venezuela, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Thailand. That list would be much larger were it not for the high death rates in many developing countries. The rate in Mexico is almost 3 percent and would be higher were it not for the high rate of illegal emigration into this country.

One of the most dreadful aspects of such growth is urbanization. People flock to the cities not because there is opportunity, but in the hope that they may find food in such places. That presents a picture which, bad as it is today, extrapolating it into the future, offers a vision of terror. At the turn of the century Mexico City and Calcutta may each contain as many as 30 millions of people. São Paulo will have about 20 million. Cities of which we are scarcely aware, such

as Lagos, will have 5 millions of people. Such places are guaranteed to be hellholes of corruption, violence, and human misery—and the source of continual political instability.

At this moment it isn't clear what will stop that process, if anything will at all. Even effective programs of family planning cannot prevent the population growth inherent in the current age structure of developing nations where 40 to 50 percent of the population is less than 15 years of age; in the industrialized nations such young people constitute about 25 percent of the population.

Going back historically, again. For most of the history of the planet, food eaten in a given country was grown in that country. The idea of food being shipped in world commerce on a large scale is relatively new; and, again, it didn't happen in a really significant way until after World War II.

It happened not because we were farsighted or pursued such a policy. It happened largely in consequence of our own domestic policy of price supports for our own farmers—thereby generating what we then called a surplus, and had available to supply to other nations that were in need.

To begin with it was not a deliberate policy to help those countries. It was the indirect consequence, but a fortunate one, of our having supported prices for our own domestic farmers.

The Food for Peace Program—in Public Law 480—has served those nations well. But it has also brought with it the germs of a problem which will surely emerge in the long-term future. I shall return to that problem in a few minutes.

From time to time in our country, and elsewhere, there are crop failures. These are usually the result of adverse climatic change which is unpredictable as to place or time. The swings in climate can easily result in changes in national grain yields of as much as 20 percent in any one year. Yet, any decrease which is larger than 2 or 3 percent can bring with it immense human tragedy.

Only in recent times has there been grain in storage, somewhere outside a given nation suffering a crop failure, on a scale which can be of real assistance. In the period since World War II, that somewhere else has been North America.

As a result of such periodic crop failures, people have died of starvation all through history.

As best historians can tell us, in the 17th century about 2 million people died of starvation; 10 million died in the 18th century, 25 million died of starvation in the 19th century; and, so far, about 15 million people have died in our century.

But that rate is now rising rapidly. For the last quarter century, it has not been greater, largely, because of the availability of American food reserves. But it is rising today as we watch.

The current rate is stated to be something on the order of 10,000 deaths due to starvation or acute malnutrition per week. Undoubtedly, that number is seriously understated. It is understated because these deaths occur, very largely, in the tropical belt between 30 degrees north and 30 degrees south latitude. In that area, about two-thirds of all people live, as do about one-half of all domestic animals—but only about 40 percent of the food is grown.

In that area not only are people malnourished, but they are attacked by all of that set of miserable circumstances which we call tropical disease—malaria, filariasis, hookworm, schistosomiasis, bilharzia, and the like.

Unfortunately, malnutrition and parasitic disease reinforce each other. Those who are malnourished cannot withstand the parasitic disease; and people whose gastrointestinal tracts harbor their own pestilential zoos, in turn, are robbed of the potential nutritional value of that which they do eat. Hence, the death rate due to malnutrition is understated because many who are reported to have died of those tropical diseases wouldn't be dying if they were not also malnourished. Nobody can estimate the extent of that process at this time.

As you know, it is now conventional wisdom to say that there are 400 to 500 million malnourished people around the globe. Most of those are in that same zone, from 30° north to 30° south latitude.

You should also understand that the kind of malnutrition, that is now so rife, is different from the kinds we knew formerly. In former times, malnutrition was the result largely of an imbalanced diet of some kind. Such diets resulted in beri-beri and xerophthalmia in the Orient; pellagra in the United States; and scurvy and rickets around the globe.

Senator McGOVERN. May I interrupt you for a moment?

We have a rollcall. I am going to leave Senator Abourezk in charge. You may continue with your testimony.

Senator ABOUREZK. Please continue.

Dr. HANDLER. Xerophthalmia, due to vitamin A deficiency, continues to be the principal cause of blindness in the world, most notably, perhaps, in Indonesia. But instead of beri-beri, pellagra, scurvy, and rickets, two other forms of nutritional disease are rife. One is iron deficiency anemia, affecting something on the order of 1 billion people at any given time—it would be very difficult to state the death rate due to this illness, which surely severely limits the lives of those so afflicted. The second is what is now called "protein-calorie malnutrition" (PCM). It is known as marasmus in very young infants, and as kwashiorkor in those somewhat older. These diseases are not only frequently fatal; they leave their marks permanently on the lives of something on the order of a half million people—whose lives forever after are limited by that history. PCM is not due to improper diet; rather it is simply the result of semistarvation. It derives not from the wrong food but from lack of food.

While the disparity between rich and poor nations was growing, change took place largely in the United States—the development of modern scientific American agriculture. It involves plant breeding, application of irrigation, fertilizers, pesticides, herbicides, mechanization—and the application of large quantities of energy. As a result, yields of American agriculture—yields per acre—of all major crops, have increased by and large, by a factor of 4.

Perhaps most dramatic is the little known story of soybeans in our country, a quite remarkable tale. The soybean was brought to the United States for the first time in 1935. In Asia it was used as a forage crop. It was a very short, stunted, bushy little plant only useful for planting out in the fields as forage for livestock.

As a result of a program of careful plant breeding by our own Department of Agriculture, we now have a plant which is sturdy and tall, whose bottom leaves are at least 4 inches off the ground so it can be harvested by combines; the berries stick to the plant so it can't be removed by quail and other birds. And, the protein and oil content per berry have been doubled. This is the soybean which is available for feeding animals in our own country; and which is exported as our third most valuable crop in dollar volume, and which can be used, *per se*, as a source of protein in human diets.

Modern agriculture can be simply described by a short phrase: The American farmer uses sunlight to transmute fossil fuels into food to be eaten in our country or overseas. That's terribly important.

The basis of American agriculture is fossil fuel and the consequences of that fact will be self-evident.

It is certainly true that a large fraction of American-grown grains is fed to animals here or abroad. But the significance of that process, I think, has been somewhat exaggerated. It is true that in feeding beef cattle, for example, the process seems rather wasteful—about 8 calories of grain being fed to produce 1 calorie of beef. But 60 percent of the actual total nutrition of beef cattle is derived from pasturage and range, and is not grain at all. The hamburgers we eat very often come from overage milk cows or from range-fed cattle, purchased abroad.

Senator ABOUREZK. May I interrupt you for a brief moment, at that point?

You said 8 calories—would you repeat that ratio?

Dr. HANDLER. You feed corn to beef animals. You get 1 calorie of edible beef for 8 calories of edible corn fed to the animal—if that is the sole source of the animal's nutrition.

Senator ABOUREZK. I have heard it expressed in pounds, 8 pounds of grain for every pound of beef.

Dr. HANDLER. It is better stated as calories. Then you need not be concerned with the different state of hydration of grain and of meat.

Senator ABOUREZK. Also, if you do it in pounds, it doesn't take into consideration the grazing—the roughage?

Dr. HANDLER. That's right. The statement is only true about animals which are in feedlots, being fed nothing but grain.

Senator ABOUREZK. They do feed them other things besides grain? Is that why you don't use pounds?

Dr. HANDLER. No. It is in order to get a constant unit in the two; because a pound of meat is 80 percent water. A pound of dry corn contains about 15 percent water, something like that. If the comparison is expressed in calories, it more realistically compares the nutritional value of the grain with that of the meat.

Senator ABOUREZK. Thank you.

Dr. HANDLER. Actually, also with respect to this matter of feeding grain to animals, it should be realized that both milk and egg production are reasonably efficient—about 3.5 calories of grain into 1 calorie of product; also, there is a marked improvement in the nutritional value of the product at the same time.

The result of this remarkable growth of scientific agriculture is that North America now accounts for production of about 85 percent of all the cereals which are sold and moved in international commerce.

That amounts to about 8 percent of all the cereal grown anywhere on the planet. Roughly, if you will, 100 million tons of cereals which we and Canada send abroad in international trade out of a grand total of about 1.2 billion tons of grain which are grown all over the planet—wheat, rice, corn, millet, sorghum, and so forth.

Of that which we sell, about 60 percent goes to the rich countries. They are not in nutritional danger. They are purchasing our grain so that they may live a little bit more like the way we do rather than the way they might otherwise do. They don't have the pasturage to support enough livestock and they feed most of the grain they buy to livestock rather than eating it themselves. Hence, they buy rough grains, corn; they do not buy wheat in large quantity except for the great Soviet purchase when their own crop failed.

The other 40 percent of the grain we sell, we sell to the developing nations. They buy the wheat and most of the soybeans—some of the soybeans they eat themselves, some they feed to animals. Mostly it's eaten by themselves.

At this time, the total production of cereal grains on the face of the planet would easily suffice to feed all the people in the world—were it distributed in such a way as to make sure that everybody gets what he requires. The most important thing one can say about the nutritional circumstances of our species is that there are no hungry people on the planet who have money. That really describes the way the system works.

At the moment our attention has been called to these matters by the actuality of starvation and famine—particularly in the Indian subcontinent. It was riveted to our attention during the days of the Rome food conference when we watched that famine every evening on television. That famine continues even though I don't see it every evening on television any longer.

The young people who preceded me at the platform were obviously moved by that experience. Most of our countrymen similarly, I believe, are very disturbed by the fact of wholesale human starvation. And it moves most of us to a hope for a response in keeping with the American tradition. We have gone to the help of other peoples time and time again. I trust we will always continue to do so when we can. Unhappily, the wisdom of such acts is something we have to think through.

The question relates not to today and to those people. I don't see that our country has any choice but to try to help them to provide food, if food we have and they are hungry. The question we must consider, however, is the long-term future. And that's a much more complicated question.

Eighteen months ago, the situation of which we are so keenly aware today, was much the same. In point of fact, the food failure in 1972—crop failure around the world—was worse than it is in 1974. But there still were reserves upon which we could draw. We came through that very bad food year of 1972. Then we recognized, for the first time since World War II, how precarious is the world food situation.

In 1972, considering these facts, I would surely have said that: As the major world food producer, we have a moral burden upon us to assist those in need, since we have the means; and, the rich countries

must certainly combine to underwrite a huge program of technical assistance to the poor countries.

Several events which have occurred in the time since conspire to force what I think is a required and more thoughtful consideration of the totalities of these problems.

For my part, the critical event was probably the impact of that now famous photograph of the Earth as seen from the Moon. I had known all the while, as had most of us, that the Earth is finite. We knew its dimensions. But the reality of its limitations came home, it seemed to me, by being able to see it as a globe from the Moon. Because, once and for all, one then appreciated that our civilization has rested upon the ability to exploit those situations in which the Earth's crust offers a rich supply of some desirable mineral—and that such opportunities are limited and being rapidly depleted.

The second event that forced such attention was the Yom Kippur war, the accompanying oil embargo, and the price rise which followed. Again, I had known full well that the oil supply would run out one day, but nothing drove that fact home quite the way the oil embargo and the price rise have done since.

In turn, those events have been followed by yet a subsequent phenomenon. Namely, the colossal outflow of capital from the oil-consuming nations to a group of nations which, until just before then, had been considered poor developing nations. That outflow of capital from the industrialized world dramatically changed the capability of those nations to respond to the perceived needs of the poor developing nations.

The third relevant fact is our own failing economy, and our own need to pay for oil imports. The principal means we have to acquire foreign exchange with which to pay for oil imports, while we import, is the sale of agricultural products.

Last year we sold \$21.3 billion of food at inflated prices. The sale of wheat, corn, and soybeans each exceeded in dollar value the sales of our most important products of high technology, such as computers and jet aircraft.

Finally, another reason one has to rethink all of this is what I can only call the ongoing disintegration of the community of man. The symbolism I see before me is that of UNICEF. But the U.N., and UNESCO, shining symbols of the 1950's, are crumbling while we watch. The action taken by this Congress in withholding funds from UNESCO is one more step in that disintegration of the community of man. In this regard, I do not mean to criticize the Congress, Mr. Chairman. Rather, do I deplore the same events that led the Congress to that action. The fact remains that it is one more step in what I can only call the disintegration of this world community of man. It changes the nature of the future and it portends new and dangerous alignments among the nations.

As I now see the world, the presently rich nations are destined to be heavy importers from various of the presently developing nations. We will be buying oil from OPEC; phosphate from Morocco and Tunisia; bauxite from Jamaica; copper from Peru, Chile, Zambia, and Zaire—at least we will go on doing so until we learn to take that copper from the manganese off our shores. We will be buying tin from Bolivia and, perhaps, uranium in some part from Central Africa.

That situation can usefully be summarized somewhat as follows: There are about 450 million people in 20 developing nations who stand to benefit by this new relationship to the developed world. As long as that situation holds, and as long as the world agriculture functions as a world market economy, one can assume that the people of those countries will surely be fed.

About 900 million to 1 billion people live in essentially self-sufficient but low-income countries, such as China. They, too, seem, at least for the moment, not to have serious concerns with respect to world food supplies.

Another 100 million people live in countries which cannot feed themselves, but are integrated into the world economy by their own industry. I have in mind South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, and Hong Kong, which, like Japan, have to buy a large fraction of their food but are enabled to pay for it by their industrial exports.

But that leaves somewhat more than 1 billion people who live in 40 desperately poor countries without resources, with no chance of paying either from their industry or from sale of natural resources for what they must import. That group includes the Indian subcontinent, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, and perhaps Egypt and the Sahel zone of Africa. The prospects of those billion people are bleak unless there be intervention from the outside.

Like our own internal cycle of poverty, it cannot readily be broken by those inside it. It can only be broken from without. The people of those countries will not be able to pay for food when they have crop failures, as is the case this year. Their agriculture is relatively primitive; they lack fertilizer and energy. Meanwhile their populations are growing at about 2.6 percent per year; that is, they will be 2 billion people at the end of this century.

There can be no chance that our Nation can long feed that population as it continues to grow. Were the current growth rate to continue, when my grandchildren are as old as I now am, there would be as many people in the Indian subcontinent as there are on the planet today. American agricultural production cannot conceivably keep pace with that process. Even if it could, that would require a huge increase in energy usage, possible only if we markedly increase our oil imports—rather than decrease them as we hope to do. Since that huge population cannot hope to pay for food imports on such a scale, the American taxpayer would have to foot the bill.

Hence, that prediction of population growth is flawed. But that becomes an insupportable scenario in any case because it would only hasten the day when world petroleum supplies will be totally depleted. It can only come true if there is food to feed those people. But there will not be that much food and there will not be that many people in those nations. If the birth rate does not come down sharply, the death rate will rise. It has already risen in 12 countries and I have been told that it is beginning to rise in 8 others. That process has unpredictable consequences for the world political stability.

World food production will surely increase; in the United States we can increase our cereal and soybean output as much as 50 percent by 1985. There still is some potentially useful agricultural land that can yet be opened in those 40 poor countries, but there is very little of it.

There is room for a huge increase, however, in agricultural productivity in those countries. That is their hope. For the next few decades, the planet can surely yield enough food for mankind, worldwide, if we can but learn to distribute it. It is the longer term future that looks different.

At current rates, in 35 years, world population will have doubled and still be growing. It will surely head on to tripling.

But the fossil fuel supply will have declined. It just won't be there. Energy costs will necessarily be markedly increased, thereby directly and indirectly increasing the cost of food. As I said, modern agriculture is the transmutation of sunlight by fuel, aided by the back and brain of man.

When there is a shortage of petroleum and natural gas, there will be a shortage of fertilizer. We need it, not just in the energy sense. Chemically, natural gas and petroleum cracking fractions are what we use as the reducing agent to make nitrogen fertilizer out of the atmosphere. When they are gone, we will learn to use coal for this process as Germany did during World War I, but costs will rise sharply—and so will the cost of food.

But that is not all. If the cooling of the Northern Hemisphere continues, as it has been doing for the last three decades—that is not a prediction, but it could well happen—then the growing season will shorten and altered rainfall patterns could limit food production across the midlatitudes. Signs of such changes are already apparent. They are apparent in the Soviet Union, in the Manitoba wheat fields, in England where the growing season is reduced by 2 weeks from 1950.

It is not at all certain that that is a real long-term trend; but it is hard to be sanguine and pretend that it definitely isn't.

Agriculture is dependent on water. Most of the readily available sources of irrigation water have already been diverted to that purpose. From here on out, obtaining more will require immense engineering feats at immense costs. Therefore, the additional food to be so produced will be that much more expensive, and that much more difficult to deliver to those who have no money.

This bleak picture must necessarily constrain our own national policies. For the moment, today, we must be generous. We can produce a great deal of food in excess of our requirements. We can make a fraction of it available, below free market prices, to relieve acute famine where there is acute famine—provided we also oversee its delivery and see to it that those for whom it is intended really get it. Unhappily, that has not been true of much of food relief in the past.

But that is a temporary policy, appropriate to that moment in time when we have just recognized the nature of the world's problems. If nothing else were to happen, and all other events were to take their course, it will probably prove to be counterproductive. It would, then, feed people today, only to breed so that there will be more starving people tomorrow, if that is all that is done. And if that is all this Nation intends, if we and the rest of the world do not intend more, then I have a hard time believing that it is truly the course of wisdom—because that is visiting onto our children's children the sins of today.

Either the United States plus the other advanced nations plus the nouveau riche OPEC nations will agree to a really substantial program of intervention—including a food bank, capital assistance, technical assistance, education, and the necessary research and development—while at the same time the developing nations make a firm commitment to population control at home, or it would be best to keep our hands off. If such a program is not implemented within a few years, those who declined to undertake it will be doomed to watch on their television sets a continuing display of that same horror to which we have recently been exposed. What is required is the most vigorous possible program to maximize the possibility that the overpopulated, poor, hungry nations can feed themselves—indeed accumulate their own food reserves during good years—as well as so develop economically and socially as to bring down their population growth rates so as to achieve population equilibrium by means other than rising death rates.

Unfortunately, full awareness of the rapidly deteriorating world food/population situation comes at the very time that the sharp rise in the world price of petroleum is wrenching the economies of the industrialized world. It may be unrealistic to imagine that a full scale program to assist the “fourth world” can find support under these circumstances, although the plans of the World Bank, as I understand them, promise a reasonable start. As the OPEC nations continue to amass foreign exchange, they may, in time, be willing to consider underwriting such a program, an action to be commended but fraught with political considerations.

Malthus really was correct, in principle, but he didn't anticipate scientific agriculture with its increased yields on constant acreage. The remarkable success of scientific agriculture is due very largely to the enlightened policy of the Government of the United States over almost a century. We allowed that effort to become a bit sleepy during the decades when we thought our problem was food surpluses. The problem was how to contain them and keep people happy on the farm; but now the agricultural research establishment has again come alive. As a result, we should be able to buy somewhat more time in the fight against population growth.

In that regard, Mr. Chairman, I am very happy to be able to report that President Ford has directed a letter to the National Academy of Sciences, dated December 3, which I would like to read for the record.

“I am writing to enlist the aid of the National Academy of Sciences in a major effort to lessen the grim prospect that future generations of peoples around the world will be confronted with chronic shortages of food and with the debilitating effects of malnutrition.

“In the face of this prospect, the United States and other scientifically and technologically advanced countries have a special responsibility to turn their research capabilities toward improving the capabilities of all countries to increase their production of food and to combat malnutrition and its effects. To accomplish this, we will need to set priorities, determine the resources needed, and establish specific programs.

“Given the long interest of the National Academy of Sciences in the food supply problem and its unique role in our scientific and technical community, I am requesting that, in cooperation with the Department

of Agriculture and other governmental agencies, you make an assessment of this problem and develop specific recommendations on how our research and development capabilities can best be applied to meeting this major challenge."

Signed, "Gerald R. Ford."

That is the letter to which Secretary Kissinger made reference in his speech before the Rome food conference. We are delighted to have it and we will do our best to respond fully.

If such an enterprise is successful, once again we can buy some more time, in addition to that which the Green Revolution has already bought for us, while we attempt to stabilize the world population. But if we fail and this does not succeed, then the recipe provided by Tertullian in the third century will take over. He said that, "From time to time, it is necessary that plague, famine, war, and earthquake prune the luxuriant growth of the human race."

Either we manage it on our own, or Tertullian will be right again. The highly political choices that our Nation will make in these matters in the next few years will be among the most difficult and significant in our two centuries of existence. How they turn out will surely determine whether mankind has any chance whatever to achieve a true peace. Certainly they will determine whether democracy can survive. In the doing, Mr. Chairman, I think it would be well if we were guided by a statement which was made by Wellington and Winters in a book on "Structuring Collective Bargaining in Collective Employment." May I quote it?

It says: "To look for solutions to these difficult social questions is profoundly to misunderstand their nature. The quest is not to solve, but to diminish; not to cure, but to manage; and it is this hard truth that makes so many frustrated, for it takes great courage to surrender a belief in the existence of total solutions without also surrendering the ability to care."

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. [Applause.]

Senator McGOVERN. Thank you very much for your testimony, Dr. Handler, and particularly the points you make with reference to the population problem. Am I right in my understanding that the dramatic increase in the population curve that you trace, beginning with the 17th century and coming on down through the present day, is not explained so much by an increasing birth rate as it is by a declining death rate?

Dr. HANDLER. Yes, sir.

Senator McGOVERN. As a result of medical improvements that prolong life?

Dr. HANDLER. Just a modicum of sanitation was all that it required.

Senator McGOVERN. So that the problem, in terms of the number of people that we have now, is one of trying to offset the increased longevity by a reduced birth rate? Is that correct?

Dr. HANDLER. It really isn't increased longevity so much as it is children surviving. The major change was that child deaths have been sharply reduced. To be sure, the lifespan of individuals who do survive has gone up, but not all that much. Even in our own country, one child in six failed to survive as recently as 1910. The average human female, world over, at the present time has 4.7 births in her lifespan. If they were all to survive, the consequences are obvious.

Senator McGOVERN. Well, that being the case, the argument that you make of simply making more food available is not going to resolve the problem. The same argument could be made against medical care or sanitation advances or anything that results in this increase in population.

Dr. HANDLER. One doesn't make an argument against providing food or medicine, sir. One argues in favor of also taking all those other measures which, collectively, will bring down the rate of population growth and bring us to population equilibrium.

My point is that, if those measures fail—which means we fail—then it is very difficult to understand the humanity of feeding people so that they may live like animals and die relatively young, but after breeding. Because very shortly it can't be done.

At the current rate, for example, the food deficit on the Indian subcontinent can be met with a fairly small fraction of the food we now make available for an international trade. By the year 2000 or so, that food deficit at current rates could demand all of the food that we now make available in international trade. By the year 2025, it might require all of the food grown in North America; and that is preposterous. A successful approach, therefore, must combine emergency food relief with the entire complex of measures required to brake population growth.

Senator McGOVERN. So the thrust of your argument is that we ought to do what we can, within the limit of our resources, to assist in the problems of feeding the hungry; but that should be accompanied with a much more vigorous effort on the part of ourselves, the developing countries, and the world community to bring down the population rate?

Dr. HANDLER. Yes; but on a scale we have never attempted. It is not fair to say we have tried this and it didn't work. We have never tried anything like this. It is a vast effort which is required.

Senator McGOVERN. I am wondering if, in your own studies, you ever tried to put a cost figure on this?

Dr. HANDLER. No, sir, I am really a biochemist who spent his professional life inquiring about how enzymes work. But our academy could certainly undertake such a task.

Senator McGOVERN. It does involve a much larger outlay than anything we have talked about?

Dr. HANDLER. Perhaps, by an order of magnitude, yes, sir. It is just something quite apart from the foreign aid bill that has just gone through.

The United States cannot do it alone. We must not do it alone, in fact. To do it unilaterally would be tragic.

Senator McGOVERN. There are a number of other questions we would like to ask; but we have so many witnesses here that need to be heard, I am afraid we have to defer any questions. I would like to thank you for what I regard as a very compelling statement today. We are very fortunate to have it as a part of the hearing record.

Our next witnesses will be called up as a group. Bishop James Armstrong, president, Board of Church and Society; Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum, American Jewish Committee; Father J. Bryan Hehir, National Conference of Catholic Bishops; and, Reverend Louie Evans, pastor, National Presbyterian Church. If you will please take your places.

Bishop Armstrong, I am especially happy to welcome you to this committee hearing. You serve as a bishop for the Dakotas area, both North and South Dakota, which includes my State. He is an old friend, and a man who has been very much concerned about this and other public questions. I am glad to welcome you to the committee, Bishop Armstrong.

STATEMENT OF BISHOP JAMES ARMSTRONG, PRESIDENT, BOARD OF CHURCH AND SOCIETY, UNITED METHODIST CHURCH.

Bishop ARMSTRONG. Thank you, Senator. It is a privilege to be here. I am, as you have suggested, James Armstrong, United Methodist Bishop, chairman of the Call for Peace and Self-development of the People of the United Methodist Church.

The starvation of human beings cannot be viewed in isolation. It results from a network of causes. Climate and geography are involved. Land usage, food production and distribution techniques, transportation and communication systems, and the organization of particular societies are involved. Patterns of consumption are involved. And as we discovered yesterday at the United Nations, geopolitics are involved.

Since starvation does not occur in a vacuum, the continuing needs of the hungry cannot be met by emergency relief programs and those alone. We can empty our storage bins this year; and next year, given a particular set of conditions, drought and famine can recur.

Nor can one nation, even the most-favored-nation on the face of the Earth, can provide *all* of the food required by a planet fast becoming overcrowded.

In a disconsolate farewell to his White House staff, former President Nixon said, "Without our leadership the world will know nothing but war, possible starvation and worse in the years ahead. With our leadership it will know peace and plenty."

Granted, with our enormous productive capacities we have responsibilities second to none. But we can't do it alone. Richard Nixon and certain proponents of the "triage" theory notwithstanding, others must share the burden of feeding the hungry. We cannot do it alone. Nor, in the light of current developments, are others asking us to do so.

The United Nations resolution calling for a new international economic order would require a radical reappraisal of certain national attitudes and policies concerning natural resources, development and underdevelopment, and the interdependence of all people. It calls for long range, systematic adjustments that are directly related to the crises of poverty and hunger.

The World Food Conference in Rome, calling for the creation of an intergovernmental World Food Council, helped define the breadth of the base of global responsibility; and the role of the oil-producing states in creating an International Fund for Agricultural Development highlighted their growing awareness of responsibilities that come with their new wealth. Yesterday the United States announced it would boycott the emergency relief and development aid fund, thus jeopardizing a new and hopeful multinational initiative.

The United States is no longer seen as the sole donor country, nor can it be. Yet, the United States of America as the world's wealthiest

nation, with the largest gross national product, the highest standard of living and the greatest food production capacity occupies a special if not a unique role in the present crisis.

We must be willing to analyze and call into question present national priorities, patterns of consumption and irresponsible waste. While countless multitudes die from diseases related to malnutrition our military budget continues its mad upward spiral; and the same charge must be leveled against military spending in other nations, rich and poor, as arms races continue. Our value system still seems rooted in technological growth, industrial expansion, the production of consumer goods and the provision of an ever-widening variety of creature-comforts—while half the world goes hungry. A recent writer has drawn the contrast sharply: "An affluent global minority is overfed and overweight, but more than half of mankind is underfed and underweight; some can afford heart transplants, but half of mankind receives no health care at all; a handful of Americans have journeyed to the moon, but much of mankind cannot afford to visit the nearest city; several thousand dollars are spent on a college education for millions of young Americans, while much of mankind lacks the limited resources to become literate."

While grateful for the bounty that is ours we must come to see that our value systems and life styles have contributed to the ever-widening gap between the haves and the have-nots of the world. Not only is a new level of international cooperation—as evidenced in Rome—called for, but a new quality of American frugality and sacrifice is called for as well. The time has come for us to move from programs of charity to programs of justice.

But all of this sounds so abstract and academic. One and one-half billion people are undernourished, 450 million people are threatened with starvation, and theoreticians in discussing hunger talk about medical ethics on the battlefield, the rigid limitations of lifeboats and the irresponsible naivete of "do-gooders" who want to see the hungry fed whoever the hungry may be. The persons ignored in so much of this are the persons—the persons—involved; the hungry, suffering, starving persons.

A little more than 10 years ago I was in the Maharashtra state of India. A friend who lived and worked in India for more than 30 years took me to the village of Chandoori. It was another of those seasons of tragic drought and famine that plague southern Asia. The old village patel—the village leader—told us of the hunger of his people. They had had no food at all for 5 days. They were starving. These were not statistics in the New York Times or in the latest Lester Brown book—they were flesh and blood people. The young men were growing too weak to go into the fields and work. Young mothers were unable to breast feed their babies.

That same day, miles away, I saw carloads of grain from the United States designated by the Village Development Officer of Udgir, directed to the people of Chandoori. Emergency relief had been provided to save human life.

Again, the starvation of human beings cannot be viewed in isolation. It results from many factors. But to the person who is starving only one thing is crucial—the food, immediately available, that will make the difference between life and death.

An immediate response with food to the most desperate spots of earth, to the "crisis countries," may or may not fit into our most reasonable long-range objectives. That is beside the point.

Such a response may complicate existent trade agreements with affluent nations. That is beside the point.

It may boost grain prices, it may not. That is beside the point.

It may be politically expedient or politically risky. That is beside the point.

The point is this: People are starving to death and we have it within our power to give them life. They should be thought of, not as dehumanized accumulations of Asian and African statistics, but as persons—as we are persons.

In this country we use our religious traditions in symbolic ways on ceremonial occasions. That is not enough. If our ethical and religious ideals are a seminal part of our national experience, then they must be related to our response to human need. Two thousand years ago the Lord of the Christian faith described the last judgment scene. The nations of the earth—not private agencies or charity organizations or religious institutions, but the *nations* of the earth—were brought before their Maker and judged on the basis of their willingness to identify with the oppressed, clothe the naked, and *feed the hungry*. That is the issue immediately before us. It is an issue of humanity against inhumanity; of right or wrong.

Thank you.

Senator McGOVERN. Well, thank you very much, Bishop Armstrong, for a very moving and compelling statement.

I think before we have any questions, we will give each member of the panel a chance to make their statement.

We will call now on Rabbi Tannenbaum of the American Jewish Committee.

We welcome you, Rabbi.

STATEMENT OF RABBI MARC TANNENBAUM, DIRECTOR, AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Rabbi TANNENBAUM. Thank you, Senator McGovern.

Mr. Chairman, I serve as the National Interreligious Affairs Director of the American Jewish Committee which is a human rights and intergroup relations agency of the organized Jewish community in the United States. I very much appreciate your extending to me this invitation, together with my Catholic and Protestant associates, to present these views on the compelling problems of world hunger.

On May 18, 1974, the Board of Governors of the American Jewish Committee adopted a policy statement in which we called upon our entire membership of the Jewish community at large to take an active and vigorous part in helping to mobilize maximum American relief support to meet the needs of the millions of impoverished, hungry, and starving peoples throughout the world, including those within our own country. A copy entitled "The Poorest Among Us," is attached to my prepared statement, which I will submit for the record.¹

¹ See p. 95.

My purpose today is to elaborate on the rationale for a Jewish involvement in this urgent effort to save human lives, as well as to address some current problems.

My reason for being here, as a Jew, is grounded in the essential moral and spiritual values of Judaism; then on the traumatic lessons of Jewish history; and, finally, on my duties as being a responsible citizen in a democratic American society and in a growing interdependent world.

Nothing is more fundamental in biblical and rabbinic ethics than the moral obligation of *tzedakah*, a Hebrew term which means both charity, righteousness and to do justice. The rabbinic sages of the Talmud declared that *tzedakah* or almsgiving—aiding the poor and feeding the hungry—weighs as heavily as all the other commandments of the Torah.

The virtue of care for the poor and hungry is depicted in Jewish tradition as the salient attribute of the founding father of Judaism, the patriarch Abraham who is called the archetype of the pharisee of love.

In a commentary, the rabbis described that Abraham went out and wandered about, and when he found wayfarers he brought them to his house, and he gave wheat bread to him whose wont it was not to eat wheat bread and so with meat and wine.

Not only this, but he built large inns on the roads and put food and drink within them and all came and ate and drank and blessed God; therefore, quiet of spirit was granted to him and all that the mouth of man could ask for was found in his house.

In Jewish communities from biblical times to the present, there was much free and generous giving of alms to all who asked. There was also much systematic and careful relief to established institutions. Each Jewish community boasted of a *tamhui*—a public kitchen—from which the poor, whatever their faith, received meals daily.

There was also the *kupah*—an alms box—for the disbursement of benevolent funds on Sabbath eve to provide free meals for the Sabbath. Additional care was exercised with respect to the itinerant poor, who were provided with a loaf of bread which sufficed for two meals, and who were also entitled to the cost of lodging.

The biblical laws of charity relating to “gleaning,” the “forgotten sheave” in the “corner of the field” implied the underlying idea that national territory belongs to the public as a whole. In accordance with Jewish law, landowners used to lay open fences surrounding their fields and vineyards and during certain hours of the day, the needy were allowed to eat from the produce of the harvest. There was also a 3-year allocation of *masser ani*—the poor man’s tithe—from the threshing floor.

Thus there arose the charitable traditions and institutions of the Jewish people which have remained a religious characteristic ever since.

In addition to the impact of this long and engrained tradition of *tzedakah*—of doing justice—on the moral sensibilities of Jews, the historic experience of the Jewish people, both past and recent, have predisposed the Jewish community to a particular empathetic understanding of the plight of the starving and suffering poor. During the late 1930’s and early 1940’s, the world community—certainly leaders of major segments of the international community—had knowledge

of the fact that Hitler's Nazi Germany had embarked on a program of systematic extermination of the Jewish people through starvation, forced labor, and finally through technological efficiencies of the crematoria and gas chambers. With rare exception, leaders of governments, churches, labor unions, and universities stood by indifferently or cynically turned their backs on the genocide of 6 million Jewish men, women, and children, and millions of other human beings.

The failures of the world community to confront that evil incarnate and to seek to contain its murderous programs resulted, I believe, in a supreme and fundamental crisis of conscience which has not yet been fully comprehended.

Certainly one consequence of that indifference was that it led to a depreciation of the worth of the human personality as a creature fashioned in the image of God, and thereby added to an ecology of callousness, dehumanization, embargoism in the family of mankind.

The Jewish people were literally traumatized by that experience of abandonment by the human family. In our struggle to find some meaning out of that ultimately absurd—if not insane—chapter, the Jewish people relearned as a governing lesson of its existence the command of the Book of Leviticus as a permanent and universal claim on our conscience, "You shall not stand idly by while the blood of your brothers and sisters cry out to you from the Earth."

In the strict sense of the term, the deaths of hundreds of thousands resulting from the world famine is not genocide. But the fact that some estimated 800 million people are, at this moment, suffering from the debilitating malnutrition and starvation; that at least 10,000 people are dying each week from famine does mean in fact that there are human holocausts taking place before our very eyes. The facts of this vast human tragedy are inescapable. We see the corpses piled up in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Ethiopia, on evening television. We read about the medicines that are required in feature stories, columns in daily newspapers. Rabbis and ministers and priests preach sermons about our obligations as Christians and Jews.

The point is: No one in the human community, and certainly in the United States of America, can claim at this moment that we are not aware of the magnitude of the suffering that is taking place in the world.

For a Nation with our liberal, humanitarian ideals and for a people with our Christian and Jewish heritages to temporize in the face of the greatest challenge in the last decades of the 20th century is to risk the betrayal of everything meaningful we profess to stand for. What is at stake to the way we respond during the coming months to this unparalleled world famine is our capacity to arrest the cycle of dehumanization and callousness to suffering that is abroad in the world, ultimately affecting all peoples, and to set into motion forces of caring and compassion that are the singular qualities without which an emergent interdependent world cannot be sustained.

While I have sought to keep myself informed about the complex nature of the world famine problems that necessarily affect our responses, I hardly qualify as a technical expert. For that reason, I have relied on such research studies as those of the Overseas Development Council and have identified myself with the central features taken by my long-time friend, Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of the University of Notre Dame.

As a personal stand, I associate myself with the views expressed by Father Hesburgh in a letter to President Ford dated November 22, 1974, which I joined in signing, together with a group of other religious leaders.

The key features of that position are as follows:

I join in urging President Ford to lead the United States in initiating immediately the shipment of 2 million tons of U.S. food aid in addition to the amount now programed to alleviate present conditions of starvation. I also urge another 2 million tons of increased food supplies be planned for next spring and summer shipment—contingent on matching commitments by other donor countries. Canada and the European community have already acted. We should likewise move now.

At the same time, we should seek to persuade other industrial and OPEC countries which are literally wallowing in tens of billions of dollars to share a substantial part of their incredible new wealth to help feed the starving millions of the third world nations. Failure on the part of the Arab nations to demonstrate a significant measure of compassion for the hungry, while they continue to be recipients of hundreds of thousands of tons of food supplies through our American Food for Peace Program, cannot but lead to an erosion of will of the American census who are determined to help, but will not be taken as naive or gullible people.

We understand the President can make these shipments of 4 million tons under his existing authority without need of further action by Congress. We further understand the Senate, in Resolution 329, sponsored by a bipartisan group of 38 Senators and passed in August, has also urged that the President increase food aid this year by this amount that we are recommending.

We recognize it will not be easy to provide an additional 4 million tons of food relief which represents a doubling of the present announced level of the Food for Peace Program. But the alternative is not morally acceptable. The starvation of millions, while an even greater number are eating more than is healthy, will be worse than a moral travesty.

Moreover, the failure to muster up the political will, to prevent a massive human catastrophe will further undermine the faith of citizens everywhere and the capacity of the world to cope with the problems it now faces. Such an indication that the world's problems had become unmanageable would have dangerous psychological consequences everywhere.

The second aspect of Father Hesburgh's statement with which I would associate myself has to do with a point that he makes regarding negotiated delays in commercial export deliveries to Europe, Japan, Iran, and the Soviet Union which are another possible source of additional grain. These countries are not facing starvation; indeed, the Soviet Union bought almost 30 million tons of U.S. grain in secrecy at unreasonably low price level supported by Government subsidies, mainly to increase substantially its feeding of livestock.

Third, a major systematic national program is required to reduce food waste and reduce American consumer demands for grain. The average American consumes 1,850 pounds of grain per year, much of it in the form of meat. The average person in India consumes 400 pounds, most of it directly as grain. Our Government, and especially

our religious leadership, must help our people reduce their enormous appetite for animal products which has forced the conversion of more and more grain, soybean, and fish meal into feed for cattle, hogs, and poultry, thus decreasing the amount of food directly available for direct consumption by the poor.

It may be worthwhile to briefly recall that in ancient Palestine the staple food of the Jewish community consisted mainly of cereals, fruits, and other produce of the land. Meat was consumed solely in connection with a sacrificial obligation of every Jewish man and woman, of which the Paschal lamb was an outstanding example.

Fourth, there are numerous other suggestions which experts propose which call for serious consideration and implementation as part of a national and local strategy to cope effectively with this vast problem—including those outlined in Lester Brown's perceptive studies "In the Human Interest" dealing with food reserves, the use of land, agricultural development in developing countries, and so forth. There is an area in which I believe the religious community, in concert with other cultural forces in our society, can and must make a distinctive contribution—namely the definition and articulation of a new "Ethic of Scarcity" for the American people.

Our society has been blessed since its founding with what appears to be almost limitless natural resources and raw materials. We seem to have been living on a set of unexamined assumptions that constitute, in effect, an "ethic of abundance" which has rationalized and justified endless—almost bloated—consumption, self-indulgence, and permissive hedonism. The waste at our social functions—conferences, conventions, weddings, confirmations, bar mitzvahs, even funeral wakes—have verged on the scandalous, especially when seen against the background of the world's starving masses.

We are entering a new experience of growing scarcity of resources and energy supplies, I believe, as a permanent condition of our society. The Nation requires a definition of values and human priorities that will result in greater self-discipline, restraint, and a greater motivation to share out of a more limited supply of goods.

The American people are a generous people, and I feel confident that with vigorous governmental, religious, and other volunteer leadership they will respond as constructively and positively to this great human crisis as they have to other challenges in our national past.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. [Applause.]

Senator McGOVERN. Thank you very much, Rabbi Tannenbaum. We are grateful for your testimony, and we will see to it that the attached statement from the American Jewish Committee, the statement on the poor among us, also will be made a part of the hearing record.

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE AD HOC SENATE COMMITTEE HEARINGS
ON WORLD HUNGER

PRESENTED BY RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM,
NATIONAL INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS DIRECTOR
OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1974
U. S. SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. Chairman,

My name is Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum of New York City. I serve as National Interreligious Affairs Director of the American Jewish Committee, a major human rights and intergroup relations agency of the organized Jewish community in the United States. I appreciate your extending to me the invitation, together with my Catholic and Protestant associates, to present these views on the compelling problems of world hunger.

On May 18, 1974 the Board of Governors of the American Jewish Committee adopted a policy statement in which we called upon our entire membership and the Jewish community at large to take an active part in helping to mobilize maximum American relief support to meet the needs of the millions of impoverished, hungry, and starving peoples throughout the world, including those within our country. A copy of that statement, entitled "The Poorest Among Us," is attached to this testimony.

My purpose today is to elaborate on the rationale for a Jewish involvement in this urgent effort to save human lives, as well as to address several current problems.

As is well known, the Jewish community in the United States and throughout the world is anxiously beset, as seldom before, by massive problems of Jewish survival and security - the defense of the fundamental right of 3,000,000 of our brothers and sisters to national self-determination in their Biblical homeland, now the sovereign state of Israel; the safeguarding of the human rights of

free emigration and religious-cultural freedom of our 3,000,000 oppressed kinsmen in the Soviet Union, and the surviving pitiful remnants in Arab countries; the combatting of a renascent anti-Semitism now being systematically refuelled by demonic forces in this country and in many other parts of the world; not to speak of the vital needs of responding more adequately to the Jewish religious, educational, cultural, and family needs of our people.

In the face of these challenges and burdens, which except for the inspired support of the United States Government the Jewish community has responded to virtually alone out of its own limited resources, the American Jewish Committee and I personally have been asked with increasing frequency by members of the Jewish community, "How can you get involved in such massive problems of world hunger when our own needs are so great and pressing?"

The question is a legitimate one. The answer that I have tried to formulate in response to that question is in fact the basis of my reason for being here today. That reason is grounded in the very essence of the morality of Judaism; in the traumatic lessons of Jewish history; and in the duties of being a responsible citizen in a democratic American society and in a growing interdependent world community.

If one takes seriously the moral, spiritual, and humanitarian values of Biblical, Prophetic, and Rabbinic Judaism, the inescapable issue of conscience that must be faced is : How can anyone justify not becoming involved in trying to help save the lives of starving millions of human beings throughout the world - whose plight constitutes the most agonizing moral and humanitarian

problem in the latter half of the 20th century?

Nothing is more fundamental in Biblical and Rabbinic ethics than the moral obligation of Tzedakah, a Hebrew term which means both "charity" and "to do justice." The Rabbinic sages of the Talmud declared that "Almsgiving - i.e., aiding the poor and feeding the hungry - weighs as heavily as all the other commandments of the Torah" (Talmud Baba Batra 9a).

In proclaiming the Jubilee year, which like the Ten Commandments was ascribed to divinely-inspired legislation revealed on Mount Sinai, the Bible ordained, "And if your brother waxes poor, and his means fail with you, then you shall uphold him; as a stranger and a settler shall he live with you." (Leviticus 25:35). The Rabbis observe that the expression that "your brother may live with you" means that it is our personal and communal duty to see to it that our fellow human beings do not die of starvation. Though the person be a "stranger" or "an alien settler," he (or she) is to be included in the term "your brother" and is to be treated in a brotherly and compassionate manner.

To underscore the supreme virtue of humanitarian aid to the needy in the hierarchy of Jewish moral and spiritual values, the Rabbinic sages regarded such compassionate care of man as a Divine act:

"God says to Israel, 'My sons whenever you give sustenance to the poor, I impute it to you as though you gave sustenance to me, for it says, 'Command the children of Israel...my bread for my sacrifices...shall ye observe unto me. Does, then, God eat and

drink? No, but whenever you give food to the poor, God accounts it to you as if you gave food to Him.'" (Numbers Rabbah XXVIII;2).

The virtue of such care for the poor and hungry is depicted in Jewish tradition as the salient attribute of the "founding father" of Judaism, the Patriarch Abraham, who is called the archetype of the "Pharisee of love." In a midrashic commentary that begins with the phrases, "Let your house be open; let the poor be members of your household. Let a man's house be open to the north and to the south, and to the east and to the west," the Rabbis describe the humanitarianism of Abraham:

"He went out and wandered about, and when he found wayfarers, he brought them to his house, and he gave wheaten bread to him whose wont it was not to eat wheaten bread, and so with meat and wine. And not only this, but he built large inns on the roads, and put food and drink within them, and all came and ate and drank and blessed God. Therefore, quiet of spirit was granted to him, and all that the mouth of man can ask for was found in his house." (Abot de Rabbi Nathan, VII:17 a,b).

In Jewish communities from Biblical times through the present, there was much free and generous giving of alms to all who asked - even to deceivers! - and there was also much systematic and careful relief through established institutions. Each Jewish community boasted of a Tamhui (public kitchen) from which the poor received two meals daily. There was also the Kupah (alms box) for the disbursement of benevolent funds on Sabbath eve to provide three meals for the Sabbath. (Mishnah Peah VIII,7). Additional

care was exercised in respect of the itinerant poor, who were provided with a loaf of bread which sufficed for two meals, and who were also entitled to the cost of lodging.

The Biblical laws of charity relating to "gleaning," the "forgotten sheaf," and "the corner of the field," implied the underlying idea that national territory belongs to the public as a whole. In accordance with Jewish law, landowners used to lay open fences surrounding their fields and vineyards, and during certain hours of the day, the needy were allowed to eat from the produce of the harvest. There was also a three-yearly allocation of Maaser Ani (poor man's tithe) from the threshing floor.

Thus, there arose the charitable traditions and institutions of the Jewish people which have remained a religious-communal characteristic ever since. These customs of charity, which were foreign to the pagan frame of mind of the Greeks and Romans, also had an abiding impact on the nature of the Christian "caritas".

THE LESSONS OF JEWISH HISTORY

In addition to the impact of this long and engrained tradition of tzedakah on the moral sensibilities of Jews, the historic experience of the Jewish people, both past and recent, have predisposed the Jewish community to a particular empathetic understanding of the plight of the starving and suffering poor. During the late 1930s and early 1940s, the world community - certainly leaders of major segments of the international community - had knowledge of the fact that Hitler's Nazi Germany had embarked on a program of systematic extermination of the Jewish people through

starvation, forced labor, and finally through the efficiencies of the crematoria and gas chambers. With rare exception, leaders of governments, churches, labor unions, and universities stood by indifferently or cynically turned their backs on the genocide of six million Jewish men, women, and children and millions of other human beings.

The failures of the world community to confront that evil incarnate and to seek to contain its murderous programs resulted, I believe, in a supreme crisis of conscience which has not yet been fully comprehended. Certainly one consequence of that indifference was that it led to a depreciation of the worth of the human personality as a creature fashioned in the image of God, and thereby added to an ecology of callousness, dehumanization, and barbarism in the family of mankind. The Jewish people were literally traumatized by that experience of abandonment by the human family. In our struggle to find some meaning out of that ultimately absurd chapter, the Jewish people relearned as a governing lesson of its existence the command of the Book of Leviticus as a permanent and universal claim on our conscience, "You shall not stand idly by while the blood of your brothers and sisters cry out to you from the earth."

In the strict sense of the term, the deaths of hundreds of thousands resulting from the world famine is not genocide. But the fact that some 800 million people are at this moment suffering from debilitating malnutrition and starvation, that at least 10,000 people are dying each week from famine does mean in fact

that there are human holocausts taking place before our very eyes. The facts of this vast human tragedy are inescapable - we see the corpses piled up in India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, the Sahel, Ethiopia, on the evening television; we read in minute detail about the magnitude of food and medicines that are desperately required in feature stories, editorials, columns in daily newspapers and news-magazines; our rabbis, ministers, and priests preach sermons about our moral obligations as Christians and Jews.

For a nation with our liberal, humanitarian ideals and for a people with our unambiguous Jewish and Christian ethical heritages to temporize in the face of the greatest moral challenge in the last decades of the 20th century is to risk the betrayal of everything morally meaningful that we profess to stand for. What is at stake in the way we respond during the coming months to this unparalleled world famine is our capacity to arrest the cycle of dehumanization and callousness to suffering that is abroad in the world, ultimately affecting all peoples, and to set into motion forces of caring and compassion that are the singular qualities by which an emergent interdependent world can be sustained.

SOME PRACTICAL RESPONSES TO WORLD FAMINE

While I have sought to keep myself informed about the complex nature of the world famine problems and the political and economic issues that necessarily affect our responses, I hardly qualify as a technical expert. For that reason, I have relied on such research studies as those of the Overseas Development Council,

and have identified myself with the central features of the positions taken by my cherished, long-time friend, the Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of the University of Notre Dame, who also serves as chairman of the board of ODC.

As a personal stand, I associate myself with the views expressed by Father Hesburgh in a letter to President Ford dated November 22, 1974, which I joined in signing together with a group of other religious leaders. The key features of that position, which I reaffirm as my own at this testimony, are as follows:

- 1) I join in urging President Ford to lead the United States in initiating immediately the shipment of two million tons of U.S. food aid additional to the amount now programmed to alleviate present conditions of critical starvation. I also urge that another two million tons of increased food supplies be planned for next spring and summer shipment, contingent on matching commitments by other donor countries. Canada and the European community have already acted and we should likewise move now.

At the same time we should seek to persuade other industrial and OPEC countries which are wallowing in tens of billions of dollars to share a substantial part of their incredible wealth to help feed the starving millions in the third world nations. Failure on the part of the Arab nations to demonstrate a significant measure of compassion for the hungry, while they continue to be recipients of hundreds of thousands of tons of food supplies through our American Food for Peace program, cannot but lead to an erosion of the consensus and will of the American people who are determined to help, but who will not be taken as naive suckers.

We understand that the President can make these shipments of four million tons under his existing authority without need of further prior legislative action by Congress. We further understand that the Senate, in Resolution 329, sponsored by a bipartisan group of 38 Senators and passed in August, has also urged that the President increase food aid this year by this amount that we are recommending.

We recognize that it will not be easy to provide an additional 4 million tons of food relief in the current crop year, which represents a doubling of the present announced level of the Food for Peace Program. But the alternative is not morally acceptable. The starvation of millions, while an even greater number are eating more than is healthy, will be worse than a moral travesty; the spread of famine and misery guarantee a degree of economic and political instability potentially disastrous for all in an interdependent world.

Moreover, the failure to muster up the political will to prevent a massive human catastrophe will further undermine the faith of citizens everywhere in the capacity of the world to cope with the problems it now faces. Such an indication that the world's problems had indeed become unmanageable would have dangerous psychological consequences everywhere.

Adding \$800 million to the federal budget also will obviously be difficult at a time when large budget cuts have already been initiated. There is no escaping the question of priorities. We must ask whether the threat to human security and well-being posed by the food crisis does not outweigh some of the more traditionally

recognized security threats-- and whether a budgetary adjustment is not appropriate. Humans who die prematurely cannot be resurrected; military hardware which has been delayed in procurement can be acquired in a later year.

2) Negotiated delays in commercial export deliveries to Europe, Japan, Iran, and the U.S.S.R. are another possible source of additional grain. These countries are not facing starvation; indeed, the Soviet Union bought almost 30 million tons of United States grain, in secrecy and at an unreasonably low price level supported by unwarranted Government subsidies, mainly to increase substantially its feeding of livestock.

3) A major, systematic national program is required to reduce food waste and reduce American consumer demands for grain. The average American consumes 1,850 pounds of grain per year, much of it in the form of meat. The average person in India consumes 400 pounds, most of it directly as grain. Our government, and especially our religious leadership, must help our people to reduce their enormous appetite for animal products which has forced the conversion of more and more grain, soybean and fish meal into feed for cattle, hogs, and poultry, thus decreasing the amounts of food directly available for direct consumption by the poor.

It may be worthwhile to recall that in ancient Palestine, the staple food of the Jewish community consisted mainly of cereals, fruits, and other produce of the land. Meat was consumed solely in connection with the sacrificial obligations of every Jewish man and woman, of which the paschal lamb was an outstanding example. In more recent history, President Truman in 1947 called on Americans to

conserve 2½ million tons of grain to stave off famine in Europe during the winter of 1947. President Truman then called on Americans to take many specific actions to save food, including meatless days, saving a slice of bread a day, and closing distilleries for 60 days. Today our total food supply is far greater and Americans consume far more than they did in 1947. The emergency relief now required could be made available without an inflationary impact through far less drastic measures today, if we have the necessary national political will and government leadership.

4) There are numerous other suggestions which experts propose which call for serious consideration and implementation as part of a national and global strategy to cope effectively with this vast human problem - including those outlined in Lester Brown's perceptive studies "In the Human Interest," and "By Bread Alone." There is an area in which I believe the religious community, in concert with other cultural forces in our society, can make a distinctive contribution, namely, the definition and articulation of a new "Ethic of Scarcity" for the American people. Our society has been blessed since its founding with what appeared to be almost limitless natural resources and raw materials. We seem to have been living on a set of unexamined assumptions that constitute an "ethic of abundance" which has rationalized and justified endless consumption, self-indulgence, and permissive hedonism. The waste at our social functions - conferences, conventions, weddings, confirmations, bar mitzvahs, even funeral wakes - have verged on the scandalous, especially when seen against the background of the world's starving masses. We are

entering a new experience of growing scarcity of resources and energy supplies, and the nation requires a definition of values and human priorities that will result in greater self-discipline, restraint, and a genuine motivation to share out of a more limited supply of goods.

The American people are a generous people, and I feel confident that with vigorous governmental, religious, and other voluntary leadership they will respond as constructively and positively to this great human crisis as they have to other challenges in our past.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

STATEMENT ON THE POOREST AMONG US

The American Jewish Committee has long been concerned with the plight of 25 million poor Americans, those who subsist on incomes below federal minimum living standards. They include the 9 million people on public assistance (of whom only a small percentage are employable), the under-employed, and the fully employed who earn less than these federal standards. A majority of this group is white, but it includes a disproportionate number of Blacks and persons from other minority groups. Included also are poor Jews, particularly many elderly living on inadequate social security.

We believe that the existence of poverty in an affluent society is morally indefensible, breeds hostility and community tension, and alienates one group from another. The best bulwark against poverty, we contend, is a prosperous nation that provides work opportunity for all, and adequate financial aid to those who cannot work. Therefore, we call for a program of social insurance that will incorporate financial safeguards, health insurance for all, and a social security program that will ultimately make the existence of a public welfare system unnecessary. Until such time, the present welfare system must be revised and improved.

But our efforts to eliminate the blight of poverty and malnutrition in America must not lead us to neglect our obligations abroad. The spectre of starvation is haunting large parts of the world today. Hundreds of millions of the world's peoples are undernourished.

India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and scores of other nations in South Asia, Africa and Latin America face widespread famine. Thousands have already died in drought-ridden sub-Saharan Africa. U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim has warned that "peoples and countries could disappear from the face of the map" in West Africa if the world does not help with immediate relief and long-range efforts to make the region self-supporting.

The high cost of oil, created by the oil-producing countries, is wrecking the economies of the poorest countries. And because petroleum or natural gas is needed for fertilizer production, oil and gas shortages in poor countries are spelling starvation. It has been estimated that if just one quarter of the natural gas that is now wasted in the Persian Gulf fields was diverted into a fertilizer industry on the spot, the world's entire current demand for nitrogen fertilizer could be met.

We must also recognize that, in our finite world where resources are limited, the family of man must bring birth rates into reasonable balance with the lowered death rates that have been achieved. Many governments see the need to guide national policy toward this objective. We urge that the United States, working in consort with other governments and international organizations, give family planning at home and abroad the highest priority and adequate funding.

The American Jewish Committee is strongly committed to the search for economic and social justice everywhere. It sees the need to reduce the widening gaps between rich and poor states. This must be a concern of Jews, Christians, Moslems and Hindus; of blacks, browns and whites. As the world becomes smaller, and nations closer, we

become increasingly aware of the interdependence of one with the other. The affluent and developed nations cannot remain untouched by the poverty and famine in the less advantaged nations. This means not only immediate famine aid, but development of productive economies in the poor states. The highest degree of charity, said Maimonides, is not only to give food but also to assist a poor person to find a job or business opportunity, in short, to put him "where he can dispense with other people's aid." That must be our goal.

Therefore, we urge our own members and Americans everywhere -- in unions, business, civic and religious groups -- to contribute to the famine relief efforts of the member agencies of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service.

And, despite the unfortunate vote of the House of Representatives in January, we hope that Congress will ultimately support the Administration's recommendation for a \$1.5 billion U.S. contribution spread over four years to the International Development Association. We urge all affluent nations -- developed and developing alike -- to join in the United Nations for similar efforts to aid the poor. This is the least we can do to help meet the needs of 800 million people in the developing countries who are living on only 30 cents a day.

Adopted at the
68th Annual Meeting
May 18, 1974
74-900-50

Senator McGovern. Father Hehir.

STATEMENT OF FATHER J. BRYAN HEHIR, NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS

Father HEHIR. Thank you very much.

I am the associate secretary for international justice and peace at the U.S. Catholic Conference. Our office functions as the foreign policy section for the Catholic bishops of the United States; and I speak in the name of the U.S. Catholic Conference this afternoon. Let me first express our appreciation, Mr. Chairman, to you and to the other members of the committee for sponsoring these hearings on the problem of hunger and population and for inviting us to testify.

I wish to address briefly four points on the world food crisis:

1. The definition of the policy problem we face;
2. The distinct but complementary roles of governmental and non-governmental agencies;
3. The dimensions of a legislative agenda on food; and
4. The relationship of public policy and public opinion.

It is essential that we define properly and precisely for public discussion and policy decision the nature of the moral choice which confronts us as the world's largest food exporting nation in a world stalked by the spectre of starvation. Administration spokesmen have consistently presented the issue to the American public as one of humanitarian charity. I submit, Mr. Chairman, that the more appropriate way to conceive and discuss the issue is in terms of the demands of social justice in an increasingly interdependent world.

The difference between public understanding of the food crisis in terms of justice rather than charity is not, I submit, simply a semantic distinction. To define the personal and policy choices we face in the food crisis in terms of charity is to distort the empirical problem, to dilute the moral decision we confront, and to distract us from the key policy questions.

In the conventional understanding of the phrase, humanitarian charity refers to sharing our surplus goods with the needy. This is an inadequate assessment of the food problem because, in fact, we have passed from a situation of national surplus to one of scarcity over the past 3 years.

The actual policy choice we face in the food crisis is whether we will choose to share when the nature of our choice is between scarce food domestically and starving people internationally. In a situation of scarcity the policy issue is how to adjudicate competing claims to scarce resources; such adjudication is an issue of justice.

Posing the question in terms of charity does not make this choice clear in the public mind; moreover, the term "charity" does not make evident the nature of our moral responsibility in the face of this choice between scarce food and starving people.

Humanitarian charity depicts our moral responsibility in terms of an option or a voluntary program. To say we are called in charity to feed the hungry is to say we are being asked to be exceedingly generous. The language of charity reduces our moral responsibility to this level of going far beyond what we have an obligation to do.

To pose the food problem as an issue of justice is to sharpen the moral dilemma we face as a Nation. Charity is concerned with the needs of others and our freedom to choose to help them. Social justice is concerned with the rights of others and our responsibility to meet these rights.

The global food crisis is about the right to eat; to say others have a right to eat is to pose our problem in terms of an obligation we have rather than an option we face. If we fail in charity, the verdict is that we have not been exceedingly generous; if we fail in justice, the verdict is that we have fallen short of minimal moral duty. The language of charity is too vague to specify the real moral issue of the food crisis.

Finally, the approach to the food question in terms of charity focuses our attention on the wrong issues. Charity stresses personal motivation and voluntary programs. Social justice is concerned with the structures and systems of production, distribution and financing which determine how we allocate scarce resources and adjudicate competing claims, nationally and internationally. The social justice approach to the food question raises the issues of public policy, public priorities, and competing forms of power which set the framework of decision-making on our food policy.

Charity has a role in illuminating our obligations, but it is a subordinate role; we can worry about going beyond our obligations in charity only after we have understood the dimensions of the obligation first in terms of social justice.

The need of the moment is for a definition of the food problem which will help us assess the realities of domestic scarcity without dissolving the dimensions of our international responsibility in a starving world. An accurate definition of the problem and an adequate response to it will require the combined intellectual, political, and moral efforts of many sectors of our society.

It was precisely to stimulate such a comprehensive response to the immediate needs of the food crisis that Father Theodore Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame University, and other leaders of the religious community called upon President Ford last month to release 2 million tons of grain, before Christmas, and another 2 million tons next spring. The President's response to this request thus far has been to endorse and encourage private nongovernmental efforts, but to withhold any substantial new commitment by the U.S. Government.

Mr. Chairman, there is no question that religious communities are faced with a direct, explicit, and urgent challenge by the food crisis. I would argue that we cannot maintain our internal identity or our public credibility if we fail to face the food crisis as people of faith.

Furthermore, I think it needs to be said explicitly in this forum today that religious communities—along with other voluntary associations—are more than willing to embark upon a significant and substantial effort to mobilize our constituencies, commit our resources and coordinate our activities to respond to the needs of starving people.

But it is imperative to make clear that no amount of private or voluntary action can substitute for a certain level of governmental leadership, commitment, and action. As religious communities we

can best make a contribution to the systemic food crisis in the context of a broadly based strategy of public policy which seeks to help the Nation, as a whole, understand and meet its responsibilities in a shrinking and partially starving world

The absolute necessity for action by our Government in the form of a comprehensive and coherent food policy is based upon two factors: The scope of the food problem, and the shape of the issues it entails.

First, the dimensions of the immediate need faced by the countries directly threatened with starvation are so great, and the time frame for effective action is so short, that only governmental actions can coordinate and sustain the kind of program which will avert disaster before the next harvest.

The programs of the religious agencies are already under way, and we seek to expand them; but we are under no illusions about our ability to meet the full dimensions of the problem.

Second, apart from the scope of the problem, the fact remains that some of the types of assistance more critically needed, for example, additional foreign exchange, can only be provided by expanded governmental action. The religious community should be challenged on the food question. But the challenge should not disguise the dimensions of the problem, nor the essential need for coordinated public and private action.

As we go to our constituencies—calling for public support, personal sacrifice, and private initiatives—we need a framework of an articulated food policy which will allow us to present a case for a coherent, coordinated strategy adequate to the dimensions of the problem we face in the globe, and capable of linking personal and nongovernmental actions to broadly defined public purposes and programs. Such a food policy requires immediate action by the executive branch now, and further legislative initiatives in the next session of Congress.

Such a legislative initiative, we believe, will require at least three levels of action touching food and foreign policy, food and domestic social policy, and the role of corporate actors in the process of food production and distribution.

First, food and foreign policy: The Catholic bishops of the United States adopted a legislative policy proposal last month which includes support for an international assistance program ranging from substantially increased emergency food aid, through middle-range efforts to establish a grain reserve, to long-range measures of providing financial and technical assistance to developing nations.

With your permission, I would like to include that with my prepared statement.

Senator McGOVERN. We will see both are made a part of the record.¹

Father HEHIR. Thank you.

Since these hearings are designed in part to highlight the problem of immediate needs, let me say a word about the specifics of expanding food aid.

1. We urge a program of expanding our present assistance by not less than 4 to 5 million tons of emergency aid.

2. Recognizing that increased food aid will be channeled through the Public Law 480 program, we strongly urge that in the coming legislative session the structure of this program be revised to prevent

¹ See p. 103 et seq.

the use of food primarily as a tool of our foreign policy rather than an instrument of assistance to the most needy nations of the world.

3. Specifically, we find no justification for the patterns of food assistance in fiscal year 1974 by which South Vietnam received approximately seven times the aid given to Bangladesh, while Cambodia received about 12 times the amount allocated to the Sahelian countries.

We can build a public constituency, Mr. Chairman, to support food aid for a starving world; I do not think we can or should build a constituency for using food primarily as a political weapon.

Second, food and domestic social policy: A forthcoming international policy of food assistance will have domestic, social, and economic implications. I am arguing in this paper that domestic scarcity does not excuse us from international responsibility, but it will be necessary to face the domestic reality. Stories which several members of this committee have heard of the elderly eating dog food, of children no longer able to afford school lunches, and of a rash of petty thievery in supermarkets by people who have never stolen in their lives, presents the human face of domestic food scarcity.

We will not get public support for what must be done internationally unless we correlate an international food policy with a domestic food policy. The underlying premise of the international policy I have just sketched is that food is a unique commodity—not simply another product but a sacred resource so closely linked to the right to life for millions today that it takes more than business as usual to exercise responsible stewardship over this commodity. To argue for emergency assistance and the establishment of a grain reserve is to affirm the principle that when the normal functioning of the market system does not or cannot guarantee food for hungry people we must be willing to modify the market system to meet basic human rights and needs.

It may be necessary to do this in our domestic policy also if those least able to pay, the old, the poor, the unemployed and also the middle-class are not to bear an excessive burden of our international policy. The first principle guiding a domestic legislative program should be an equitable sharing of the international responsibility we have. Secondly, to implement this will require increasing food stamps for certain groups, expanding the School Lunch Program and meeting the needs of the unemployed. Thirdly, among those requiring specific consideration are American farmers who must be guaranteed a just and stable income for their product.

Third, corporations and food policy: A thorough legislative program should look at the role of the giant corporations in the food production and processing industry. Their role has both international and domestic implications. The fact that a handful of corporations have control of most of the world's food supply and because of their private status are not obliged to provide any public accounting of their activities for such a vital resource poses a serious question of public policy.

With your permission, I would like to submit a statement from Reverend John J. McRaith, executive director of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference.

Senator McGOVERN. That will be made a part of the record.¹

¹ See p. 119.

Father HEHIR. It is evident that a broadly conceived and adequate response to the food crisis in the form of public policy will require wide public support in a time of economic recession. While the choices between domestic and international needs—the choice between scarce food and starving people—is both complex and conflicted, I believe public support exists for a program which is both just and generous. I submit, Mr. Chairman, that since the Rome conference the administration's policy has lagged behind the trend of public opinion, not led the way for it.

Again and again in the food conference and in the last month the response of the administration seems to be that the domestic constituency will not support an expanded program of food aid. Yet the public response to the small-scale programs of religious bodies and private groups indicates a much broader base of support and a more generous vision than the American people are being credited with by their Government. Specifically, I would make two points about the experience and role of the Catholic community in this problem:

1. Our experience, including special collections, conferences and community action, indicates that even in the face of scarce food domestically the majority of Americans are not willing to accept starvation for millions abroad as a tragic but inevitable fact; there is support in the public for an aggressive program to meet the savage specter of starvation; that support can be crystallized by a coherent, intelligible food policy.

2. As a church we pledge continuing efforts to solidify and expand the base of support for a just and generous food policy; we will take the question to our community with the passion and power which the issue deserves.

The effort for us and for the Government will be arduous, complex, and long term, but the alternative is unacceptable. The human significance of the food crisis is illuminated by a quote from Dostoievski: A century ago, he said the death of one innocent child was enough to destroy belief in God. In the face of the food crisis, we know about how many innocent children may die and we even know why they die. To know that possibility and not to oppose it with all the intellectual, moral, political, and economic power we can muster is enough to destroy belief in ourselves as a humane, compassionate people and nation. Nothing short of our best effort should be used to avert that personal and political trauma.

AD HOC SENATE COMMITTEE:

"REPORT ON ROME--THE CHALLENGE OF FOOD AND POPULATION"

UNITED STATES SENATE

Statement of:

United States Catholic Conference

on

The Global Food Crisis

December 18, 1974

Rev. J. Bryan Hehir
Associate Secretary
International Justice and Peace
United States Catholic Conference

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

My name is J. Bryan Hehir; I am the Associate Secretary for International Justice and Peace at the United States Catholic Conference. Our office functions as the foreign policy section for the Catholic bishops of the United States and I speak in the name of the U.S. Catholic Conference this afternoon. Let me first express our appreciation, Mr. Chairman, to you and to the other members of the committee for sponsoring these hearings on the problem of hunger and population and for inviting us to testify.

I wish to address briefly four points on the world food crisis:

- (1) the definition of the policy problem we face
- (2) the distinct but complementary roles of governmental and non-governmental agencies
- (3) the dimensions of a legislative agenda on food
- (4) the relationship of public policy and public opinion.

I. DEFINING THE POLICY PROBLEM: JUSTICE OR CHARITY

It is essential that we define properly and precisely for public discussion and policy decision the nature of the moral choice which confronts us as the world's largest food exporting nation in a world stalked by the spectre of starvation. Administration spokesmen have consistently presented the issue to the American public as one of humanitarian charity. I submit, Mr. Chairman, that the more appropriate way to conceive and discuss the issue is in terms of the demands of social justice in an increasingly interdependent world.

The difference between public understanding of the food crisis in terms of justice rather than charity is not, I submit, simply a semantic distinction. To define the personal and policy choices we face in the food crisis in terms of charity is to distort the empirical problem, to dilute the moral decision we confront and to distract us from the key policy questions. In the conventional understanding of the phrase, humanitarian charity refers to sharing our surplus goods with the needy. This is an inadequate assessment of the food problem because in fact we have passed from a situation of national surplus to one of scarcity over the past three years. The actual policy choice we face in the food crisis is whether we will choose to share when the nature of our choice is between scarce food domestically and starving people internationally. In a situation of scarcity the policy issue is how to adjudicate competing claims to scarce resources; such adjudication is an issue of justice. Posing the question in terms of charity does not make this choice clear in the public mind; moreover, the term charity does not make evident the nature of our moral responsibility in the face of this choice between scarce food and starving people.

Humanitarian charity depicts our moral responsibility in terms of an option or a voluntary program. To say we are called in charity to feed the hungry is to say we are being asked to be exceedingly generous. The language of charity reduces our moral responsibility to this level of going far beyond what we have an obligation to do. To pose the food

problem as an issue of justice is to sharpen the moral dilemma we face as a nation. Charity is concerned with the needs of others and our freedom to choose to help them. Social justice is concerned with the rights of others and our responsibility to meet these rights. The global food crisis is about the right to eat; to say others have a right to eat is to pose our problem in terms of an obligation we have rather than an option we face. If we fail in charity, the verdict is that we have not been exceedingly generous; if we fail in justice, the verdict is that we have fallen short of minimal moral duty. The language of charity is too vague to specify the real moral issue of the food crisis.

Finally, the approach to the food question in terms of charity focuses our attention on the wrong issues. Charity stresses personal motivation and voluntary programs. Social justice is concerned with the structures and systems of production, distribution and financing which determine how we allocate scarce resources and adjudicate competing claims, nationally and internationally. The social justice approach to the food question raises the issues of public policy, public priorities and competing forms of power which set the framework of decision-making on our food policy. Charity has a role in illuminating our obligations, but it is a subordinate role; we can worry about going beyond our obligations in charity only after we have understood the dimensions of the obligation first in terms of social justice.

The need of the moment is for a definition of the food

problem which will help us assess the realities of domestic scarcity without dissolving the dimensions of our international responsibility in a starving world. An accurate definition of the problem and an adequate response to it will require the combined intellectual, political and moral efforts of many sectors of our society.

II. DETERMINING THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENTAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ACTORS

It was precisely to stimulate such a comprehensive response to the immediate needs of the food crisis that Father Theodore Hesburgh, President of Notre Dame University, and other leaders of the religious community called upon President Ford last month to release two million tons of grain before Christmas and another two million tons next Spring. The President's response to this request thus far has been to endorse and encourage private non-governmental efforts, but to withhold any substantial new commitment by the United States government.

Mr. Chairman, there is no question that religious communities are faced with a direct, explicit and urgent challenge by the food crisis. I would argue that we cannot maintain our internal identity or our public credibility if we fail to face the food crisis as people of faith. Furthermore, I think it needs to be said explicitly in this forum today that religious communities, along with other voluntary associations are more than willing to embark upon a significant and substantial effort to mobilize our constituencies, commit our resources and coordinate our activities to respond to the needs of starving

people. But it is imperative to make clear that no amount of private or voluntary action can substitute for a certain level of governmental leadership, commitment and action. As religious communities we can best make a contribution to the systemic food crisis in the context of a broadly based strategy of public policy which seeks to help the nation as a whole understand and meet its responsibilities in a shrinking and partially starving world.

The absolute necessity for action by our government in the form of a comprehensive and coherent food policy is based upon two factors: the scope of the food problem and the shape of the issues it entails. First, the dimensions of the immediate need faced by the countries directly threatened with starvation are so great and the time frame for effective action is so short that only governmental actors can coordinate and sustain the kind of program which will avert disaster before the next harvest. The programs of the religious agencies are already underway and we seek to expand them, but we are under no illusions about our ability to meet the full dimensions of the problem. Secondly, apart from the scope of the problem, the fact remains that some of the types of assistance most critically needed, e.g., additional foreign exchange, can only be provided by expanded governmental action. The religious community should be challenged on the food question, but the challenge should not disguise the dimensions of the problem and the essential need for coordinated public and private action.

As we go to our constituencies calling for public support,

personal sacrifice and private initiatives, we need a framework of an articulated food policy which will allow us to present a case for a coherent, coordinated strategy adequate to the dimensions of the problem we face in the globe and capable of linking personal and non-governmental actions to broadly defined public purposes and programs. Such a food policy requires immediate action by the executive branch now and further legislative initiatives in the next session of Congress.

III. DIMENSIONS OF A LEGISLATIVE AGENDA

Such a legislative initiative, we believe, will require at least three levels of action touching food and foreign policy, food and domestic social policy and the role of corporate actors in the process of food production and distribution.

First, food and foreign policy: the Catholic bishops of the United States adopted a legislative policy proposal last month which includes support for an international assistance program ranging from substantially increased emergency food aid, through middle range efforts to establish a grain reserve, to long range measures of providing financial and technical assistance to developing nations. Since these hearings are designed in part to highlight the problem of immediate needs, let me say a word about the specifics of expanding food aid:

- (1) we urge a program of expanding our present assistance by not less than four to five million tons of emergency aid;
- (2) recognizing that increased food aid will be channeled through the PL 480 program, we strongly urge that in the coming legislative session the structure of

this program be revised to prevent the use of food primarily as a tool of our foreign policy rather than an instrument of assistance to the most needy nations of the world;

- (3) specifically, we find no justification for the patterns of food assistance in FY 1974 by which South Vietnam received approximately seven times the aid given to Bangladesh, while Cambodia received about twelve times the amount allocated to the Sahelian countries.

We can build a public constituency, Mr. Chairman, to support food aid for a starving world; I do not think we can or should build a constituency for using food primarily as a political weapon.

Second, food and domestic social policy: a forthcoming international policy of food assistance will have domestic, social and economic implications. I am arguing in this paper that domestic scarcity does not excuse us from international responsibility, but it will be necessary to face the domestic reality. Stories which several members of this committee have heard of the elderly eating dog food, of children no longer able to afford school lunches and of a rash of petty thievery in supermarkets by people who have never stolen in their lives presents the human face of domestic food scarcity.

We will not get public support for what must be done internationally unless we correlate an international food policy with a domestic food policy. The underlying premise of the international policy I have just sketched is that food is a unique commodity--not simply another product but a sacred resource so closely linked to the right to life for millions today

that it takes more than business as usual to exercise responsible stewardship over this commodity. To argue for emergency assistance and the establishment of a grain reserve is to affirm the principle that when the normal functioning of the market system does not or cannot guarantee food for hungry people, we must be willing to modify the market system to meet basic human rights and needs.

It may be necessary to do this in our domestic policy also if those least able to pay, the old, the poor, the unemployed and also the middle class are not to bear an excessive burden of our international policy. The first principle guiding a domestic legislative program should be an equitable sharing of the international responsibility we have. Secondly, to implement this will require increasing food stamps for certain groups, expanding the school lunch program and meeting the needs of the unemployed. Thirdly, among those requiring specific consideration are American farmers who must be guaranteed a just and stable income for their product.

Third, corporations and food policy: a thorough legislative program should look at the role of the giant corporations in the food production and processing industry. Their role has both international and domestic implications. The fact that a handful of corporations have control of most of the world's food supply and because of their private status are not obliged to provide any public accounting of their activities for such a vital resource poses a serious question of public policy.

IV. PUBLIC POLICY AND PUBLIC OPINION

It is evident that a broadly conceived and adequate response to the food crisis in the form of public policy will require wide public support in a time of economic recession. While the choices between domestic and international needs--the choice between scarce food and starving people--is both complex and conflicted, I believe public support exists for a program which is both just and generous. I submit, Mr. Chairman, that since the Rome Conference the Administration's policy has lagged behind the trend of public opinion, not led the way for it.

Again and again in the food conference and in the last month the response of the Administration seems to be that the domestic constituency will not support an expanded program of food aid. Yet the public response to the small scale programs of religious bodies and private groups indicates a much broader base of support and a more generous vision than the American people are being credited with by their government. Specifically, I would make two points about the experience and role of the Catholic community in this problem:

- (1) our experience, including special collections, conferences and community action, indicates that even in the face of scarce food domestically the majority of Americans are not willing to accept starvation for millions abroad as a tragic but inevitable fact; there is support in the public for an aggressive program to meet the savage spectre of starvation; that support can be crystallized by a coherent, intelligible food policy;
- (2) as a Church we pledge continuing efforts to solidify and expand the base of support for a just and generous food policy; we will take the question to our community with the passion and power which the issue deserves.

The effort for us and for the government will be arduous, complex and long-term, but the alternative is unacceptable. The human significance of the food crisis is illuminated by a quote from Dostoiévski: a century ago he said the death of one innocent child was enough to destroy belief in God. In the face of the food crisis, we know about how many innocent children may die and we even know why they die. To know that possibility and not to oppose it with all the intellectual, moral, political and economic power we can muster is enough to destroy belief in ourselves as a humane, compassionate people and nation. Nothing short of our best effort should be used to avert that personal and political trauma.

OFFICE OF GOVERNMENT LIAISON

1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W. • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005 • 202/659-6606

**UNITED STATES
CATHOLIC CONFERENCE**

December 11, 1974

Dear Senator:

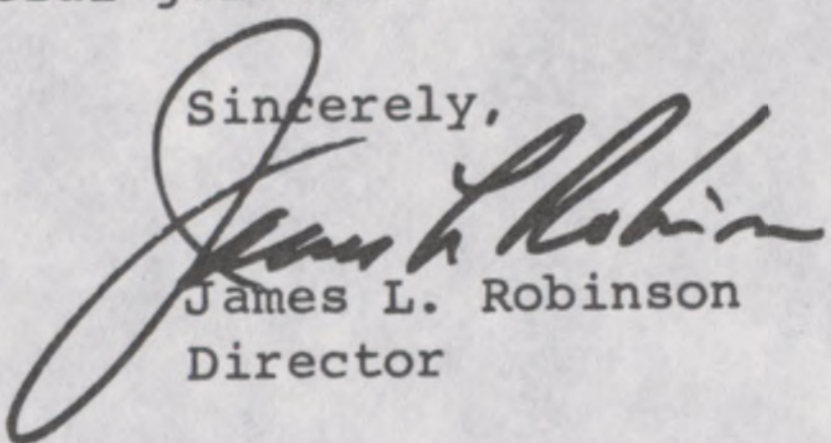
In view of the urgency and seriousness of the world food crisis, the U.S. Catholic bishops approved at their meeting this past November, a pastoral plan of action.

Although the plan received wide press coverage, I am taking this occasion to send you a copy of the full text.

It is the intention of the bishops to support legislative initiatives enumerated in the seven points detailed on pages two and three of the enclosure. They further intend, as noted in the plan, to assist American Catholics to be more informed about the food crisis, to encourage them to be more just, and to urge them to follow more appropriate patterns of consumption, and in all ways to be more responsible with the abundance God has provided.

In your consideration of legislation dealing with domestic or international policy concerning the food crisis we hope that the principles enunciated in this statement will provide you with useful guidance.

Sincerely,


James L. Robinson
Director

Enclosure

JLR/jbc

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS

1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005THE WORLD FOOD CRISIS -- A PASTORAL PLAN OF ACTION*(Approved by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops,
November 21, 1974)*

The world food crisis is part of the larger pattern of global interdependence. The crisis is linked directly and systemically with questions of environment, population, economic relationships, political and military power.

World hunger and malnutrition are part of this complex pattern. They must be attacked on two levels: immediate assistance programs to prevent starvation in many regions in the world; and a long range program to increase food production, especially in the less industrialized nations.

The long range program must strike at the root problem of underdevelopment which plagues the people of many nations. Plans for agricultural development require the cooperation by the U.S. government, the poorer nations, the FAO, and voluntary agencies including religious organizations such as our own Catholic Relief Services.

It is not enough, however, that such development merely foster economic growth. Development must significantly reach the "little farmer" and so-called marginal people, and reduce the gap between the wealthy and the poor. Christian missionaries have effective contacts with the poor sectors of these societies and have demonstrated the capacity to assist materially in their agricultural development. Efforts by these missionaries merit increased support by the American religious community.

Moreover, the food crisis poses for the United States both domestic and international implications. An appropriate pastoral response for the Church must include a series of interrelated activities at the level of public policy/legislative program, community information and education, and pastoral practice.

A. PUBLIC POLICY/LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

The bishops, acting through the United States Catholic Conference and its General Secretary, propose a program of public discussion directed toward influencing appropriate executive and legislative action which, in a systematic and organized way, will seek to achieve national policies effectively dealing with the food issue, internationally and domestically.

The fundamental premise of the program is that food is a unique commodity and a sacred resource. The guidelines for legislative initiatives meriting USCC support are the following:

First, increase genuine agricultural development overseas; technical assistance and development programs must be expanded to promote greater food production in the less industrialized nations;

Second, increase funding for Food for Peace (PL 480); as an immediate step increase substantially food allocations through Title II of Food for Peace (humanitarian aid), and resist efforts to use food as a political and strategic weapon;

Third, modify U.S. trade policies to lower trade barriers and to provide just prices for imports from poor countries. Special trade preferences for these nations' exports and substantially increased adjustment assistance for adversely affected U.S. workers and industries must be part of this revised trade policy;

Fourth, assure American farmers of a fair return for their capital and labor. The productivity and viability of American agriculture must be maintained. Serious disruption of this sector of the economy could adversely affect the world food crisis;

Fifth, promote more equitable distribution of resources in the United States. Areas of legislation in this regard are the following: expanding programs of food stamps and school lunches, providing special assistance to the elderly, the unemployed and the poor, revising income tax burdens, and restructuring land use policies;

Sixth, protect both family farmers who are often subject to severe economic pressures in the agricultural chain of food production, processing and sales, and also consumers in middle and lower income categories;

Seventh, modify the operation of the free market system, especially the impact of the large corporation, when it stands in the way of justice.

B. COMMUNITY INFORMATION AND EDUCATION

Since the food crisis is a long term problem as well as one of immediate concern, it will be necessary to keep the structural dimensions of the issue, both in its factual and moral aspects, before the public. The Church has means of doing this through already funded programs which merit implementation at the national, diocesan and parish level. Among them are the following:

First, its educational system for adults, youth and children;

Second, its access to the public through the secular and religious media of press, radio and television;

Third, workshops, special days of reflection and study for priests, religious communities and laity.

C. PASTORAL CARE

The most direct, universal and concrete contact the Church has with its people is at the level of pastoral ministry. Unique opportunities are available to promote the Church's deep concern about human development.

1. Liturgy: The themes of life, bread, community, solidarity, and responsibility flow through the symbol and substance of the liturgical life of the Church. These can be woven into teaching, worshipping and prayer experiences which address the food crisis to the whole community. Liturgical seasons of the Church's year are especially appropriate, for example, Advent, Lent, rogation days, the Holy Year. Particularly to be encouraged are parish and diocesan programs of worship, fasting and abstinence on appointed days. The funds from such fasting would be directed toward efforts ministering to the needs of others.

2. Lifestyle: A major pressure on food supply is the pattern of consumption. Especially evident in our consumer-oriented way of life are the waste of food and the excessive consumption of energy. Appeals to Christian conscience of responsible stewardship highlighting the practice of days of fast and abstinence, flow from the deepest roots of our bibli-

cal and ecclesiastical traditions. We urge the whole Catholic community--priests, religious and laity--to join with us in observing at least two days a week as days of fast. We also urged resistance to advertising and other forms of social pressure which promote affluent and wasteful eating habits.

3. Locating and feeding the hungry: In this time of food scarcity, inflation, economic recession and rising unemployment, methods of pastoral care require renewal and adaptation. First, awareness must be heightened about the condition of many members of our society, and efforts by priests, religious and laity must be intensified to locate and minister to those suffering severe hardships in our dioceses, parishes and local communities. Commanding attention, in particular, are the aged on limited fixed incomes, the working poor and the unemployed, and families and individuals on welfare and other public assistance programs.

Second, support for increased activities must be given to such agencies as Catholic Charities, Catholic Relief Services, the Campaign for Human Development and others. This will enable them to intensify their efforts to provide immediate short term relief and to work for long term structural changes for human development.

CONCLUSION:

In this pastoral response to the food crisis the American Catholic community is called to address a broad agenda of issues. World hunger and malnutrition present Church agencies, diocesan offices, parishes, educational systems, the bishops, priests, religious and laity, that is, the whole Church, with an opportunity to experience an essential dimension of its mission: acting on behalf of justice and participating in the transformation of the world. This should be done in the context of a broad ecumenical effort, working with other Christians, Jews, those of other faiths and all men and women of good will.

The goals outlined here for the Church are only a beginning. No document could possibly embrace the many activities and programs which will be required to respond to the cries of the hungry and to what Pope Paul has called this "crisis of civilization and solidarity."

Statement of

REVEREND JOHN J. McRAITH

Executive Director

NATIONAL CATHOLIC RURAL LIFE CONFERENCE

Before the

SENATE AD HOC HEARING

REPORT ON ROME--THE CHALLENGE OF FOOD AND POPULATION

Washington, D.C.

December 18, 1974

This statement is being submitted by the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, a national membership organization based in Des Moines, Iowa, which serves as the Division of Rural Life of the United States Catholic Conference. Although our organization is very concerned with the well being of rural people, we are particularly concerned about the protection of the productivity of our nation's land and the responsiveness of our food production and distribution systems to human need.

The dimensions of the world food crisis are well known to the Senators who are sponsoring this special hearing. They are also familiar with the potential of the United States to make a substantial contribution toward alleviating the needs of a hungry world. The remarkable productivity of American agriculture is probably one of the world's best hopes for meeting the immediate demand for additional supplies of food. This is not to pretend that we can feed everyone in the world but it is to suggest that we have a capacity to feed many more than at present and a responsibility to feed as many as possible.

Whether our country can continue to supply food to a substantial percentage of the world's population depends on our maintaining structures which encourage maximum production of food, equitable distribution of the food produced and responsiveness to changing food needs. Our experience in researching and working with the rural economy has persuaded us that serious problems are developing in all of these areas. Therefore, beyond supporting the recommendations that have been made by others regarding increased bilateral and multilateral efforts to share our food, we urge you and your

colleagues in the Congress to examine the whole structure of our food production and distribution systems and consider policies which would make those systems more responsive to the food needs of the people of our own country and the world.

CONTROL OF PRODUCTION AND LAND:

Although much of America's farm productivity is due to the application of advanced technology and the hard work and dedication of our farmers, it also results from the fact that this country is uniquely blessed with highly productive soil, plentiful water resources and a moderate climate. These are blessings which we in the United States in no way earned or deserved. They rather are gifts of creation, part of the universal ecosystem provided by God to support all of humanity. Their stewardship and development, therefore, are responsibilities we bear to the rest of mankind and are as serious as our responsibility to share the fruits of those resources with the rest of the world.

In spite of the seriousness of these responsibilities, we still witness over one million acres of cropland being taken out of agricultural use every year. The decisions to use that productive land for suburban developments, highways, recreation areas and so on are irreversible decisions. The bulk of that land will never be put back into agricultural production. These decisions are made in response to market forces which do not take world food needs into consideration. There is today an urgent need for planning mechanisms which will act as a check on those market forces and examine these decisions from the point of view of the common good.

Beyond effective controls on land use, our country must reconsi-

der those farm and tax policies which give incentives to wealthy individuals and corporations to invest in land. The goal of those with a purely financial interest in the land is to derive the greatest return on their investment. This goal is generally the determining factor in their decisions to develop or dispose of their land. Much of the remarkable productivity of our nation's land, however, is the result of the efforts of those for whom making the land productive is a way of life. Their respect for the soil may be one of our most precious assets and should be protected against the exploitive attitudes and purposes of those who view land simply as a commodity to be bought and sold for profit.

Another dimension of this problem is that the type of agriculture which results from investments in large acreages of land tends to be highly energy intensive. In terms of the return in food energy to the investment made in heavy equipment, fertilizers, pesticides, and so on, this type of agriculture is very inefficient and constitutes a disproportionate drain on the world's energy resources. The high yielding varieties of grain being used in the developing countries need the fertilizers and chemicals which would be released by less energy consuming farming techniques in the United States. This energy must be shared if the developing nations of the world are to make needed increases in their agricultural productivity.

We urge, therefore, that the Congress re-examine the structure of our agricultural production system in the United States. We recommend that you study the responsiveness of that system to the needs of America's consumers as well as the needs of a hungry world. We are convinced that you will find that, as the size of America's farms increased and their structure evolved into management controlled investment enterprises, the quality,

price and availability of food became less responsive to consumer demands and more subject to manipulation and exploitation. We urge you to consider remedial action in the areas of tax policy, land use controls and anti-trust restrictions along the lines of the proposed Family Farm Act.

CONTROL OF DISTRIBUTION:

The urbanization of America's population has brought with it great changes in the structure of the system which delivers food from the farmer to the consumer. Several layers of handlers, wholesalers, processors, packers, distributors, shippers and retailers are now responsible for determining the availability of our nation's food. Recent years have witnessed increasing concentration of control over decisionmaking in these various sectors and a trend toward vertical integration of more than one sector within one corporation.

Again, this concentration of power is raising questions about the susceptibility of this system to manipulation and profit taking. There clearly are questions regarding public access to decision makers and the protection of the common good. The recently enacted Commodity Futures Trading Commission Act is, in our view, an important step in opening to public scrutiny the dealings of the so-called "middle men" in basic food items. It falls short, however, of confronting the entire matter of speculating for profit in these necessities of life. We have basic questions about the entire futures market mechanism and urge the Congress to continue its oversight of this system.

The current process of pricing domestic food commodities is a source of great insecurity for America's farmers and consumers. The competitive negotiation between producers and processors lock each side into

a struggle for bargaining strength with the better organized side dictating price policy to the other. The process nowhere allows for consideration of what might be regarded as a just price from the point of view of consumers as well as producers. Farmers need price protection in order to survive. This could be provided either through contracts negotiated directly with processors or through realistic base and ceiling prices. In either case, the public good must be protected through public disclosure and equitable regulation.

Some control on prices may be one of the most significant determinants of our nation's ability to share our surplus food with people in need. Fluxuating food prices will limit the buying power of Federal food assistance appropriations as well as interfere with the ability of hungry nations to buy on the open market to meet the needs of their people. The extreme concentration of control and secrecy in the grain export business should be the subject of immediate study by the Congress. Mechanisms must be developed which provide for a direct sharing of food bypassing the profitable dealings of a few powerful grain traders.

Our country and the world need a grain reserve which can provide strategic protection in times of national or worldwide scarcity. Such a reserve must be regulated by a public authority responsive to changing needs. It should be insulated from the market in a way which prevents inordinate depressing effects on prices, jeopardizing small producers. On the other hand, it must be readily available when needed to prevent future starvation of the dimensions the world is facing today.

LIFESTYLE:

Much has been said by others of the need for Americans to reduce their excessive rate of food consumption. Simple principles of justice

dictate that disproportionate and wasteful consumption of food in a time of widespread starvation is immoral and condemnable. The adjustment of those consumption patterns, however, must come about in a way which is least disruptive of our food production system.

Due to the extremely competitive nature of our farm economy, many small producers are only marginally secure in terms of their ability to continue in farming. Increasing their vulnerability to take-over by larger farmers or corporate operations could only further narrow the control of food production in this country. We would urge the consideration of adjustment financing programs which would assist these smaller producers to convert their farm operations to respond to changing demands and needs.

CHANGING PUBLIC ATTITUDES:

The proposals and recommendations we have made are, in our opinion, only a start on the food problems we face as a nation. The ultimate solution rests in a revision of our basic attitude toward food. To the starving people of a hungry world, food is not a commodity to be bought and sold like automobiles or TV sets. It is their very survival, the sustenance they must have to prolong life itself.

We are convinced that American food policy will change significantly only when our own people come to understand and accept that same view. We in the National Catholic Rural Life Conference are working hard to educate people to an acceptance of that attitude. We have launched several new programs to reach out to an expanded constituency, to inform more Americans about the structural problems in our land and food policies and to build a body of concerned people prepared to support policies

which protect public control over land and food decisions.

We do not propose a plan of ready made solutions to these urgent and complex issues. We rather are attempting to demonstrate the mutual dependence of all people on the productivity of our finite land resources and the absolute necessity of protecting those resources for the good of all. The attitudinal formation of people is, we believe, an essential prerequisite to the implementation of meaningful public policies.

The enactment of such policies, however, we see to be the responsibility of policymakers and legislators like yourselves. The approaches to the concerns we have outlined are many and we urge you to examine them all. Your criteria should include the equitable distribution of basic necessities, responsiveness to changing needs, public access to information and decisionmakers, and full cooperation with other nations of the world. You should be guided by fundamental principles of justice, avoiding catering to any special interest group or adopting outdated solutions.

It seems to be characteristic of our time that in this highly technological age the human race finds itself more interdependent than ever before. Our growing demands for food and energy confront the finite limitations of the earth's resources. Humankind has nowhere to turn but to its political leadership to find ways to equitably share and protect those resources. The urgencies of the current world food situation call for a new analysis of the structures and policies which guide development and stewardship of resources at present. As we in the church community work to form a climate of opinion and understanding about these issues, we will be looking to you for the creative and effective solutions which the times demand.

Senator McGOVERN. Reverend Evans, unfortunately we have another rollcall in progress. I am going to have to run to make it. We will let Father Hehir, Bishop Armstrong, and Rabbi Tannenbaum go. If you could hold for a few minutes, I will be right back to hear your statement.

General Taylor, we are sorry to keep you waiting. Can you wait us out for a little while longer so we can hear your testimony?

General TAYLOR. Yes, sir.

Senator McGOVERN. The Senate has been in session all day today and we didn't want to postpone these hearings. This is the price we have to pay for it. I will do the best I can to be back in a few minutes.

[Recess.]

Senator McGOVERN. If the hearing can come to order again, we will now resume with Reverend Louie Evans, the pastor of the National Presbyterian Church.

Again I want to apologize for these unavoidable interruptions.

Reverend EVANS. Senator, would you mind if I did not repeat all the information that has gone on from others?

Senator McGOVERN. I wouldn't object at all. [Laughter.]

STATEMENT OF REV. LOUIE EVANS, PASTOR, NATIONAL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Reverend EVANS. Senator, as we see the graphs of human and population and food production potential crossing and launching us into a new era of human experience, I see several factors that I would like to mention in background for consideration.

First of all is the interdependence and interreaction of nations, which has already been mentioned, our more intimate knowledge of one another—and that knowledge coming to us with little or no time lag. Transportation that carries us—a people of affluence—in hours to places and people of poverty and starvation. All this removes those former fences of distance and privacy that once separated cultures and economics. The result is that the have-nots know very well the wealth of the haves; and the haves may know sufficiently and accurately the poverty of the have-nots.

The tension born of this knowledge could so increase—between the anguish and anger on one hand, and the defensiveness and protectionism on the other—that no restraint known to us now could hold the demon of violence.

The second consideration is that of moral sensitivity, so strongly alluded to by both Rabbi Tannenbaum and Father Hehir. Moral sensitivity denied produces guilt. Out of guilt comes the bizarre behavior of arrogance, oppression, insensitivity and ruthlessness.

This guilt dissipates creative ideas and productive energy. Therefore, I feel it tremendously important that both a time of repentance and conversion be experienced by our people. A repentance from those life styles that have taken exorbitant amounts of energy from the world. But also a conversion; and to go back to an old Hebrew concept—that of making not just a sorrowful statement for past misdeeds, but expressing a new moral direction to make a distribution to go in God's way—to state a new direction which will produce in our American people a sense of frugality, a sense of discipline, and a sense of sacrifice.

Third, I believe that all possible efforts should be made to bring this Nation into an effective participation in the world effort to resolve this problem. I doubt if any utopian success is going to be achieved, but at least a kind of peace will exist in the soul of this Nation—knowing that we are doing what we could. And that peace will release whatever creative ideas and energies we have to further efforts at new phases of resolution coming closer to our goal.

I see three facets in trying to answer this problem: motivational, technical, and political.

Of the motivational, certainly education is a definite part. The massive scope of this problem must be seen in all of its complexity lest we give ourselves to illusions of partial answers and fads which will only bring about disillusionment. But more than education is necessary. A stimulation of moral and spiritual motivation, I believe to be the critical path in this problem. If we are not aroused, no amount of fact, technology, or political potential will be turned to the task.

To stimulate this moral sensitivity and motivation, I believe this should be the key role of our leaders. This will mean changes in life styles, theologies, philosophies, and politics. The motivation must be powerful and tireless.

Second, the best of our growing technology must be applied both to the areas of population control, as well as food production and direction. These are especially correlated.

Third, politically we can respond either to the pitfalls or the potentials of political power. The pitfalls of grief, graft, avarice and self-interest will destroy any effort and breed a pestilence of despair and disillusionment. These will, in turn, produce a fever of anger and convulsions of desperation.

Returning to that first point of motivation, the question is this: Will political structures be motivated to care and conserve? Should we be able to stimulate the political structures of this world to care and conserve? There is a chance that we can see this world condition of hunger greatly improved over the long years of effort—which will be required to answer, to any reasonable degree, this problem which we face.

Senator, out of my experience in a religious community, I am sensing a rising tide of agencies and organizations that are committed and concerned. A markable degree of efficiency in production and distribution is happening through many of these private agents.

But as was stated so effectively by Father Hehir, the state, as a strong actor, is needed. May I, therefore, encourage this body to recommend to our President that a coordinator of hunger concerns be appointed at cabinet level—a person of national confidence and high regard to act as a catalyst for cooperation between all agencies, private, governmental, and international in striving for a practical solution to this problem?

By this I do not mean to encourage the establishment of another unit of bureaucracy to exercise smothering love over its child; but, rather, one which will encourage both private and governmental initiation.

Senator, may I further commend you and your colleagues for your compassion and humanitarian concern in initiating these hearings? I want to make a pledge—a covenant to you this day—to do all that I can in my power to be a small part of this solution we see.

I and my congregation pray God's strength upon you.

Senator McGOVERN. Thank you very much, Reverend Evans, for that summary statement. We appreciate it, and I think you tied together, very well, the moral dimensions of the problem.

It's been my own feeling that, while this crisis is of such massive proportions that it would be easy to despair of any solution, it's also quite possible that it could be the catalyst that will lead to a revitalization of the world family. Either it's that, or it is chaos.

Those of us that tend to take an optimistic view—even in the face of a very difficult situation—will have to cast our lot on the side of hoping that the food crisis will be the catalyst that will lead to a closer working relationship among the peoples of the world.

We do appreciate your testimony, as well as the other religious leaders here.

Reverend EVANS. Thank you.

Senator McGOVERN. General Taylor is our next witness.

General, we want to apologize to you, and the other witnesses who have not yet been heard, for keeping you beyond the scheduled time. I think you can appreciate the reasons.

We do welcome you to this committee, not only as one of our most distinguished soldiers, but a citizen who served in the Government in many capacities. We are anxious to hear what you have to say.

STATEMENT OF GEN. MAXWELL D. TAYLOR (U.S.A. RET.), POPULATION CRISIS COMMITTEE

General TAYLOR. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Needless to say, I am not here in the capacity of a demographer or an expert on food. I have enjoyed, very much, hearing the previous testimony of men who do qualify in that respect.

About all that I can claim is to being a concerned citizen who, after giving most of his life to national security matters, recognizes in the population problem and population consequences perhaps the greatest threat of all time—not just to national security, but to international peace as well.

That is the theme I would like to present.

We are accustomed to thinking of the effects of population growth in terms of shortages of space, food, energy, and industrial commodities detrimental to the quality of life everywhere and disastrous to social and economic conditions in the developing countries. It is rare that one hears a serious discussion of the dangers to world peace and international security arising from the consequences of population growth, and particularly from the global shortage of food which is an immediate urgent problem.

It is clear that population increase, by adding to human demand for consumption items of all sorts ranging from food for survival in some countries to the customary conveniences of comfortable living in others, will in the long run create shortages in most of the commodities in demand. In poor countries of the developing world—where food supplies are always short—the anticipated growth in numbers to feed will bring about hunger conditions accompanied by an exhaustion of agricultural and grazing lands, inadequate or non-existent fertilizer materials and the deforestation of marginally arable soil.

Such conditions are precursors of famine, drought, and flood of the kind which are already recurring in areas of Asia and Africa.

The ensemble of governmental problems presented by such conditions would test the abilities of the most experienced administrators supported by the best governmental organizations; but in the case of fragile governments in backward countries, they may bring about conditions of turbulence and disorder, even of revolution, leading to chaos.

Such internal disasters in developing countries will have international repercussions. In some instances they may result in efforts by countries threatened with famine to acquire new territory and food resources by force at the expense of neighbors. In others, they may cause waves of emigrants hoping to reach greener pastures over neighboring borders—an extension of what we are experiencing now on our own Mexican frontier in the Southwest. Chaotic internal conditions may invite foreign intervention, perhaps under the guise of protecting foreign nationals and property. Despair over failure to progress among these people will strengthen the alinement of "have nots" versus the "haves" already evident in the United Nations General Assembly and elsewhere; and may create a further increase of anti-Americanism directed at the symbol of the wasteful, affluent world.

The consequences of population growth in industrialized countries will be similar to some degree, but will also have important differences. Everywhere there will be difficulties for democratic governments in allaying discontent in an increasingly dissatisfied electorate. In our own case, we are already having serious problems in providing for the welfare of 210 million people. In the year 2000, there will be some 280 million Americans ready to write their Congressmen when Government seems to fail them.

While food will become more costly in the industrial world, it seems unlikely that famine conditions will be an acute danger there. However, the Western economy will suffer from shortages in energy and minerals which will contribute to continued high prices and inflation. Encouraged by the success of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), new cartels may be expected—though lacking a weapon as lethal to the Western economy as petroleum. The conservation measures required by these conditions will depress the high standard of living enjoyed in the past and add to popular discontent with government.

On the international scene, such conditions will bring the industrial countries into heated competition with one another for new markets and sources of raw materials. There will be sharp conflicts over such issues as the exploitation of off-shore and seabed resources, jurisdictional limits in coastal waters, monopoly rights to fishing grounds, the pollution of international waters and air space, and restrictive immigration policies.

While the great powers will wish to avoid acts of war for fear of political and economic consequences, they are likely to resort to forms of economic warfare, using such weapons as trade restrictions, tariffs, investments, and exchange rates.

While most of the consequences of population growth discussed have been serious, they have been largely political, social, and economic in form, constituting problems to which military power would

appear to have little application. However, history is replete with examples of wars arising from nonmilitary causes and of irrational resorts to military force. It is always possible for a conflict, waged initially with political or economic weapons, to get out of hand and explode into unplanned, unwanted war. In a world climate of tension, such as we must anticipate in the coming decade, old animosities will tend to break out again—Arab versus Jew, colonized versus colonizers, Hindu versus Moslem. While we may hope to avoid a military confrontation of major powers, there is ample reason to anticipate frequent, relatively minor breaches of the peace with unforeseeable possibilities of expansion.

While it is difficult to predict specific contingencies which may arise, we have a suggestive example in the recent triangular conflict in India, Pakistan, and what is now Bangladesh. When one seeks its causes, they are found to include chronic hunger resulting from excessive population, coupled with long-term dissatisfaction with the central Pakistani Government—which in late 1970 peaked in the wake of destructive floods.

Thereafter, millions of East Pakistanis fled into India to escape government harassment, starvation, floods, or all three. This wave of refugees adding to social burdens in an already overcrowded province of India, together with the traditional animosity between the Hindus and Moslems, provided a sufficient excuse for Indian military intervention and the war which, in the end, was a disaster to all parties.

The fear of the growing population of a neighbor may be another factor conducive to armed conflict. Israel is certainly aware that its immediate Arab neighbors will increase from about 50 to 70 million in the next decade, while the Israelis add perhaps 1 million to their total. Elsewhere in the same period, Indonesia will grow from about 130 million to 180 million, while Australia increases from 13 to 17 million. Argentina will grow from about 25 million to 30 million, while its neighbor Brazil will add some 50 million to reach a population over 140 million. Such conditions are sure to cause serious concern to any government responsible for the security of a small country with a sparse population overshadowed by a populous neighbor who, even if not presently bellicose, may at some future time feel intolerably crowded or hungry.

Reflection on these possible threats to world peace leads me to join Dr. Philip M. Hauser, the well-known population expert, in a conclusion reached in 1969: "It may be expected that at least during the remainder of this century, there will be increased, not decreased, social unrest; more, not less, political instability; greater, not lesser, threats to world peace; an intensified, not diminished, cold war between Capitalist and Communist blocs or between have and have-not nations." This conclusion was reached without knowledge of a new factor which has appeared since 1969—the OPEC cartel which, by raising the price of oil 400 percent—thereby threatening the economic and political stability of the West—has reinforced the disruptive factors in the world situation which endanger world peace and international security.

In closing, I would hope that we might agree on at least three points which flow from the preceding discussion. The first is that the dangers arising from population growth and the world food shortage to which it contributes are so imminent that they should arouse in us a sense of urgency comparable to that which our citizens have demonstrated in

the past in response to foreign threats to our national security. Social, political or economic threats—such as those discussed—are more subtle and less easily identified than those represented by hostile armies or air fleets armed with atomic weapons poised to attack across national frontiers. Yet the consequences of population growth bear so importantly upon world peace and tranquility that we must act promptly to forestall them by all available means.

A related point is the universal nature of the population threat. No nation has the monopoly and no nation alone can cope with the consequences. No one country, however farsighted in controlling its own population problem, can escape the consequences of the irresponsibility of others who ignore their problem or delay in dealing with it. World leaders who believe that nuclear war is the greatest threat to the future of the human race should, in logic, unite in efforts to control in time the population bomb and thus mitigate an equally serious threat to world peace.

My final point is that we Americans must be organized to concentrate all available resources, if we are to do our full part in an international effort. The fact that over the years—with the benefit of the National Security Act of 1947 which established the National Security Council—we have been reasonably well organized to mobilize military forces in defense of any aspect of national security to which military means are applicable. That is far from the case with regard to our nonmilitary resources, particularly those represented by our vast productive economy. Here are to be found most of the tools we shall need in dealing with population and food problems, but they are widely scattered through many departments and agencies of Government with no one in the executive branch in charge, short of the President.

My own recommendation for solving this organizational defect would be to expand and replace the National Security Council by a National Policy Council to serve as an interdepartmental agency to advise the President on all important policy matters; to formulate the necessary plans and programs for Presidential approval; and, to supervise subsequent implementation.

If this were the case, there would be a Population-Food Policy Panel supported by a Policy Research Center constantly in business analyzing pertinent data; consulting with experts in and out of Government; anticipating future problems, and proposing possible solutions to the President by way of the National Policy Council. In the coming era we shall have many problems too complex for the improvisations of the past czars—suddenly appointed and staffs assembled overnight—to deal with problems like food or energy which should have been the career mission of professionals constantly on the job over the past decade.

I hope that our present justified concern over population growth and food shortages will lead to a broad survey of our readiness to mass our total resources in dealing with such critical problems.

Thank you, sir.

Senator McGOVERN. Thank you very much, General Taylor. You have given us an excellent statement.

I am very much interested in the proposal you make near the conclusion of your statement, with regard to including a section on population and food policy on a new National Population Council.

This morning Governor Harriman, Senator Hatfield, and others proposed that, instead of that concept, we do something that might be considered similar to it. It would be to go back to the old experience we had after World War I when President Wilson designated Herbert Hoover as the Food Administrator—much the same plan which was followed after World War II, under President Truman.

Do you think this structure that you have here suggested—based on your experience in Government—would work more effectively than this alternative method?

General TAYLOR. I don't believe, necessarily that one contradicts the other. I didn't hear Governor Harriman, so I am not sure how he phrased it.

I would view this element within the National Security Council—the National Policy Council—to be advisory, just as the entire National Security Council is today.

The question of who would carry out the final approved decisions on the program was really much a field job, just as you would say the State Department carries out a diplomatic assignment. That might be carried out by someone such as envisaged by Governor Harriman.

On the other hand, the two could be combined, the planning function, the advisory function.

Senator McGOVERN. In other words, your proposal here would not preclude the possibility of the President designating a top citizen that would not only attempt to coordinate efforts within the Government, but would also enlist the private sector, the voluntary agencies, the churches and others that might help on the private side?

General TAYLOR. Yes, sir. For example, take the energy problem which is fresh in our minds.

Had we had something like that, we would have had an energy panel working year in and year out on energy, with our own and borrowed experts. Then when the time came to put into effect a program, you would at least have the staff experience to pull out and give to the new Czar or the new man picked by the President for these big jobs. At least he has the organization ready to go even before he takes command.

Senator McGOVERN. General Taylor, I don't get a chance to raise questions with you very often.

There is one that I am personally interested in, and I would like to get your reaction on it as a very experienced military man.

I made a proposal at the Rome Food Conference, that received some attention, that the United States use its leadership in concert with other countries to try to bring about a reduction of some 10 percent in worldwide arms spending—not only in our own budget, but the Soviet's and others. Also, that the savings be allocated to the food and population problem that we have been talking about today.

Presumably, the funds would be designated largely for rural development for the construction of fertilizer plants, irrigation systems, distribution systems; but, also, to deal with the problem of population planning.

Do you think a concept of that kind is feasible?

General TAYLOR. It certainly is, as a concept, Senator McGovern. Like so many concepts, however, when you get down to the brass tacks, it might be hard to do.

I don't think even the most hard-nosed military type—and I suppose I qualify for that description—would ever be against reciprocal reduction of armament, if we can really squeeze this thing down and be sure our major competitors are doing the same thing.

I would be for it, in principle.

Senator McGOVERN. We took some risk in that direction during the Kennedy administration, you will recall, when President Kennedy announced that we were going to halt the testing of the nuclear weapons, and we would not resume unless others did.

Is there not room within that military budget of ours to provide the same kind of leadership there for the President to say, in effect, that we are going to scale down by x percent?

I don't know what the figures should be, whether it should be 5 percent, or 10, or 2, or what it should be. The point is that we are going to take the lead in a modest reduction in military outlays. We are going to set aside the savings for development purposes to help deal with this problem—this food and population crisis—and we will continue that in the hopes that others will follow suit.

If they don't, we may have to reconsider our position.

Is that a feasible approach?

General TAYLOR. You are changing your ground on me again.

Senator McGOVERN. I changed it because of the very real problem, you raised, as to how we get everybody moving at the same time.

The reason I phrased the question again is that I think somebody, at some point, may have to break this stalemate and take the lead.

I am wondering whether—as a man who is an expert on military security—you think we have the flexibility to take that kind of a risk?

General TAYLOR. I am afraid I qualify only as an expert. I certainly am not capable of saying how much the present defense budget is—except I know they have been put on an austere diet, in many areas.

Let me just say, though, in a general sense, that I think that most of my senior military friends would recognize that the population problem is a major danger to us and to the world; hence, to pool that as part of the task of those concerned with national security and join in the support for making provision for it.

Again, what that would mean in dollars and cents, I don't know.

Senator McGOVERN. I wouldn't even mind seeing the National Security Council continue to carry that name, if we just had a little broader concept of what security is all about. If everyone understood what you are saying here today—the threat of famine and unchecked population—if they understood as clearly as I think you do what that means to security, we could continue to call this the National Security Council and just broaden the concept a little.

General TAYLOR. You are quite right, sir. There would be a strong argument for it. Again, I think you suggested the answer.

We don't think in those terms now, unfortunately. We think as if our national security—which means military to most people—is in competition with the general welfare, which in the province of HEW.

That is wrong from both sides of the house. The sooner we look at that entire spectrum, and allocate our priorities against the entire

spectrum, the better off we will be as a Nation—and the more effective in collaborating with our friends abroad.

Senator McGOVERN. Many thanks, General Taylor. We appreciate your testimony.

General TAYLOR. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator McGOVERN. Our next witness is Senator Joseph Tydings, who has long been interested in the problems of world population and been an activist in trying to encourage the Congress, the executive branch, private agencies and the public at large to be more concerned about this problem.

Senator Tydings, we are more than happy to welcome you before this committee again.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

Senator TYDINGS. Thank you very much, Senator McGovern.

Having followed these proceedings today, I feel very much like 3,000 of my fellow Democrats did last week in Kansas City when you spoke—to stand up and cheer. Not only you but also to the other members of your ad hoc committee who have taken the time out to put together these hearings to try and educate our national leaders on the problems which have been the subject of the testimony today.

I would ask that my statement be incorporated in the record¹ in its entirety. Maybe I could just make a few comments to you and hopefully maybe the staff members of the other Senators who are here.

We desperately need a leader, or one or two leaders, or three or four leaders in the executive branch or the legislative branch to try and awaken the Nation and our national leadership to the broad concepts of the problem which you and General Taylor have just discussed—which has, really, been one of the principal focuses here today.

As you know, Senator, it's ironic, but over the last decade, the principal steps taken in our Government to try and meet the problems of food and population, worldwide, have been taken by the U.S. Senate through your committee, the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

It is particularly ironic—at this time when the world's population is really getting completely out of check—that, in our State Department, the three principal leaders of the State Department with experience and leadership in this field are all being removed or let go at this time.

I refer to Phil Claxton who has been special assistant for population matters—in a sense carrying the burdens of leadership in the State Department bureaucracy for the past decade. He has retired.

John McDonald, the coordinator of the multilateral development programs—that is all of our programs with the United Nations, multilateral families, including the U.N. fund for population activities. He has just been sent to become deputy director general of the World Labor Organization.

His deputy, Jim Marshall, is being sent to Brazil.

¹ See p. 139.

The long and the short of it is that, at this critical time in the State Department, we don't have any senior official who has been dealing with the problems of world population at this moment.

If I might, I would like to focus a little bit on our AID program and how it relates to food and population, particularly population.

In 1967, I believe it was, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee earmarked in the AID program the first \$135 million that had to be used if it were to be spent at all on population programs. Since that time, the Senate Foreign Relations and the House Foreign Affairs Committees have increased the authorization. This week both Houses passed an authorization for \$150 million.

Last year the Senate appropriations committee was able to reduce the amount from \$125 million to \$112 million. So now we are looking at a situation where, if we don't have real leadership in the Congress, you are likely to have substantially less funding in the world population increases this year than you did 2 or 3 years ago.

Now, against that backdrop, take the United Nations Fund for Population Activity and the International Planned Parenthood Federation. These are two multilateral agencies focusing directly on giving population assistance to countries who ask for it.

For the past decade, we have been trying to educate the leadership in the Third World about their population explosion. In Asia, now, most of the major countries have come to grips with it—Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand, Pakistan, even India. So were some of the countries in Africa.

We had a world population conference in Bucharest. We have a picture now in calendar year 1975 with the United Nations Fund for Population Activities—the principal source of funds for the developing world for the countries that want to help themselves—with contributions from 50 to 60 nations, led by the United States, of around \$72 million with requests which have almost tripled from last year to between \$140 million and \$160 million.

This is 1975.

In 1976, based on what's been happening since Bucharest, the request for aid will probably be around a quarter of a billion, \$250 million. There is no way the United Nations Fund for Population Activities can meet the challenge of those needs unless the appropriations committees of this Congress fully fund the population authorization of the Foreign Relations and the Foreign Affairs committees.

I mean, this is where you get down to the nitty-gritty. This is where you need leadership. Now we are in a position where countries are finally waking up and want to help themselves.

We can't—in this country—begin to solve the world food crisis, the world population crisis, the environmental crisis. What we can do is try and help the nations help themselves. They have got to do it themselves. We can't do it for them. All we can do is help; and, here is an area where we can be of tremendous assistance.

The dollars spent on this program, as was indicated by some of the testimony of Governor Peterson earlier today, comes back threefold or fourfold. But the first major battle is in the Congress. Whether or not we really appreciate the dimensions, the complexity of this problem, will come when the appropriations committees of the two Houses meet on the foreign assistance program, and particularly in the population appropriations.

That is point No. 1.

Point No. 2, I would like to make, Senator, is one area which has not been touched on too much, I think, in the discussions here—the status of women in the developing world.

Now I am not talking about the so-called women's liberation movement in this country. I am talking about the very real relationship that the role of the woman plays in the developing world to this problem of food and population.

Tragically, in many nations of the developing world, the status of women is almost unbelievable. Almost equating, in some of the countries on the Arabian Gulf that I visited, to chattels.

I was in one country, just 2 years ago, trying to solicit contributions for the United Nations Fund for Population Activities. Only 2 years previous, the chief of state had had the law removed which made it a felony to permit a female child to learn to read and write.

Now I merely throw that factor in. It isn't mentioned here. The only reason I do is that it wasn't pointed up. No one, at least while I was here, discussed the status of women in the developing world. Here, again, this is an area where a little leadership, just like in the little population assistance, can go a long, long way.

I ask that your staff members, your assistants and you begin to focus a little bit on the world problem of the status of women, because that problem ties into everything we have been talking about.

Finally, Senator McGovern, I think that the most distressing thing about the two world conferences—the one in Rome and the one in Bucharest—is the fact that the principal message that some of us observed, has been very slow in getting through to our national leadership.

That is the message which you have heard all day, which you have been stressing. The message is this problem is not just a problem of food or population. It's a problem of great complexity which relates to national security—as just heard so ably described by General Taylor—to the whole economic well being of the Western World; the whole economic viability of the Third World; the quality of our environment in the world, our air, our sea, our water; the whole ability of mankind to live together.

This matter should be of preeminent concern to our national leaders. This is the forest, Senator. And it appears to me that with the exception of a few very able leaders, like yourself, Senator Hatfield, Senator Percy, Senator Clark, Senator Javits, those of you who are here, with a few exceptions we are depending upon you.

You have Governor Peterson in the White House; Mr. Kissinger stopped by Rome long enough to make a speech; but this country—as a matter of fact the world—needs leadership. I don't know whether it's one leader; it may be one leader. But I don't think that we have had a problem, confronting mankind, like this.

Our ability to study it, to lay it out, is going to have a tremendous effect on human existence. I congratulate you on holding this hearing. I congratulate your colleagues.

I would hope that this ad hoc committee—the six of you, bipartisan, three Republicans and three Democrats—that you will meet regularly; that you will try and educate your colleagues in the Congress; that you will try and get the message through to the White House.

You had a tremendous turnout with the media this morning. I hope the hearings are covered. I hope that this hearing, today, which you chair is just the first step. I hope that you consider this as a personal challenge which may be, in the long run, as important as the challenge you undertook 2 years ago.

God knows we need somebody.

So again let me thank you and your five colleagues and hope that this is just the first step. [Applause.]

PRESENTATION TO AD HOC HEARINGS
ON NUTRITION

BY

JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1974

The world's onrushing food and population problems rank in enormity and complexity with the most difficult the human species has ever faced. The two World Conferences sponsored this year by the United Nations, the Population Conference in Bucharest and the Food Conference in Rome, are now over. Hopefully, these Conferences, if nothing else, are awakening the world to the fact that a food crisis of immense proportions exists and that drastic measures by all governments are needed to prevent hunger and starvation to a degree the world has seldom seen.

Perhaps the most disturbing aftermath of Bucharest and Rome other than the immediate famine prospects in large areas of Africa and Asia is the apparent failure of the leadership in the Developed part of the world as well as the Developing World to grasp the tremendous complexities of the overall food and population ratio as it relates to human endeavor in the 20th Century civilization we now enjoy. There is no way the United States, the Soviet Union, or any other nation either in the industrialized world or any

nation in the so-called Third World for that matter can plan for and cope with their economic problems (inflation, depression, balance of payments, world trade, monetary systems) or their equally vital environmental problems and problems of national defense and world peace without writing into the total equation all of the factors relating to food production and population increases. This is a message which tragically has reached only a very few of the leaders of our own Congress, practically none in our Executive Branch, and equally unfortunately very few in the top echelons of leadership in other developed nations of the West.

The world's population is increasing far more rapidly than our ability to produce food. The population is increasing geometrically and our food production is only increasing arithmetically. Indeed, this year world food production actually declined. In a sense, the immediacy of our present crisis goes back to 1972. In that year, despite a decade of dramatic increases in world food production resulting from the "Green Revolution", for the first time in more than 20 years the production of basic food grains in the world actually declined. Overnight, climatic conditions in Asia and the Soviet Union caused a tremendous crop failure which in turn led to the sale of the United States' and Canada's grain surpluses to the Soviet Union thus wiping out in a few short weeks the world's surplus of food and at the same time lifting the ceiling off world food prices.

Wheat, which sold for United States dollars at \$62.00 a ton in 1972 tripled in price by 1974. Rice went from \$140 a ton in 1972 to \$690 by January 1974. Soybean prices in the United States jumped from \$140 a ton in 1972 to \$395 a ton less than a year later. As food prices skyrocketed, it became less and less available to the Developing countries of the globe and added crushing burdens on their already debilitated economic systems.

According to United Nations sources, the world population projection considered most likely to occur shows the number of people on our planet rising from 3.3 billion plus in 1970 to somewhere over 6.5 billion by the year 2000. (This is close to double our present world population by the end of the century.) The number is then expected to rise to 11.2 billion by the year 2050, close to a tripling of the world's present population.

I ask you Senators where is the food to come from to feed 6.5 billion in 25 years when the present world population of a little over 3 billion includes a quarter of a billion persons now facing virtual starvation?

On balance, the World Population Conference in Bucharest must be considered a success. Too many press reports of the Bucharest Conference played up political speeches and the attacks of the Algerians, the Argentinians, and others of the Developing World against the United States, the Soviet Union, and others, to the exclusion of much more significant news.

The vital fact to report was that in August of 1974 135 sovereign nations of the world community came together in one forum to debate, discuss and consider the problem of population as it related to their own development and to their neighbors. It was an educational process, not just for the Developing Nations of the Third World themselves but for those in the West who have been vitally concerned with the dimensions of our world population explosion for at least a decade.

True, all of the specific language of the Proposed World Plan of Action was not adopted verbatim by the political representatives as it had been planned by their technical assistants beforehand. A strong basic Plan of Action was adopted, however. Among other statements, it called for increased status for women in the world. It called on all countries to consider the relationship of their population size and growth rate to all their own domestic problems. It asked all nations to provide the right and opportunity for every family to limit voluntarily the size of their own families. The adoption of such a Plan of Action was an important accomplishment.

Naturally, at Bucharest the representatives of the West or Developed World (the United States, Europe, Canada, Japan, etc.) focused attention on the fact that world population was outstripping world food production and emphasized population planning and ultimate stabilization. We soon learned that we touched a very

sensitive spot in the psychic make-up of the Third World by suggesting that they might have too many people. Such a statement by a Western leader is a political faux pas of the first order.

Many of the poor nations of the Third World argued that blame for the population problems primarily related to over-consumption by the United States and the West and lack of economic development opportunities in their own land. Speaker after speaker from the Third World insisted that the basic solutions for the problems of population rested on the need for a redistribution of resources from the West to the poorer nations. They argued that the world monetary system and the world trade system were structured to deprive the Third World of an opportunity to improve their status. Time and again they stressed that development aid was the only way to ultimately reduce population in the Third World. Their theme was that developing countries must be made economically strong and prosperous so that their citizens will have an economic incentive for having smaller families. (It is interesting to note that John D. Rockefeller III made a statement along similar lines.)

One interesting parallel I observed in Bucharest is that the Developing nations react in the same way and with the same vehemence to a suggestion that "they have too many people" that we in the United States react to the suggestion that our standard of living is too high, that we eat too much, that we use too much gasoline, and that we should voluntarily lower our standard of

of living in order to help the Developing World. Notwithstanding the moral implications of either statement, it is hardly diplomatic for the Development Nations to suggest to our delegation that the United States must reduce its standard of living tomorrow.

The World Food Conference in Rome was far less political than the Conference in Bucharest. The subject was not so controversial and the "touchy political sore spots" of overpopulation were avoided. The Food Conference, at least on the surface, appeared to have accomplished more than the Population Conference since it actually recommended formal programs to be set up within the framework of the United Nations by the General Assembly. The thrust or emphasis of the Conference was on the need of the Developing Nations of the Third World to concentrate on increasing their own food production rather than on other forms of economic development.

The Conference recommended the organization of an Agricultural Development Fund to provide assistance from the industrialized countries in the form of agricultural technology and research, badly needed fertilizer and better seed. To meet the short-term immediate famine crisis, it proposed a three-year food aid project to provide 10 million tons of food and grain a year for those of the Third World in the most desperate situations. To meet the vital long-term problem, a resolution sponsored by 24 Developing nations from Asia, Africa, and Latin America representing over

one billion of the Earth's inhabitants, was adopted citing the World Population Plan of Action agreed at Bucharest and calling for sound national population policies which would assure the right of all couples to decide freely and responsibly the spacing and sizing of their own family.

Another plus of the Food Conference in Rome was the tremendous attendance by representatives of the press and media. Over 2,000 accredited media representatives were present, and accordingly the Conference was far better covered and far more widely reported than its Bucharest predecessor. Still another encouraging factor was the presence of leaders of the United States Senate from both parties, (Senators Richard Clark of Iowa, Mark Hatfield of Oregon, Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, and George McGovern of North Dakota), who all took a prominent role in deliberations of the United States delegation and made a real contribution. Secretary of State Kissinger, whose speech in the United Nations helped initiate the Conference, also stopped by on his busy schedule to deliver the opening speech on the problem.

The message I wish to deliver here is the need for all elements of national leadership to begin to relate the problems of too many people born in too short a period in areas which cannot support or feed them to our problems of food production, economic stabilization, environmental quality, and national security, in short, our way of life.

Senator McGOVERN. Thank you very much, Senator Tydings. That was a very, very impressive statement.

I think we do feel very, very strongly the responsibilities that are on those of us in the Senate to do more in this area. We are indebted to you for constantly reminding us of that and hope you will keep it up. I would like to think, when you referred to my effort made 2 years ago, that the effort and results, this time, will be somewhat better.

We have a very, very serious problem and one that involves the lives of millions of people. I think the future stability and peace of the world is involved. We do appreciate your testimony.

Senator TYDINGS. Thank you, Senator.

Senator McGOVERN. Our final witnesses today are going to come forward as a panel. I want to commend them for their patience in waiting us out this afternoon, Mr. Larry Minear, consultant on world hunger, Church World Services and Lutheran World Relief; Patricia Young; and Frank Goffio, the honorary chairman of the American Counsel of Voluntary Agencies; and Mr. Rufus Day.

With our apologies for the lateness of the hour and the hopes that you will understand our request that you try to summarize your statements as succinctly as possible, we will proceed.

STATEMENT OF LARRY MINEAR, CONSULTANT ON WORLD HUNGER, CHURCH WORLD SERVICES AND LUTHERAN WORLD RELIEF

Mr. MINEAR. Thank you very much, Senator McGovern. I'm Larry Minear, consultant on World Hunger for Church World Services and Lutheran World Relief. Church World Service is an agency of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America through which 31 Protestant and Orthodox denominations cooperatively carry out programs of disaster relief and development throughout the world.

Lutheran World Relief performs the same function for the three major American Lutheran church bodies. Both organizations are channels through which American churches express concern for fellow human beings in need, primarily in the developing countries. The combined value of our financial and material assistance in 1973 totaled about \$30 million, including about \$4.5 million in Food for Peace commodities under Title II of Public Law 480. Church World Service is affiliated at the international level with the World Council of Churches, Lutheran World Relief with the Lutheran World Federation.

These two organizations, by virtue of consultative status with the United Nations, have been active in the World Food Conference discussions—both during their preparatory phase and at the conference, itself, last month in Rome. We made comprehensive recommendations to the U.S. delegation and worked to bring about their adoption. In our view, the conference succeeded in laying the foundations for an international system to deal in ongoing fashion with the menace of world hunger. The 130 governments gathered in Rome—under the extraordinary pressure of rapidly deteriorating world food situation and in the bright spotlight of world opinion—laid aside rhetoric and recrimination, and in painstaking intricate negotiations

produced several breakthroughs. Their actions hold the promise of a better fed, more secure, and more just world for all people.

I would like to introduce my prepared statement into the record, Senator McGovern.

Senator McGOVERN. The entire statement will be printed as though read.¹

Mr. MINEAR. The three points of focus are the World Food Conference, the issue of food aid, and the role of the American people.

We participated in the World Food Conference as a nongovernmental organization in a consultative status to the United Nations. In our view, the conference laid the foundation for an international system to deal with world hunger and malnutrition. It set up effective approaches, we feel, on a global basis which will allow for an international approach to the solution of these international problems. We haven't found, yet, sufficient models for other issues, such as energy; but we feel that, at the food conference, an effective international approach was arrived at for dealing with the problem of food.

We were particularly pleased that an Agricultural Department fund was set up; and we would like to underscore the fact that this was done at the initiative of the oil producing countries who pledged contributions to this fund in principle. We understand that theirs and other pledges will be honored in the coming years as this fund is set up.

Other governments also took meaningful steps at Rome, and we feel that the climate was right for an effective beginning to the solution of the world food problem. We were particularly pleased with the establishment of a World Food Council which, as Senator Percy said this morning, has now been approved by the General Assembly and will have a hand in monitoring the implementation of the world food policy.

We were intrigued with Senator Hatfield's suggestion that a food administrator be appointed within the U.S. Government. We agree that such a person and position would be very helpful in coordinating a massive public and private effort to deal with this problem of food shortages. We would also comment, as I don't believe others have up until now, that such a person and such an office could be a very effective link to the new World Food Council during its formative period.

So, in general, our view of the World Food Conference is that it is an encouraging beginning—but it needs very detailed and immediate followup. We appreciate very much the contributions made at Rome by the congressional advisers—including members of the panel here—and we look to you for further steps which will follow up on the recommendations of the conference.

On the matter of food aid, we agree with Senator Clark that this was a major shortcoming of the conference, that it did not deal with specific commitments over the next 6 or 8 months, which would solve some of the immediate food shortages. We have, therefore, supported the initiative by Father Hesburgh—referred to by other witnesses—that a dramatic increase in the level of food aid be approved by the President within the next several days, so that over the

¹ See p. 154.

coming months there would be enough food to meet these immediate shortfalls.

We have the feeling that the U.S. Government has done a great deal. In fact, our food aid contributions over the years were recognized by other governments at Rome. We are now in a decision, as one of the delegates in a developing country pointed out, of being the man who has an umbrella who is willing to lend it out to people when there is no rain. However, now there is rain and our umbrella of food assistance is needed by countries in desperate straits.

AID CONFIRMS MASSIVE CAMBODIA FOOD AID

We have a definite concern that the humanitarian focus of the Food for Peace Program be preserved. Evidence was introduced this morning which caused some confusion, I think, about the imbalance within our Food for Peace Program. My colleague, Howard Jost, mentioned that roughly five times as much Food for Peace has gone in fiscal year 1974 to Cambodia as to Bangladesh. We have done some checking on these figures with AID and it turns out that between 7 and 8 times as much Food for Peace commodities have gone to Cambodia as to Bangladesh in fiscal year 1974.

We know that the President is considering some new options for fiscal 1975. I think it's no secret, though, to any of us here that even the President's high option leaves something to be desired. Under that option—which is the first point at which the countries of Southern Asia would get a fair share of the food aid—under that high option, India would get roughly the same amount of Food for Peace as Korea, and Bangladesh as Cambodia.

We have a concern that humanitarian rather than political considerations be the controlling factors in our Food for Peace allocations.

We would like to call to your attention, along these lines, a proposition that was approved by the World Food Conference in Rome. Food aid, said the conference, should be provided in forms consonant with the sovereign rights of nations, neither interfering with the development objectives of recipient countries nor imposing the political objectives of donor countries upon them.

This speaks very much to our concern as does the language in the House-Senate conference report which Senator Clark referred to this morning. So on the matter of food aid, we are urging an immediate increase by the U.S. Government and a more international approach. We would like to see an international food for peace program along the lines which you and others have been involved in at the national level.

Finally, coming to the role of the American people, the American people have been challenged to do more than in the past. We have received—in the correspondence from President Ford to Father Hesburgh—the encouragement that churches, community groups, and concerned Americans do more since the maximum of governmental effort will not meet the full need of people in this country. As Father Hehir indicated, we from the private sector are prepared to accept that challenge. The challenge not only to do more in the area of food relief, but more in governmental assistance, more in education of our own constituencies, more in legislative activities here in Washington

and elsewhere. We are prepared to work to build a constituency which will support multilateral solutions to the global problems that we have been discussing.

I would like to mention, just briefly, a number of examples which indicate that Americans are already stepping up their response to the immediate problem.

A special appeal for world hunger by one of the three major Lutheran Churches has received more than one-third of a million dollars in less than 3 months. Its Central Pennsylvania Synod alone resolved in June to raise \$500,000, and is well on the way.

A small Lutheran church in the Northwest has made the decision to borrow \$100,000 for use in emergency aid. The Episcopal Diocese of southern Ohio designated a minimum of \$150,000 from its funds for world hunger. The Church of the Brethren—reactivating an approach used during World War II—now gives food production certificates to persons and groups who, through reducing their own consumption of various resources, commit funds to agricultural and other developmental programs at the village level overseas.

Haverford College in Pennsylvania is contributing the funds it normally would have spent next year to fertilize its campus lawns. Behind many of these actions are individuals and families who are digging deeper into their own resources.

Americans are then already doing a great deal. Roughly \$1 in overseas contributions comes from the private sector for every \$5 that our U.S. Government provides. Figures from the development assistance committee of the OECD indicate that in 1973 private contributions to development from Americans totaled \$669 million, as compared with official U.S. development assistance of \$3,349 million. We Americans do have a great tradition of private contributions, as Senator Hatfield pointed out this morning; whereas, governmental contributions in official development assistance ranked the United States roughly 14th out of 16 major countries, in private contributions our percentage is much more estimable.

I would like, therefore, to draw a bit of a caution when we come to asking the private sector to massively increase its efforts in development assistance. To illustrate this, I would like to mention that Church World Services and Lutheran World Relief within the last month, in response to this immediate problem of food shortage, have made a number of purchases of wheat on the open market. Church World Services, for example, purchased 1,000 tons of wheat a month or so ago, which cost us \$375,000. I submit that the scale of funds that are involved in purchasing the millions of tons that are needed for a massive relief effort cannot come from the private sector, although we will be prepared to do our share.

Therefore, having said this, I would like to come back to the need for governmental action. We find there is really no substitute for immediate and ongoing governmental action. In the next session, I would suggest that there would be implementation here of the resolutions of the World Food Conference by the Congress. I would suggest that, within the next week or so, this would mean the announcement of a decision by the President as to the new level of food aid which we will be prepared to commit for the coming 6 months.

Thank you.

AD HOC SENATE HEARING
REPORT ON ROME - THE CHALLENGE OF FOOD AND POPULATION
December 18, 1974
Washington, D.C.

I am Larry Minear, Consultant on World Hunger for Church World Service and Lutheran World Relief. Church World Service is an agency of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America through which 31 Protestant and Orthodox denominations cooperatively carry out programs of disaster relief and development throughout the world. Lutheran World Relief performs the same function for the three major American Lutheran church bodies. Both organizations are channels through which American churches express concern for fellow human beings in need, primarily in the developing countries. The combined value of our financial and material assistance in 1973 totalled about \$30 million, including about \$4.5 million in Food for Peace commodities under Title II of Public Law 480. Church World Service is affiliated at the international level with the World Council of Churches, Lutheran World Relief with the Lutheran World Federation.

These two organizations, by virtue of consultative status with the United Nations, have been active in the World Food Conference discussions, both during their preparatory phase and at the Conference itself last month in Rome. We made comprehensive recommendations to the U.S. delegation and worked to bring about their adoption. In our view, the Conference succeeded in laying the foundations for an international system to deal in ongoing fashion with the menace of world hunger. The 130 governments gathered at Rome, under the extraordinary pressure of rapidly deteriorating world food situation and in the bright spotlight of world opinion, laid aside rhetoric and recrimination and in painstaking intricate negotiations produced several breakthroughs. Their actions hold the promise of a better fed, more secure, and more just world for all people.

We are particularly encouraged by the creation of a fund, at the initiative of oil producing countries, to stimulate food production in developing nations. While few countries put cash on the barrelhead at Rome, many did commit themselves in principle to provide additional funds so essential if developing countries are to move toward agricultural self-sufficiency. The decision of OPEC countries to channel development funds through multilateral channels, thus emphasizing global solutions to the world food problem, is something of a "first." Earlier regional and bilateral OPEC pledges and these multilateral ones made at Rome mean a substantial broadening of the countries providing development assistance beyond those which have been "traditional donors." The increased involvement of the so-called "potential" donors is a promising development.

Also encouraging was the Conference's agreement on a World Food Council, which has since been created by the U.N. General Assembly and of which, by action of the U.N. yesterday, the U.S. and 25 other nations are members. This body will soon begin to exercise its mandate to hasten and monitor the implementation of the World Food Conference resolutions and to assure a coordinated global approach to food policy questions. Unlike other witnesses today, we have no particular recommendation to make as to who should represent the United States on the World Food Council. We are impressed, however, by the suggestion of Senator Hatfield that a new coordinating office be created in the executive branch to link governmental and private hunger resources more effectively and to facilitate the development of a national food policy. In fact, in testifying on June 19 before the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, we suggested new administrative arrangements in our governmental structures to design and coordinate a national food policy in its various dimensions: agricultural and nutritional, domestic and international, economic and political. In our view, a coordinating office should have major ongoing responsibility for orchestrating various aspects of our participation,

agricultural and otherwise, in an interdependent world. It would also provide a key link between the U.S. government and the new World Food Council.

We were pleased that the World Food Conference gave recognition to the work of private voluntary organizations in hunger-related matters. The Conference urged governments to involve themselves with the development expertise and resources available through voluntary agencies. It also asked private citizens to increase their own efforts through such channels, as they are in fact now doing. This is in keeping with the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973 which instructs AID to work more closely with the private sector in order to reach the poorest of the poor in developing countries.

While we recognize that the Rome meeting was originally proposed to devise longer range solutions to the world food problem, the immediate food shortage which worsened during 1974 as the Conference took shape clearly did not receive adequate attention. Neither the Conference as a whole nor the U.S. delegation in particular took the necessary steps to find food for persons in hardhit countries over the next six months. There is no dispute that 7.5 million tons of grain are needed to prevent widespread malnutrition and starvation between now and June 30 of next year. There is also no dispute that 7.5 million tons of grain are in fact available in grain exporting countries, much of it in the U.S., if the necessary financing can be speedily arranged.

Therefore, we and other groups have joined with Father Theodore Hesburgh, Chairman of the Board of the Overseas Development Council, in urging the President to approve a dramatic increase in U.S. food and financing for food to meet these emergency needs. Such an initiative would be fully in keeping with our historic traditions and present capabilities, as the Senate itself voted in adopting Senate Resolution 329 last August. A number of religious groups have supported both S.Res. 329 and the Hesburgh recommendation, believing that these reflect the concerns of persons of good will throughout the country. We join you in awaiting a favorable response from the White House.

We do, however, underscore what we support is food aid specifically for those countries whose needs were the focus at the World Food Conference. We are gratified that language introduced by Senator Clark now incorporates this concern into H.R. 16901, the fiscal year 75 appropriations bill for agricultural, environmental and consumer protection programs. This now specifies that the highest priority in the use of funds "shall be immediately given to those nations most seriously affected by current food shortages as determined by a global assessment of humanitarian needs." We are also pleased that the House-Senate Conference has incorporated into the Foreign Aid Authorization bill language specifying that no more than 30% of Food for Peace commodities may be used in countries not among those Most Seriously Affected, except for clearly humanitarian purposes. We join you in expecting that these humanitarian considerations will be reflected in the President's upcoming decision. Just yesterday Protestant church leaders at a conference on world hunger went on record saying, "We do not and will not support the allocation of foodstuffs to countries primarily on military or political rather than humanitarian grounds."

Relevant here also is one of the World Food Conference's resolutions on the subject of food aid, to which the U.S. and all governments agreed in full:

Food aid should be provided in forms consonant with the sovereign rights of nations, neither interfering with the development objectives of recipient countries nor imposing the political objectives of donor countries upon them.

A survey made last year found Americans generally sympathetic to food aid and other immediate, direct, and tangible forms of assistance to needy people in developing

countries. However, it was also discovered that Americans expect such governmental aid to be directed toward the neediest countries, with moral and humanitarian rather than political or strategic considerations being the controlling factors. We pledge ourselves to work with you in the new Congress to incorporate this more non-political approach to food aid and the other principles of the World Food Conference into appropriate United States government legislation.

Before leaving the subject of the Rome Conference, we express our appreciation to the congressional advisors of both Houses who played an active and constructive role before and during the World Food Conference. We are pleased that you are now beginning the necessary follow-up discussions and actions to bring the U.S. into full participation in the global food policy on which the Conference agreed. We look forward to working with both Houses toward the speedy implementation of an array of legislative measures pursuant to Conference decisions.

Finally, a word about the programs we operate in developing countries to deal with hunger and malnutrition. Church World Service is involved in projects in 15 of the 32 countries most seriously affected by the present crisis, Lutheran World Relief in five. In addition to administering a modest amount of Food for Peace commodities under Title II, we have a variety of other programs -- some of them of a relief nature, many of them more long-term in focus, most of them planned, designed, and operated in cooperation with our counterpart agencies in most countries. I would like to single out two in particular.

Late last month we received an urgent request for grain from our counterpart agency in India for emergency feeding and self-help projects. Lutheran World Relief purchased one thousand tons of wheat on the open market in the United States which is due to arrive Friday in Bombay. Church World Service purchased the same amount, now scheduled for shipment next month to Madras. An additional 1000 tons will be purchased for shipment in April. Bread for the World in Germany with our encouragement, has 2,000 tons now enroute to Calcutta.

These purchases are somewhat extraordinary. We have always bought or received as donations commodities from churches and farmers which have supplemented our PL 480 foodstuffs. In recent years, however, we have avoided purchases on the open market because of the high price of grain and the modest amount of funds available to us. We have instead committed our funds to programs such as education and training at the village level, water resources development, and public health services.

Given the enormous need to meet nutritional requirements on an emergency basis for vast numbers of people and given the fact that previously used channels for PL 480 food through our counterpart agency are not now available, we have purchased these commodities at a cost of \$189,000 per thousand metric tons. The financial sacrifices which purchases of a few thousand tons have meant demonstrate the need for continued governmental involvement in the larger purchase of the million of tons needed for overseas use.

A second illustration is drawn from Bangladesh, a country whose needs were described in detail by my colleague, the lead-off witness this morning. Church World Service has invested \$200,000 (for us a large sum) in village level programs aimed at immediate increases in food availability. Bangladesh residents receive intensive training through the National Christian Council of Bangladesh in organizing and administering relief and development projects in rural areas of maximum need. Under their direction, silos and other storage arrangements are built, roads and canals laid in place, and other locally chosen projects carried out. This is part of a larger \$17.5 million effort by churches throughout the world through the Christian Commission for Development in Bangladesh to help improve the quality of rural and urban life, including the distribution of food and medical supplies,

programs for women (including family planning), and irrigation, housing, fisheries, and weaving efforts.

These two examples illustrate what we have been able to do because of the concern of Americans expressed in contributions through their churches, community groups, and through CROP, the Community Hunger Appeal of CWS. While all financial indicators are not unanimous, the response we have felt to the current hunger crisis has been generally affirmative and in some instances almost overwhelming. Let me cite a few examples. A special appeal for world hunger by one of the three major Lutheran churches has received more than one third of a million dollars in less than three months. Its Central Pennsylvania Synod alone resolved in June to raise \$500,000 and is well on the way. A small Lutheran Church in the Northwest has made the decision to borrow \$100,000 for use in emergency aid. The Episcopal Diocese of Southern Ohio has designated a minimum of \$150,000 from its funds for world hunger. The Church of the Brethren, reactivating an approach used during World War II, now gives "Food Production Certificates" to persons and groups who through reducing their own consumption of various resources commit funds to agricultural and other development programs at the village level overseas. Haverford College in Pennsylvania is contributing the funds it normally would have spent to fertilize its campus lawns next year. Behind many of these actions are individuals and families digging deeper into their own resources.

These few examples, and the presence of concerned citizens here today, suggest a new awareness in the United States of world hunger and a new concern to deal with hunger in its many dimensions. With initiatives from the Congress such as you have described and demonstrated today, with leadership from the President, and with support by U.S. citizens expressed through their religious institutions and other private channels, we believe that our nation will participate responsibly and distinctively within the family of nations to help create a more well-nourished and just world.

Senator McGovern. Thank you very much, Mr. Minear, for your statement. We appreciate your participation in the hearing.

Mrs. Young, you have been before this committee before. We are also grateful for your appearance and always anxious to hear what you have to say.

STATEMENT OF MRS. PATRICIA YOUNG, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, CRUSADE AGAINST HUNGER

Mrs. Young. Thank you very much.

I would say, first of all, there were several comments this morning about whether or not the kind of action we are calling for would elicit public support for courageous legislators.

I would like to say if I lived in Illinois, or Iowa, or New York, or South Dakota, that you would have my vote.

I am Patricia Young, chairperson of the National Council of Churches, Crusade Against Hunger, and chairperson of the board of directors of the Community Nutrition Institute.

Last week I was elected vice president of the American Freedom From Hunger Foundation, and I was a member of the steering committee of the World Hunger Action Coalition.

I participated in the press conference Father Hesburgh held, calling for increased aid.

In all of these, I participate as a volunteer.

I will not read my whole statement. I will, instead, submit it for the record.¹

I think I bring something unique to these hearings today in that I am a volunteer and a private citizen, and it might be helpful if I listed certain things as the viewpoint of a private citizen.

I also feel the need to add to my testimony some remarks about the role of women in food and population—inasmuch as I am the only woman on either side of these tables, except for the young woman who appeared with the student group.

Senator Tydings did mention this, and I do appreciate his emphasizing it. However, he wasn't talking about women's liberation as I understand it. I would like to assure you that "women's liberation" is not a dirty word. It does mean that, as more than half of humanity, we would like to participate in the decisions that control perhaps the survival of all of us.

The role of women in producing mouths to be fed; in the third world in producing the food that is eaten; in the preparation of the food, whether it is nutritious or not; in setting the values in the home and, therefore, the society. When we talk about reduced consumption or changed priorities, they are absolutely essential.

It was rather appalling to me to be in Rome and to see hardly a woman on the floor of the plenaries, or the committees.

As you indicated, it isn't the first time that I have testified; but always before it has been on domestic hunger.

In my testimony I do mention the kinds of programs that we are concerned about and I know of your concerns, so I don't need to go into detail.

I would like to say, however, that as the National Council of Churches works on world hunger, we believe fully that the attack

¹ See p. 158.

on domestic hunger must be as determined as the one around the world. It is not a case of either/or. It is both/and.

As the world hunger crisis escalates, it means renewed effort both at home and abroad. The hungry child in the United States must not go without nourishment in order to feed the starving baby in Bangladesh.

What it should do is sensitize us to the fact that both are hungry, both need our help, and that we can respond to the need of both.

Senator McGOVERN. Mrs. Young, in that connection if I could just interrupt you, momentarily. As you know, the administration has proposed a substantial cutback in our Food Stamp Program. We have an opportunity in the Congress, as do citizens, to comment on that proposal. It is not to become effective until March 1.

I think there is an impression that it is going to go into effect immediately. These proposed cuts will not take effect before March 1. Meanwhile, I have been circulating a letter among my colleagues in the Senate; and I think you will be pleased to know that some 37 of them have now joined in protesting this cutback.

I think, very frankly, we have the votes in the Senate to reverse that decision. That it won't go into effect.

I quite agree with you, while today we are talking here primarily about world hunger, we need to recognize that there are people here in our own country who are poor. Old people, particularly, desperately need this food assistance and are simply not in a position to withstand a substantial cutback now.

Mrs. YOUNG. I know.

I participated in our Meals on Wheels feeding program at home. I am not sure if you know this or not. The National Council of Churches had a substantial proposal before OEO to do with a massive Outreach program on food stamps. As a matter of fact, our proposal was waiting outside Mr. Arnett's office when the White House messenger arrived firing him, and we lost our \$1.5 million.

I would like to emphasize what kind of expertise I bring to these hearings, and that I am not unique in this. There are millions of Americans who have the same kind of credentials; and, if they were here, would be saying the same kinds of things.

I don't have degrees in economics or diplomacy or science. My realm is not in the farm or the laboratory or the export bank or the diplomat's lounge. Nevertheless, I have definite convictions about what goes on in all of these places. I believe that everyone along the food chain, from the plow to the spoon, deserves a fair profit. That is in this country and the farmer abroad. This production should be paid for.

I know the scientist must respect the laws of nature and God; I know that an assembly line can turn out products that can kill, but they can also bring life. I would like us to concentrate on that.

I think economic agreements should be fair on both sides. I think there is such a thing as corporate social responsibility, whether we are talking about the company that operates here, or something like Agribusiness that goes across national boundaries.

I applaud the kinds of things you said about national security today. To me, I think we are going to find our national security in development of many heads of wheat rather than in missiles.

I think cargo vessels carrying wheat are much more important than nuclear submarines. I think agricultural consultants are much more important than weapons' advisers.

For all of these reasons, I think we have to reverse our priorities. When we put in a national food policy, it has to have a number of elements that I have outlined in my papers.

I believe that the world food crisis is very serious and getting more so. And I believe that inaction—that is withholding fertilizer and seeds and technical advice and research—is more deadly than war.

I believe that if we have the human will and commitment, that we have the wisdom and the technical ability to solve the problems.

I think the leadership, as has been said so many times today, must come from America. I believe Americans will respond. If they are first told the truth about the complexity, they will even sacrifice. They have to be assured that the administrative and legislative decisions will be taken that guarantee that their sharing and their sacrifice will be translated into food and self-help where it is needed.

I certainly endorse the kinds of things that were called for on behalf of an administrator on food—with broad powers to coordinate, to have access to the President, and to move out forthrightly in all of these areas.

I would report briefly to you that Mr. Minear and I have just come from a 2-day working session on hunger of the National Council of Churches.

In 2 days, an amazing array of immediate acts, short-range and long-range programs were hammered out. A covenant statement called the Graymore Covenant was issued. I have copies and would like that incorporated in the testimony.¹

On the second page you will see the kinds of things the churches are pledging they will do. There is much on the implementation of the Rome Food Conference.

We immediately set in motion the creation of a task force, which will probably meet the first week in January, to get these things moving.

We are talking about an increased educational program to reach our people that they may have an understanding, and to strengthen the support system for citizen action.

There was a great degree of determination and a cohesiveness of attitude and approach that was very impressive.

I would close with just two things. I was in Rome. I was angry, I was chagrined, I was embarrassed, all the ramifications of attitudes that one could have as I saw our American delegation say, in effect—to a conference we had helped set in motion—that we came to talk about the people that are going to die in the next 10 years, *not* the people that are dying today. We are not prepared to do anything about those people that the rest of you are talking about.

We had a chance to demonstrate the very best that is American, and we failed. We failed again on November 29.

We are still waiting for an answer from the White House for our request.

¹ See p. 163.

I am impatient, and I am not hungry. I am angry, and I am not starving. I am a Republican, and I am unhappy.

It has been said that we will probably act in a late and limited fashion. Why can't we act now with a generosity and joy of spirit that is appropriate to the season that we are entering?

I go from this to Christmas with my granddaughter, who happened to have been born on the Fourth of July. I do not see a future like Dr. Handler outlined for his grandchildren, because I think we are going to act. We have to, because if we don't the generation of her contemporaries that she will have to deal with will all be handicapped physically and mentally and unable to deal with the problems that will certainly be more complex than the ones that we face today.

I am grateful to you and thank you for the opportunity to speak.
[Applause.]

TESTIMONY FOR AD HOC SENATE HEARING

December 18, 1974

I am Patricia Young, chairperson of the National Council of Churches' Crusade Against Hunger and the board of directors of the Community Nutrition Institute. I am also vice-president of the American Freedom from Hunger Foundation, and I was a member of the steering committee of the World Hunger Action Coalition. I attended the World Food Conference and worked with other NGO's in relating to our U.S. delegation. In all of these responsibilities I am a volunteer.

This is not the first time I have been a witness at a Senate hearing on the subject of hunger. However, my previous testimony was about hunger here at home. The NCC Crusade Against Hunger has stimulated the formulation of coalitions in twenty states--concentrating first on school lunch and then on food programs for the elderly and now on extending the school breakfast program. We tried unsuccessfully earlier this year to receive funding from OEO for a nationwide outreach campaign on food stamps. For nearly five years we have provided information and action guidelines, through our network of churches and groups within communities, to improve and extend all of the various domestic food programs.

We are aware that U.S. hunger is real and widespread and must be attacked with as much determination as hunger and malnutrition around the world. It is not a case of either/or; it is both/and. As the world hunger crisis escalates, it means renewed effort at home and abroad. The hungry child in the United States must not go without nourishment in order to feed the starving baby of Bangladesh. Conversely, the suffering under our own roof should increase our sensitivity to the need that is far away rather than blind or harden us or limit our response. We can do both! My granddaughter was born on the Fourth of July. I want her to grow up in a world in which her contemporaries are fully developed in mind and body and as capable as I hope she will be to deal with a complex and hurting world.

I would like to speak to my expertise among today's witnesses. I have no degrees in economics or science or diplomacy, only a long involvement in the programs of the church. As a layperson and volunteer I have considerable experience as a citizen-activist locally and nationally.

My realm is not the farm, the laboratory, the factory, the export bank, the corporate board room or the diplomats' lounge. But I do have certain convictions about the work of all of these places. I believe that everyone along the food chain from plow to spoon deserves a fair profit; I know the scientist must respect the laws of nature, of God; I know that ~~an~~ assembly line can spew out products for life or death; I believe that an economic agree-

ment should be fair to both sides; I believe there is such a thing as corporate social responsibility whether a business operates within or across national boundaries; and I know that faith and trust must be present in diplomatic treaties for them to have any validity and permanence.

We must recognize the new conditions for life on our small planet, and make our personal, national and international decisions accordingly. We live on a finite planet with limited resources. We must protect and value our earth home. We must share, now, out of scarcity rather than abundance. Our world is an interdependent village in which justice and equality must replace power and greed, else all will perish. People are our most precious resource, and time is our most limited resource.

With these new perimeters for decision making, we must develop our national policies and priorities. I suggest we begin by asking ourselves the following kinds of questions:

- Is true peace won by killing or by feeding people?
- Can our consciences permit us to live in a world divided between gluttony and starvation?
- Can we really build an impenetrable fortress around ourselves and solve all our needs with only the resources on the inside?
- Is it fair, or even sensibel to want two homes, three cars, four television sets, half a dozen radios and the luxury of throw-away plates when most of the world calls one room home and has one meal every day. . or every second or third day?

As we answer these questions, I believe we will decide that our national security is in many-headed wheat stalks rather than MIRV missiles, in cargo ships rather than nuclear submarines, in agricultural consultants rather than weapons' advisors. We will design programs for aid and trade that recognize our common fate and our need for each other. Our food aid, short term and long term, will go for nece-sity rather than political expediency. We will realize we need a national food policy.

For me these are some of the elements I want to find in such a national food policy:

We should emphasize multi-lateral aid for development rather than bi-lateral aid with strings attached.

Our aid in food or otherwise should be for those who need it most rather than for political allies.

We should make trade agreements with the developing world that recognize their need for markets as well as our need for customers.

We should take those forceful legislative actions that will support the newly established World Food Council.

We should establish structures within our government that will coordinate our actions with international requirements.

We should increase our efforts to reduce world armaments and re-direct the money saved toward socio-economic projects that contribute to the development

of persons and nations.

We should question anti-trust violations in the vertical structure of agri-business.

We should provide research, technical assistance and capital that will help increase food production in the developing countries, acknowledging that our system of agriculture geared to the thousand-acre farm complex is probably not feasible and may not be ecologically responsible for export.

I am convinced that the world food crisis is very serious and getting more so. I believe that inaction can be more deadly than war. I believe that we can find the human will and wisdom to solve the technical problems. I believe that the action must be multi-national and multi-faceted, but because of our material and technical abundance, the United States must take the lead. "To whom much is given much is required." I believe that Americans will respond as they always have--if they are told the truth and are challenged to share, and even to sacrifice, and are assured by administrative and legislative action, that their sharing and sacrifice will be translated into food and self-help programs where they are needed.

You may ask what proof I have that the American people will respond--in personal acts of denial and in political support. I can only say that I have faith in our Judeo-Christian heritage as evidenced in all our voluntary programs and our historic responses to other times of trial, and in the current signs of individual and collective response to the growing food crisis as demonstrated in hundreds of ways. Let me just point out what has happened in Pennsylvania in the last year . . . and what happened in the last two days at a working session on world hunger called by the National Council of Churches.

First, in Pennsylvania. In December 1973 Pennsylvania held a national conference on food policy which led to the formation of the World Hunger Action Coalition and to six regional conferences within the state. Secretary of Agriculture McHale headed a special delegation of observers, including Pennsylvania legislators and concerned persons from Pennsylvania and six other states, to the World Food Conference. Already this delegation has held a debriefing meeting and has set in motion a number of statewide follow-up activities designed to inform and stimulate continuing concern and action.

Mr. Minear and I have just come from the two-day working session on world hunger attended by representatives of the member communions of NCC. A whole array of immediate, short-range and long-range programs were hammered out. A covenant statement was agreed to, and a new coordinating hunger task force will be formed at once to begin immediate implementation of recommendations in areas of short and long term food aid and development assistance, massive, comprehensive educational programs and strengthened support system for citizen action. There was a high degree of commitment and determination apparent in the meeting.

The desperate scope and deterioration of the food crisis presents a massive challenge we may be unable to meet--though I believe we can. It also gives us an unprecedented opportunity to see our actions make a difference in our lifetime.

At Rome the NGO's were called the "soul of the conference." The voluntary heart of America can be the conscience of our country, but it is a chicken-and-egg kind of proposition. The political leaders of our nation must call for the response of our people . . . speak to our best nature, not our worst . . . while at the same time the religious leaders must provide the vision and undergirding of the spirit for that response.

Many of us who were in Rome as observers were greatly chagrined by our nation's position there in regard to emergency aid to meet the food grain gap. We had a role in proposing the conference, and our top cabinet official opened it with inspiring words of humanitarianism and compassion. Then we spent the rest of the time saying, in effect, "We came to talk about those dying next year, not about those dying today, and we are not prepared to do anything for the starving half billion the rest of you are talking about." We had a chance to demonstrate the best of the American dream, and we failed. We failed again to make a commitment at the meetings held at the end of November. We are still waiting for action from the White House. I for one am getting impatient, and I'm not hungry. I am not starving. It has been said that we will probably act in a late and limited fashion. Why can't we act now with a spirit of generosity and joy appropriate to the season and the need!

Delegates and observers at Rome are marked people. We were part of a process that set in motion the solutions to the most critical of human problems--providing enough to eat to survive.

In a larger sense, all humankind is marked by what happens now. All of us were delivered a mandate at Rome.

The mandate to the UN family is to stimulate, intensify and coordinate efforts in food production and self-help development programs. The machinery has been launched at this session of the General Assembly.

The mandate to the governments of surplus-grain-producing nations is to realign budget priorities and enact legislation that will support the proposals of the World Food Conference and its successor the World Food Council. That is at least one purpose of these hearings.

The mandate to countries like the nouveau-rich OPEC nations is to use a portion of their new profits for food aid and development programs, as they have pledged to begin.

The mandate to nations of the third and fourth world who are not doing so is to make agricultural development a priority by introducing programs of land reform and building of the agricultural infra-structure necessary to make rural living more attractive.

The mandate to private institutions here at home is to mount

major educational efforts and to enlist public support of humanitarian aid and self-help programs.

The mandate to individual citizens who care is to take time to understand the serious and complicated problems facing our finite and fragile planet, to begin to change our materialistic, consumptive, wasteful life style into one more compatible with our world's condition, and to exert our power as responsible consumers and citizens to move our government and our industries and businesses to make those changes in budget priorities and programs and merchandizing plans required to do our fair share in the world community.

The mandate to everyone everywhere is to examine personal and corporate priorities and values and to redesign them commensurate to establishing a more just order and a more equitable distribution and usage of our earth's resources in order that we can preserve and protect our earth home for this and future generations.

The World Food Conference was more successful than anyone dared hope. The actions by the UN structures and many governments, including our own, to begin implementation of the long-range proposals of the Conference have been immediate and impressive. The increased awareness by the more fortunate people of the world to the desperate plight of others who share our shrinking planet is being matched by increased willingness internationally to support responsible public and private programs of action.

My plea this afternoon is for my government to pledge to take all the steps required on the long journey to an adequately nourished, just and peaceful world and to demonstrate this commitment, and make it credible, by an immediate announcement that we will assume our appropriate share in meeting the food grain deficit that exists today.

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Chairperson, NCC Crusade Against Hunger
Vice-President, American Freedom from Hunger Foundation
Chairman of the Board, Community Nutrition Institute

THE GRAYMOOR COVENANT ON WORLD HUNGER

A statement issued by persons participating in the working session on world hunger called by the NCC at Graymoor Christian Unity Center, December 16-17, 1974.

We, as members of the Christian Community, together with the rest of humankind, are compelled to respond with fresh energy and imagination to the survival dimensions of the world hunger crisis. We recognize that immediate action is required to provide emergency food aid to those 1/2 billion people suffering from severe malnutrition or starvation. We are equally aware that the deteriorating and desperate condition of our world is the result of long-standing injustices complicated by a whole spectrum of new factors. These require action now and for years ahead.

We rejoice that God is making us aware of his action today creating a new heaven and a new earth, in which hunger and injustice are ended and all his children share the earth's bounty. We who belong to the church of Jesus Christ are called to be the instruments of his judging and renewing action. We, therefore, commit ourselves to work to identify the values and behavior in ourselves and in this society that hinder his work, and we covenant to intensify our search for new ways for the churches to manifest God's new creation and to help other institutions respond to God's intention for them.

It is a fact that a major commitment of the church has been to people in need, at home and abroad. The mission of the church sought to demonstrate a Biblical concern for people both in their endemic need as well as through emergency relief. Services in health, education and community development have been concomitants of evangelical witness.

We confess that over the years we have tended to reduce love to charity. We also have participated in economic, political and ecclesiastical systems that too frequently have been instruments of oppression.

We rejoice that by the grace of God, new possibilities exist.

We affirm the call of churches and voluntary agencies at the World Food Conference and since to meet the human needs of persons in the Most Seriously Affected countries. Specifically, we urge the President to make an immediate commitment by the U.S. Government of four million additional tons of grain between now and June 30, 1975. Wherever possible, this should be done through multilateral channels. We do not and will not support the allocation of food-stuffs to countries primarily on military or political rather than humanitarian grounds.

We here covenant together to urge the denominations and ecumenical agencies we represent to develop in dialogue with Their World colleagues strategies that will move corporately:

- to make hunger a priority issue in every local church and community,
- to meet immediate needs, locally and worldwide in a more intensive and intentional way,
- to affect the policies of our government by increasing legislative action through local networks and a strengthened voice in Washington,
- to mount a massive educational effort that upholds the benefits and possibilities of a life of creative simplicity,
- to reorder our national priorities to reflect a commitment to human need, development and freedom,
- to develop ways by which our constituencies can engage in a serious analysis of the systemic causes of current injustice and initiate action programs that will change them.

We recognize that the unprecedented magnitude of the world hunger crisis requires unprecedented collaboration by the churches, and that we cannot become effective instruments of God's creation of new human community so long as we perpetuate the separation and wastefulness that characterize much of our existence as denomination. In the interest of common witness and meaningful stewardship, we assert our commitment to ecumenical cooperation; therefore, we call upon our denominations through the NCC to establish more comprehensive means for maximal collaboration in the planning and implementing of the churches' response to the world hunger crisis and the quest for justice.

Senator McGovern. Many, many thanks Mrs. Young for the very fine statement and the strong conclusion. We really appreciate it.

Mr. Goffio, we come to you now. We will be glad to hear what you have to say.

STATEMENT OF MR. FRANK GOFFIO, HONORARY CHAIRMAN, AMERICAN COUNCIL OF VOLUNTARY AGENCIES, INC.; AND, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CARE, INC.

Mr. GOFFIO. Thank you, Senator McGovern.

The hour is late and I apologize for not having a prepared statement. I will be very brief.

Like so many others, yourself included, I too was disappointed in Rome in that we did not make a tonnage commitment. I was disappointed. But, on balance the conference, to me, was good in that it surfaced and exposed to the world the global crisis we have in food. That was in Rome. Then I came home.

Today, as various members of the committee questioned witnesses who testified, I would like to answer some of the questions asked. Does humanitarianism have a home base?

As one who sits at CARE—an organization that has no constituency—Senator McGovern, accept people of good will, compassion and concern. Senator Javits says, well, in answer to Senator Hatfield's survey that \$8 million is just a little bit. That's probably for the whole year. Actually, he misunderstood Senator Hatfield.

Our \$6 million in cash is for the first 4½ months of this fiscal year, which is a 35-percent increase in cash over last year. Total in kind is over \$10 million. This fiscal year I think we will do over \$20 million.

Now, that's a little bit in terms of the total need in the world, Senator McGovern. But, I think, as an expression of unaffiliated concern—although everyone is affiliated some way—people want to be part of the action in serving the needs of the world.

While I am terribly worried and upset, I am not depressed. Because when that kind of response comes to the need that exists—those people all over these United States who say, "What can I do?"—I know we are going to make it. We are going to make it together. We do not give up, if we can convince the leadership that needs to be convinced that the people of this country are willing to follow people of good will that are going to do the good thing overseas. There's no doubt about that.

Senator McGovern. Mr. Goffio, you raise most of your funds by direct mail, do you not?

Mr. GOFFIO. Direct mail and with public service support. We don't pay for a dime of air and radio ads you hear. The average contribution is about \$6 or \$7.

Senator McGovern. And you say that will figure out to about \$20 million?

Mr. GOFFIO. This year, at the rate we are going now, and we are just into our real gimmick zone that will run through January and February, it will run about \$20 million in cash, I would suspect, if this continues.

We have to do more than that. They are asking for a way to lean on something. Right this moment we are trying to give them that way. CARE will be going on a national campaign within our resources to the extent we can say this is one of the ways. My colleagues in the religious agencies are doing the same thing. Larry says, let us caution and not expect the private sector to do it at all. I think we can ask the private sector to do a lot. I have no compunction about asking. They want to be asked, they want to do. We can do that, show compassion as private citizens.

I remember a story from a long time ago about Disraeli standing in his office and looking down on the street as hundreds of people began to go by. Then it was thousands. He said, "I must follow them." His colleague said, "You are going to follow that crowd?" He said, "I must follow them, am I not their leader?"

That's what we must do. We want to be human beings, compassionate and concerned about our brothers. I have found, Senator McGovern, that he who is concerned about his neighbor next door is the same man or same woman that is concerned about his neighbor overseas.

Thank you very much, Senator.

Senator McGOVERN. Thank you for your statement. I appreciate that note of encouragement.

Our final witness is Mr. Rufus Day, treasurer of the International Planned Parenthood Association.

STATEMENT OF RUFUS DAY, TREASURER, INTERNATIONAL PLANNED PARENTHOOD FEDERATION

Mr. DAY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. At this end of a fine day I will be brief and submit my prepared statement for the record.¹

The International Planned Parenthood Federation, of which I have been treasurer for the better part of the last 20 years, is an independent international nonprofitable federation whose members are the National Family Planning Association of 85 countries. It and its members are dedicated to making family planning available to all people and to working to attain a balance between the population of the world and its resources and productivity.

The headquarters of IPPF is in London. We have regional offices scattered through six of the cities of the world.

In all of our 85 member countries, and in 20 more that aren't members yet, IPPF gives guidance, technical, and financial assistance in family planning through its member associations which are composed of concerned citizens of their own country who want to make family planning available there.

Typically, our association started by offering services themselves and making their presence known in educational campaigns. Then they hope, as soon as possible, to get the government involved—either to give support to them, or hopefully to take over family planning as part of the national health program. There are countries in all stages. There are countries in which the government has taken over

¹ See p. 169.

the entire work of providing services. Then the private association acts in the informational and educational end of things, in special projects, and tries to lead the way.

There are countries in which the Family Planning Association gives the services with governmental support and some help. There's still some countries in which the government has not yet been activated, and the Family Planning Associations have to do the whole thing themselves. At the present time, in a considerable majority of countries, there's at least some government interest.

The question is sometimes asked whether the family planning movement has an impact. The fact that we have the crisis of population and food that we do in the world today is certainly evidence that we haven't attained ultimate success.

However, there are many measures that indicate that our movement is working. In 1973, in Latin America alone, there were 500,000 new accepters at our clinic—apart from those that may have come from government services. There's a growing number of countries in which the rate of population growth is coming down.

Those are mostly medium-size and small countries in which there has been a maximum family planning effort, and also some degree of health, educational, and economic development. But there also are countries such as Sri Lanka and parts of India where results have been obtained in reducing the growth rate, even though the helpful progress in health, in education, have not been made. There's no question but that general development is important to family planning, and makes it much easier to get it established. It is not essential; and in any case, it requires the family planning effort in addition to, and as part of, the development effort.

For 1974, IPPF has a budget of about \$33 million exclusive of locally raised funds. Over 90 percent of this is contributed by governments. The United States, which is one of the oldest and the largest single contributor, contributed, in 1974, about \$12.5 million in cash and about \$3 million more in contraceptives in kind. However, other governments are contributing in increasing amounts. In 1974, other governments contributed a total of about \$15 million—which ranged from over \$4 million in Sweden and \$2 million in Canada, down to small contributions by some of the governments of developing countries.

Now, I believe everyone in IPPF shares the hope, the concern, that governments of the world will take the action to alleviate the present shortage of food in South Asia and in central Africa that has made conditions there so grim.

I believe we would all endorse the programs that have been put forward here today. We believe, however, that an essential part of the solution to the problems of food and development is a lowering of the rate of population growth in the countries where it is not yet been done. Unless we succeed in this, a few decades will see many more situations like that of Bangladesh—including some in our own hemisphere.

So next year IPPF intends to maximize its effort to make implementation of the world plan of action—which said that all couples and individuals should have the right to decide freely and responsibly

the number and spacing of their children; and to have the education, information, and means to do so.

We are always trying to devise some programs that are innovative to reach the people who haven't been reached.

We deeply hope that the U.S. Government and the other governments, whose support is vital to our efforts, will continue the support that they have given us.

I thank you very much.

STATEMENT OF RUFUS S. DAY, JR.,
TREASURER OF INTERNATIONAL PLANNED PARENTHOOD FEDERATION
AT AD HOC HEARING ON "THE CHALLENGE OF FOOD AND POPULATION"

The International Planned Parenthood Federation, of which I am Treasurer, is an international non-governmental organization whose members are the autonomous family planning associations of some 85 countries. It is dedicated to making the knowledge of family planning available to all people as a fundamental human right, and to working toward a balance between the population of the world and its resources and productivity.

IPPF has its Headquarters in London, and 6 regional offices located in various parts of the world -- one in Kuala Lumpur for East Asia, one in Colombo for the Indian Ocean Region, one in Beirut for the Middle East, one in Nairobi for Africa, one in London for Europe, and one in New York for the Western Hemisphere.

In all its 85 member countries -- and in some 20 more which are not yet members -- IPPF gives guidance and technical and financial assistance in family planning through its member associations which are composed of local people dedicated to providing family planning in their own countries. Typically, associations start by operating service and educational programs of their own, and then work to convince their governments to make family planning part of the national health program. Once the government becomes active, the association cooperates with the government and works to assist and extend its program, usually by taking responsibility for information and educational programs, and operating model clinics, pilot projects and other innovative activities. In some countries, where the government has not yet become involved, the association remains responsible for the total program.

It is hard to measure the full impact of the family planning effort. That we have in the world today a crisis in population and food is evidence that it has not attained ultimate success. However, statistics show that in 1973, in Latin America alone -- where most of the governments do not yet provide family planning services -- the clinics of IPPF's member associations provided services to more than 500,000 new acceptors. On a broader basis, statistics also show that in some developing countries -- mostly small and medium-sized countries in which an extensive family planning program has been paralleled by improvements in education, public health and economic development -- there has already been a substantial reduction in the growth rate. Unfortunately, there has not yet been a significant reduction in some of the larger countries where the need is greatest.

IPPF has, for 1974, a budget of about \$33,000,000, exclusive of local funds. Over 90% of this was contributed by governments. The United States, through A.I.D., was one of the earliest, and is the largest, of the contributors, having given in 1974 about \$12,500,000 in cash and \$3,000,000 worth of commodities in kind. However, other governments are contributing in increasing amounts. About \$15,000,000 was contributed in 1974 by a total of about 20 other governments, ranging from \$4,400,000 by Sweden and \$2,000,000 by Canada to small contributions by some of the developing countries.

IPPF held an Anniversary Conference of its own in October, 1973, was very active in the Population Conference in Bucharest in August, and was represented at the Food Conference in Rome last month. At the Population Conference it fought for the principle, which was incorporated in the World Population Plan of Action, that all couples and individuals have the right to decide freely and responsibly the number and spacing of their children, and to have the education, information and means to do so. We would have liked to see the Plan go on to set a target date of 1985 for making this right universally effective, but the failure of the

Conference to do so does not eliminate 1985 as a target date from our point of view.

I believe that everyone in IPPF shares the hope that the governments of the world will take action to alleviate the present shortage of food in the parts of South Asia and Central Africa where the outlook is now so grim, and to do everything possible to prevent the occurrence of another such emergency. We also believe that the developed countries should assist the rest of the world in achieving higher levels of health, education and agricultural or industrial development. This is a most desirable objective in itself. Moreover, experience shows that progress toward this objective is likely to make it easier for a country to achieve a population balance. People are more likely to see the value of limiting their families if they have some hope, if there is a likelihood that the children they already have will grow up to help them in their work and in their old age.

IPPF believes, however, that an essential part of the solution of the problems of food and development is a lowering of the rate of population growth. The urgency is greatest in those countries [^]where [^]production and resources either are presently inadequate, or in the relatively near future will be inadequate, to support their populations. Unless we succeed in lowering the growth rate, a few decades will see many countries of the world, including some in our own hemisphere, in the position Bangladesh is in today.

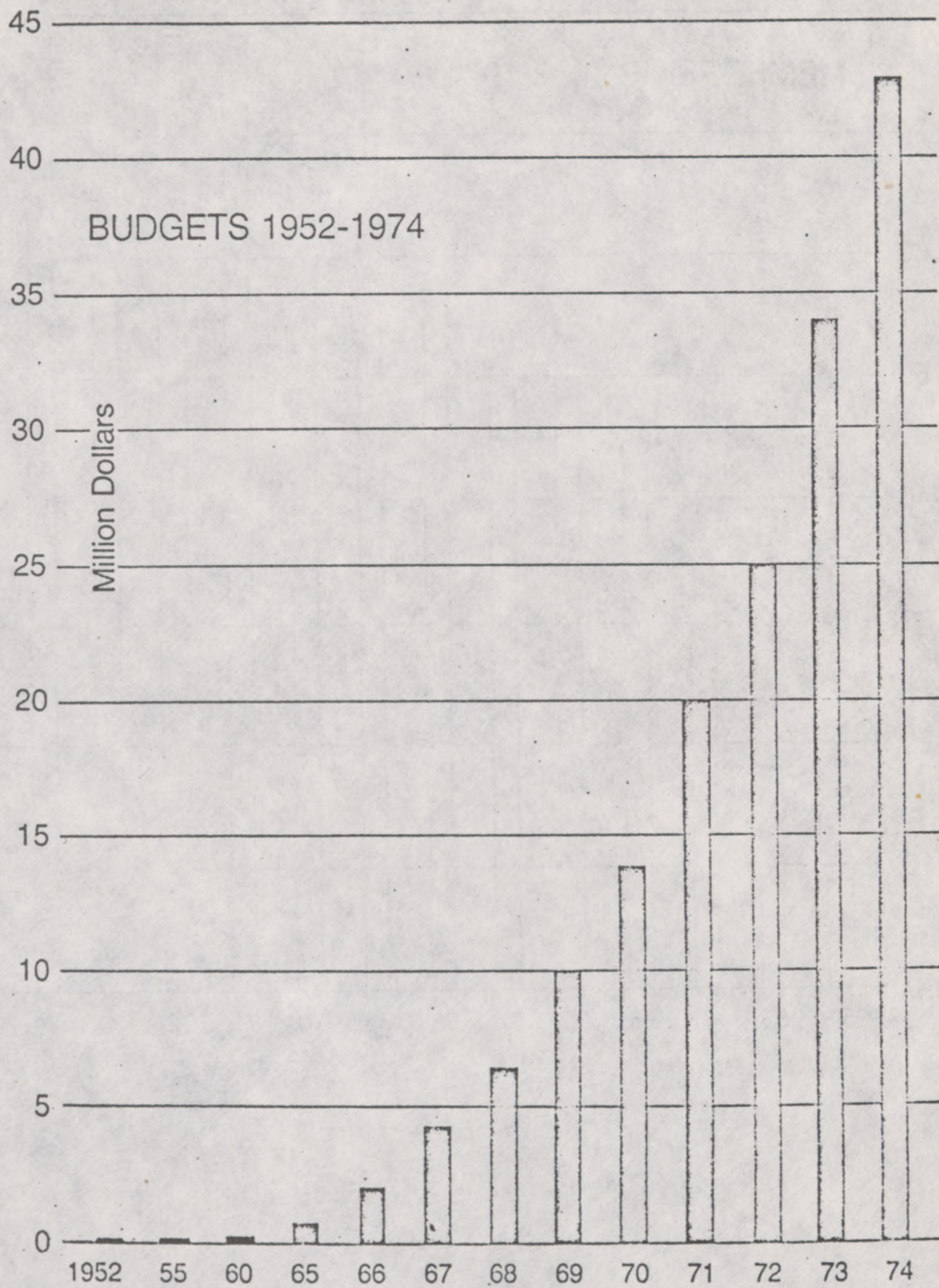
In 1975 and the years immediately ahead, IPPF plans to maximize its effort to make family planning, as soon as humanly possible, available to people all over the world, and a part of their way of life. To this end, it is seeking innovative ways of reaching the people, in rural as well as urban areas, who have not yet been reached.

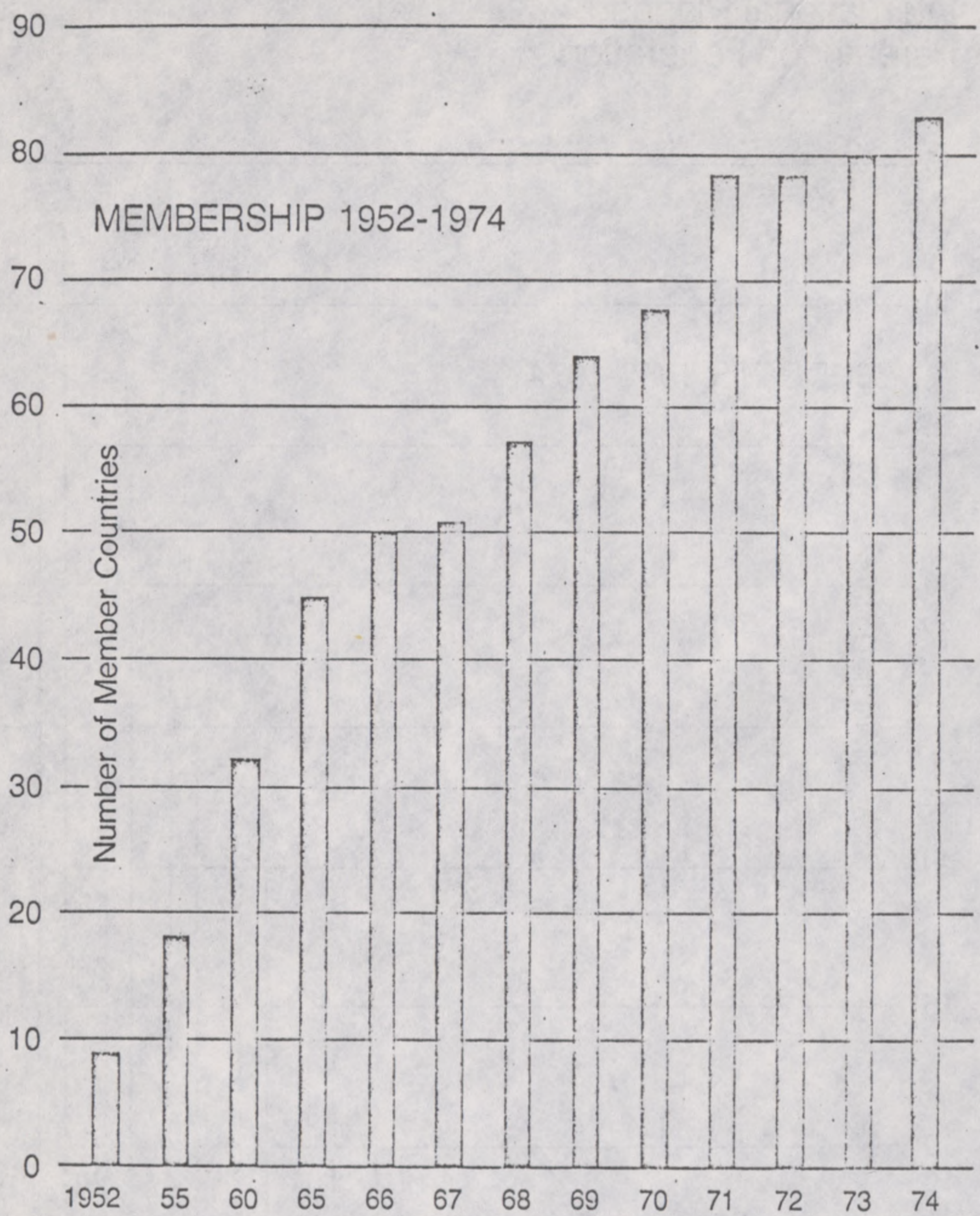
One of its newer approaches is its Community Based Distribution Program. A new department is initiating a world campaign to remove the key bottleneck in the distribution of contraceptives -- inadequate availability of clinics and of trained staff -- by reaching into the communities and assisting the people themselves to spread the use of contraceptives through their own network of family and friends and those with whom they have trade relationships. The work is carried on, under trained supervision, by locally based distributors, almost all of whom have other jobs. Some are motivated by financial incentives and some by a sense of community responsibility. Pilot projects of community-based distribution are being carried on, with initial success, in Sri Lanka, Thailand, Brazil, and Colombia, and additional projects are being planned for several other countries.

Another current approach is including family planning as a component in other types of development program. IPPF is supporting, at the present time, dozens of projects in different parts of the world, in which its member associations are participating in broader development programs carried on by other agencies. These include company and union welfare plans, literacy programs, health programs, agricultural development plans, and youth activities. Efforts of this kind are not new to IPPF, which has encouraged them for years, but it is multiplying them today, in line with the recommendations of the World Plan of Action that family planning be made a part of general development programs.

In implementing these new approaches, as well as in maintaining and extending the core programs of its member associations, inflation and economic crisis are creating serious problems for IPPF as they are for everyone else. We are trying to meet them to the extent possible by reviewing our programs for cost effectiveness and by maximizing the use of volunteers. We must keep expanding the scope and coverage of the family planning effort if the rate of world population growth is to be substantially reduced in a reasonable time. We hope that the government of the United States and other countries will see fit to continue the support which is so vital to our effort, and, we believe, to the future of the world.

International Planned Parenthood Federation

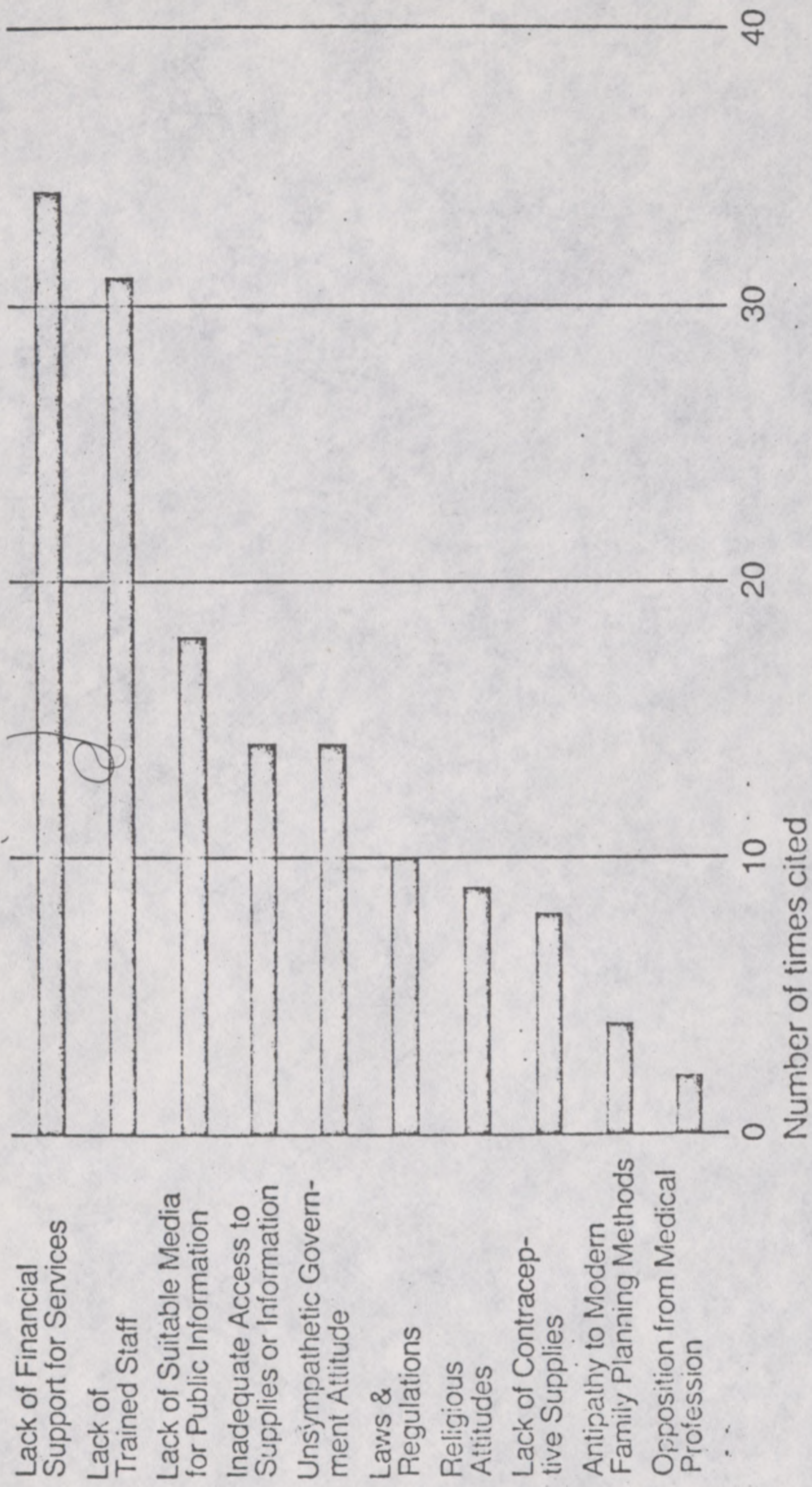




Levels of contraceptive practice, 1971.



Serious Obstacles to Full Acceptance of Family Planning as Indicated in Response to IPPF Questionnaire, from 98 Countries, 1970-1971



This bar graph indicates the number of times that a questionnaire filled out by a national family planning association cited each factor as a serious obstacle to full acceptance of family planning.

REPORT TO DONORS

	INCOME		
	Actual Income 1973	Estimated Income 1974	** Assumed Planning Figures 1975
<u>GOVERNMENTS</u>			
Australia	141	175	250
Belgium	—	50	50
Canada	1,500	2,000	2,500
Denmark	804	552	625
Finland	100	100	120
Germany (Fed. Rep.)	962	1,450	1,700
Ghana	44	43	45
Japan	800	1,600	2,000
Netherlands	381	450	500
New Zealand	133	133	150
Norway	1,176	1,513	1,870
Sweden	3,558	4,440	4,600
United Kingdom	1,470	1,600	1,840
United States	11,407	12,500	12,500
Funds for Conference	292	—	—
Others*	1,391	1,082	1,650
Sub Total	24,159	27,688	30,400
<u>PRIVATE</u>			
Victor Bostrom	891	900	900
McCormick Bequest	200	200	—
Associations			
Canada	36	50	50
United States	668	725	725
Others	19	40	50
Various Donations	300	80	200
Interest & Dividends	262	165	250
Miscellaneous	84	25	25
	2,460	2,185	2,200
Total Direct Income	26,619	29,873	32,600
Local Income available to grant receiving FPA's	9,880	10,817	14,054
	36,499	40,690	46,654

*Includes Indonesia, Jamaica, Korea, Mauritius, Pakistan, Tunisia and other Governments.

** Figures in this column are based on estimates made at 1.8.74, and may be subject to revision.

Senator McGOVERN. Thank you, Mr. Day.

I want to thank all the witnesses at the table, and others who testified today, for what I believe has been a very worthwhile hearing.

We realize that these hearings in themselves don't feed hungry people. They don't come to grips with the problems of population, but they do help develop the support within our Government and across the country that is necessary for a more urgent action.

So I am very hopeful that as a consequence of this hearing today—at the tail end of this session of the Congress—we are setting the stage for some very concrete action when we come back into session in January.

I do want to thank each one of you for your part in that effort.
[Applause.]

Senator McGOVERN. The hearing will be adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 6:20 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

APPENDIX

Population Crisis Committee

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September 26, 1974

Food and Population

The World Population Conference was held in Bucharest last month.

A workable Population Plan of Action was agreed upon and recommended to all governments

The World Food Conference will convene November 5th in Rome.

Delegates should remember that a satisfactory long-range food solution is only possible if the world's rate of population growth is drastically reduced — and *this should start now.*

A Message to our many Friends:

I am happy to report that the World Population Conference in Bucharest, which ended three weeks ago after many ups and downs, was in the end a real success, and marked a great step forward. A World Population Plan of Action designed to improve the quality of life of the peoples of the world, and looking toward a humanitarian solution of the world's population problems, was adopted by consensus of the 135 governments participating. Population policies were seen as an integral part of economic and social development. Only the Holy See registered dissent from the Plan.

Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of the United Nations, who opened the Conference, said, "This is one of the most important Conferences the United Nations has ever organized. I hope it will make an important contribution to the solution of the problem of the discrepancy between the growing population all over the world and the shortage of food."

The Conference did make an important contribution just as the Secretary-General had hoped. The head of the United States delegation, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Caspar Weinberger, hailed the Plan as a "landmark advance in international understanding and agreement on population matters."

The Plan of Action as adopted at Bucharest is, of course, not a perfect document. International agreements seldom are, since they must reflect many national points of view, differing ideologies, and many political compromises. But the key sections of the Plan, in my judgement, are extremely important and I quote them below:

"29 . . . It is recommended that all countries:

"(a) Respect and ensure, regardless of their over-all demographic goals, the right of persons to determine, in a free, informed and responsible manner, the number and spacing of their children;

"(b) Encourage appropriate education concerning responsible parenthood *and make available to persons who so desire advice and means of achieving it; (italics mine)*

"37 . . . Countries which consider their birth rates detrimental to their national purposes are invited to consider setting quantitative goals and implementing policies that may lead to the attainment of such goals by 1985."

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So the Conference has reaffirmed the basic human right of all people to determine the number and spacing of their own children, and, so that this right could be effectively exercised, has recommended that all countries provide the necessary advice and means to all who wish such help. A brief summary of the highlights of the World Population Plan of Action is included with this message.

The Plan as adopted by the World Population Conference, under the leadership of its Secretary-General, Antonio Carrillo-Flores of Mexico, clearly indicates, as many Third World Delegates emphasized, that population policies must be seen as a means and not an end in themselves. At the same time, it also clearly calls for family planning programs. While recognizing the sovereignty of every government to determine its own population policies and programs, the Plan nevertheless recommends international cooperation, which would point toward a worldwide population program.

The present trend toward support of this effort is very clear. Practically all the Asian Governments now recognize the serious nature of their population problems and are already endeavoring to provide the necessary information and services to their people.

And at Bucharest, to the surprise of many, the largest country in Latin America, Brazil, announced that it would now begin to furnish both the information and the means to those couples who could not pay for them but desired to limit the number of their children.

So in Latin America—Brazil, Mexico, Colombia and Venezuela—countries representing nearly two-thirds of the population of that continent are already committed to this important recommendation of the Plan.

In Africa, Egypt, Tunisia, Ghana and Kenya also recognize the desire of many of their own people to limit the size of their families for health or economic reasons, and are ready to help them do so.

The progress made during the past three years in governmental understanding of the population problem and in recognizing the wish of many people for smaller families has been quite remarkable. A satisfactory World Plan of Action has now been adopted by general consensus, and its series of recommendations have been taken back to the capitals of 135 governments for consideration. How they respond, and how quickly and with what priority they act will determine how much progress will actually be made, and how soon family planning services will actually become available generally for the people of the world.

The point was of course made at Bucharest that making family planning services available to people everywhere will not necessarily solve the world's population problem. It would establish the basic groundwork. But it will also require changes in traditional patterns and increased motivation on the part of many millions of couples for smaller families. Therefore, far more education and efforts toward appropriate motivation will be needed everywhere. Also, one resolution urged those countries—and groups within countries—consuming an excessive share of the world's resources to reduce this disproportionate share of consumption.

But now the Plan of Action must be implemented!

It will take first—favorable decisions and action by many governments—and then greatly increased resources from the richer countries in grants, and also from the tax resources of the developing countries themselves, as well as many thousands more of trained personnel to operate the many new or expanding national family planning programs. Both the United Nations Fund for Population Activities and the International Planned Parenthood Federation will have greatly expanded roles and responsibilities, and hopefully, greatly increased resources. Rafael Salas, Executive Director of the Fund, as well as other members of the United Nations Family, and Julia Henderson, Secretary-General of the International Planned Parenthood Federation will play very important roles in the governmental and private sectors, respectively.

But above all, it will be the priority that governments themselves—and particularly the Heads of State—actually give to these programs that will determine their success or failure.

In every country it is hoped that you who read this will press and encourage your own government to take action—strong and constructive and priority action—as soon as possible; action however which is consistent with whatever the particular population problem and the cultural situation of your country makes appropriate and desirable.

Recently, more than 2500 distinguished citizens from over 100 countries have signed a Declaration on Food and Population, a copy of which is enclosed. They too can help immensely if they will also do all they can so that both the public and those in government understand what should be done, and the urgency of doing it now.

We particularly suggest that you all urge your own government to accept the Plan's basic recommendation, and by enacting a new law or by official proclamation announce publicly that the government will supply both the necessary information and the means to all couples who desire to limit or space their own children, *and will endeavor to make this family planning program effective throughout the entire country as soon as possible but not later than 1985—even though this date was not specifically included in the final Plan.*

If many governments throughout the world will take some such action in the near future, the agreed Plan of Action will begin to have real meaning and real substance.

The World Food Conference

Finally, one of the resolutions adopted at the Bucharest Conference asked all governments to participate constructively in the World Food Conference to be held in Rome next November. Population increase has recently been outrunning world food production. Many hundred millions are still underfed—many in quite a few countries are now actually starving.

It is clear that in the short range more food must and can be grown—most developing countries should aim to be self-sufficient in food, and so themselves be safe. This means that higher priority must be given to the agricultural sector in many countries.

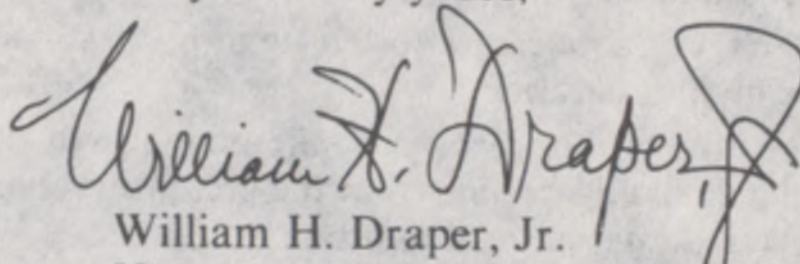
It is equally clear in the longer range that unless the world's population problem is solved—and this means eventually a stabilized, constant, non-growing population for the world as a whole—the food problem will someday get completely out of hand, and then mass starvation might become Nature's very unwelcome solution.

Unfortunately, as I see it, the preparatory proposals for the Food Conference do not suggest the need for reduction in population growth in order to look toward a long-term solution of the world's food problem. Since the earth is finite and food production cannot be increased indefinitely, we believe it would be desirable to suggest to all delegates to the World Food Conference that they support two broad principles:

- 1) To grow more food in all food deficit countries to assure sufficient food at a reasonable nutritional level for their own people now and in the short range future for their growing population.
- 2) To recognize and publicize the need in the longer run to reduce world population growth, and to therefore advocate governmental policies and action in all countries *now* toward that end.

In closing we continue to advocate *more* food production and *lower* population growth—and we ask your personal help in both directions. Discuss both problems with your friends—in and out of government. Something can be done to help in every country. So please do whatever you can now, before it is too late.

Very sincerely yours,


William H. Draper, Jr.
Honorary Chairman

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1974

Population Talks Called Valuable First Step

By GLADWIN HILL

Special to The New York Times

BUCHAREST, Sept. 1—Delegates from 135 nations apparently agree that the first inter-governmental conference on world population problems has been a success despite the indefinite nature of the policy statement they drafted here and in the face of assertions that they took only token notice of the population growth rates.

The delegates left for home yesterday after two weeks of conferring, under United Nations auspices, and the policy statement was the principle product of their meeting. Generally, they termed it a valuable initial step in coping with a problem that the United Nations would not officially acknowledge existed until 10 years ago.

The departing delegates said

the conference, two years in the past.

preparation, had paved the way for systematic monitoring and periodic assessment of global population trends; awakened awareness of population problems in many nations, and emphasized to the affluent nations that defusing the "population bomb" would involve a lot more than overseas birth-control programs.

The population conference's 10,000-word Plan of Action shifted emphasis from birth control to economic and social development particularly in the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which contain two-thirds of the world's inhabitants and which, collectively, are doubling their populations every 20 years.

Birth-control efforts were viewed as an adjunct to economic and social development, which lowered birth rates in

The affluent nations were depicted as having major obligations to accelerate this development through direct financial and technical assistance, reduced per capita consumption of resources and cooperation in more just distribution of those resources.

U.S. Led a Struggle

References to 1985 as a sort of target date for population reduction efforts were included only after a struggle led by the United States against less developed countries, which viewed any such expression as tacit infringement on their sovereignty.

At the same time the plan enunciated the duty of governments to provide all citizens who desire it with birth control information and "means," that is, contraceptives.

The declaration also empha-

sized efforts to reduce infant mortality and extend life span since both bring down birth rates.

The Plan of Action has sections on population goals and policies, socio-economic policies, information and implementation.

The socio-economic section said:

"This plan recognizes that economic and social development is a central factor in the solution of population problems. National efforts of developing countries to accelerate economic growth should be assisted by the entire international community. It is imperative that all countries, and within them all social sectors, should adapt themselves to more rational utilization of natural resources, without excess, so that some are not deprived of what others waste."

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HIGHLIGHTS
of the
WORLD POPULATION PLAN OF ACTION
as agreed by the
WORLD POPULATION CONFERENCE AT BUCHAREST

Population policies and programs are an integral part of economic and social development and should be directed toward the ultimate goal of improving the quality of life for all men, women and children. To this end, the World Population Conference recommends that:

1. Governments should develop national policies and programs relating to the growth and distribution of their populations, if they have not already done so, and the rate of population change should be taken into account in development programs.
2. Countries should aim at a balance between low rather than high death rates and birth rates.
3. Highest priority should be given to the reduction of high death rates. Expectation of life should exceed 62 years in 1985 and 74 years in 2000. Where infant mortality continues high, it should be brought down to at least 120 per 1000 live births by the year 2000.
4. Because all couples and individuals have the basic human right to decide freely and responsibly the number and spacing of their children, countries should encourage appropriate education concerning responsible parenthood and make available to persons who so desire advice and means of achieving it.
5. Family planning, and related services should aim at prevention of unwanted pregnancies as well as elimination of involuntary sterility or subfecundity to enable couples to achieve their desired number of children.
6. Where family planning programs exist they should be coordinated with health and other services designed to raise the quality of life.
7. Countries which consider their birth rates detrimental to their national purposes are invited to set quantitative goals and implement policies to achieve them by 1985.
8. Developed countries should develop appropriate policies in population, consumption and investment, bearing in mind the need for fundamental improvement in international equity.
9. Because the family is the basic unit of society, governments should assist families as far as possible through appropriate legislation and services.
10. Governments should ensure full participation of women in the educational, economic, social and political life of their countries on an equal basis with men.
11. Countries which wish to increase their rate of population growth should do so through low mortality rather than high fertility, and possibly immigration.
12. To achieve the projected declines in population growth and the projected increases in life expectancy, birth rates in the developing countries should decline from the present level of 38 to 30 per thousand by 1985, which will require substantial national efforts and international assistance.
13. In addition to family planning, measures should be employed that affect such socio-economic factors as reduction in infant and childhood mortality, increased education particularly for females, improvement in the status of women, land reform and support in old age.
14. To assure needed information concerning population trends, population censuses should be taken at regular intervals and information concerning birth and deaths should be made available at least annually.
15. Policies should be developed to reduce the undesirable consequences of excessively rapid urbanization and to develop opportunities in rural areas and small towns, recognizing the right of individuals to move freely within their national boundaries.
16. International agreements should be concluded to regulate the migration of workers and to assure non-discriminatory treatment and social services for these workers and their families.
17. National efforts should be intensified through expanded research programs to develop knowledge concerning the social, economic and political interrelationships with population trends; effective means of reducing infant and childhood mortality; new and improved methods of fertility regulation to meet the varied requirement of individuals and communities, including methods requiring no medical supervision; the interrelations of health, nutrition and reproductive biology; and methods for improving the administration, delivery and utilization of social services, including family planning services.
18. International, intergovernmental and non-governmental agencies and national governments should increase their assistance in the population field on request.
19. In exercising their sovereign right to determine their population policies and programs, governments should do so consistent with human rights and the effects of their national policies on the interests of other nations and of mankind.
20. The Plan of Action should be closely coordinated with the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, reviewed in depth at five year intervals, and modified as appropriate.



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FOR THE INTERNATIONAL
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The 1971 crop of cereal grains was an all-time record harvest—over one billion metric tons.

To visualize what that figure means, let's turn a highway—a highway built of grain—which encircles the earth at the Equator. This highway of grain is about 16 meters wide—the width of one of the main avenues in any large city—and two meters deep. We must reconstruct this highway of grain each year because we consume it in its entirety; it is not made of cement so that once made one can use it for 30 years

with minor repairs.

At the same time that we are reconstructing this highway each year, we must begin building a second one of these same dimensions—16 meters wide and two meters deep—beside it. Each year we must add over 1,000 kilometers of grain to the second

highway just to keep up with population growth.

Norman E. Borlaug, Nobel Prize, 1970

FOOD AND POPULATION

REPORT NO. 19
SUMMER-FALL
1974



WILLIAM H. DRAPER, JR.
Chairman, Victor-Bostrom
Fund Committee

THE VICTOR FUND AND THE VICTOR-BOSTROM FUND

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The Victor-Bostrom Fund was established in 1968 with an initial contribution from Mr. Harold Bostrom. By the end of 1973 the Fund had provided at least a million dollars annually to IPPF for five consecutive years.

The total amount raised is now over \$11.5 million. With the base provided by these funds and other private contributions, IPPF has obtained support from some fifteen governments and the United Nations Fund for Population Activities. But private support must also continue to grow. Your help on any scale which you can afford will be gratefully appreciated.



ALEXANDER F. VICTOR



JULIA HENDERSON

The Victor-Bostrom Fund Report

1835 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006
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Photographs courtesy of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations; Carl Purcell; International Planned Parenthood Federation; World Council of Churches; Agency for International Development; and the Government of India.

*"To meet our present crises successfully,
the world must reorder its priorities . . ."*

Nutrition and Numbers

by

J. GEORGE HARRAR
President Emeritus
The Rockefeller Foundation



The world today is confronted with three major crises: two of long-standing and one of recent major impact. These are:

- A rapidly-growing world population which may reach 7 billion by the end of the century and could double that figure before the middle of the twenty-first century.

- A worsening world food situation in which reserves are at an all-time low, prices have gotten out of hand, and production projections over the long term, in contrast to demand, are unsatisfactory.

- An energy crisis, long building but currently posing an immediate threat to our industrial potential with especially serious implications for the agricultural industry.

Clearly, these crises must be looked at in context, and massive effort made world-wide, especially in the Third World, to avert the disastrous results of failure to stabilize populations, substantially increase food supplies and resolve the problems of energy for progress. This can only be accomplished through international agreement, planning, and action on a continuing basis towards these ends.

This Victor-Bostrom Fund Report deals with these three crises and offers a number of specific recommendations—national and international—to improve what Dr. Borlaug rightly calls "a precarious world food situation."

Unfortunately, as these articles suggest, the world is substantially out of balance with respect to the produc-

tion and distribution of needed food supplies. It has long been recognized that there are many agrarian nations whose production levels are low and who regularly fail to satisfy their basic food requirements. Most successful agriculture is practiced in temperate climates, where soils are fertile, rainfall adequate and growing conditions, in general, favorable. Where the climate is harsh, water scarce, soils infertile and economic resources limited, agriculture tends to become a subsistence phenomenon. Where there are complications caused by periodic floods, droughts or other natural disasters, the situation worsens. The Third World has long experienced the effects of an imperfect system of agricultural production and a long-term lag in economic development. Where this situation is compounded by explosive population growth, standards of living and the quality of life are woefully inadequate.

Checking Population Growth

There are appropriate technologies which make it possible to abate population growth. What appears to be lacking is a universal will to embark upon this effort aggressively and continuously. Some nations are still not convinced that the population threat is real, growing, and is contributing each day to a deteriorating world economy which, in turn, determines what standards of living shall prevail. **World leaders, and indeed, the public will have to realize that they can make progress towards the improvement of the human condition through the limitation of our numbers.**

As communication improves, it becomes increasingly possible to establish patterns and programs directed towards reducing birth rates through mass participation. Time is a critical factor and although the world might be able to limit its population to approximately 7 billion, just after the turn of the century, it is more probable that explosive growth will continue well into the next century and that there could be a world population of 10-15 billion by the year 2025. **Theoretical models with respect to potential world food production are interesting but unrealistic. The facts are that the world, in its present state of technology and with its present resources, cannot hope to support in dignity a population of 10-15 billion by the end of the next 50 years.** If these numbers do occur because we are unsuccessful in stabilizing populations, then the least result will be severely reduced standards of living worldwide. But for millions, this will undoubtedly mean chronic malnutrition and starvation.

Nutrition Needs Must Be Met

If population stabilization occurs on an increasing scale, then perhaps we can meet the problems of world nutrition. We are fortunate in having an enormous body of knowledge derived from research on the human diet, which establishes the requirements for energy and body-building compounds. We have become increasingly aware of deficiency diseases and their effects upon pregnant mothers, infants, juveniles and older age



groups. We know that juvenile malnutrition can bring about irreversible detrimental effects, both physical and mental, that millions are today condemned to unproductive lives because of their earlier, deficient dietary patterns. We recognize also the interrelationship between many pathogenic conditions and nutrition, and are well aware of the effect of deficiencies of amino acids and of protein malnutrition on body metabolism. Presently, knowledge is available to make it possible often to combat many of these conditions through treatment and a balanced diet.

Effects of Energy Crisis

To provide adequately for the nutritional needs of our present population plus those who join the society every day, the agricultural industry is under ever greater pressure. The energy crisis makes the problem increasingly difficult and complicated, since agriculture depends to a very considerable degree on energy. Adequate fertilizer, machinery, water systems and electrical power sources in concert make it possible to increase efficiency of agriculture with resultant production benefits. If one or more of those elements are subtracted from the system, the total food supply is inevitably reduced. The lack of long-range and forward planning, the inability of nations to act in concert for the common good, the instability of governments and the neglect of food production has brought us to our present crisis which is now being exacerbated by energy constraints.



Rapidly growing populations with unmet nutritional needs, inefficient patterns of agricultural production and the

If human nutrition is meaningful, it can only be so when based solidly on an efficient agricultural industry. Every encouragement must be given to the agricultural industry worldwide. As Shri Subramaniam of India points out, high priorities will have to be assigned to agricultural systems of management and production including all of the basic ingredients essential to the process. These are principally proper soil management, the use of high-quality varieties and species, adequate supplies of fertilizer and other agricultural chemicals, efficient water utilization, and protection from pests and pathogens. Technology appropriate to the crop and to the local economy, storage, transport, marketing, and credit facilities are all essential ingredients within the total system. Finally, but of critical importance, are stable governments, with progressive agricultural policies designed to assure the efficient utilization of agricultural resources and improvements in the quantity and quality of foodstuffs as basic to an advancing economy and national well-being.

Agricultural Potential Not Reached

The world food picture from today's vantage point is not encouraging. A minimum of four percent annual increase in food production is necessary to feed the present population, the 75 million new individuals who join the world each year (200,000 each day) and to provide for reasonable reserves with which to guard against periods of deficit which occur all too frequently. More-

over, world food production is extremely uneven. There is little relevance between the capacity of one area or one nation to produce food supplies and the actual production figures. **Many nations which have the potential to produce annually vast quantities of food and feed grains never approach the potential figures.** This may be due to limited resources, financial strictures, inadequate foreign exchange, unstable government, and an agricultural community disadvantaged from the standpoint of educational opportunities, extension service assistance, and lack of an adequate infrastructure which provides necessary storage facilities, marketing systems, and needed agricultural credit, among other requirements. Most of the nations of the Third World do have large labor resources. In few, however, is the labor utilized at a high level of efficiency, principally because the essential back-up elements are in short supply or not provided.

It is possible to turn agricultural production around in many parts of the world. Most nations know what their annual requirements for food supplies are apt to be. They also know their annual production figures and their population growth rate. It then becomes readily possible to calculate national requirements in both the short and long term. In the context of available resources and systems, each nation can assess its current situation, determine priorities for the future, and methods for their achievement and begin to take appropriate action toward matching agricultural pro-



long term energy crisis present a world challenge that can be surmounted only by cooperative international action.

duction with essential food requirements for the society. Obviously, geographic, climatic, and many other factors and parameters guarantee varying production capacities among nations. However, a first and fundamental requirement is that insofar as possible, each nation maximize its food production within its capabilities.

Fortunately, there is an enormous body of available information, a vast technology, improved biological materials, and an ever-growing cadre of qualified individuals who could give meaning and leadership to any national agricultural development plan. **If each nation participates in a global effort to bring about the maximum efficient utilization of its agricultural and human resources for the production of food and agricultural commodities, then it becomes possible to greatly increase total figures worldwide and to plan a system in which food production and distribution can be in harmony with human needs without the convulsion of crisis.**

World Food Production Could Be Doubled

It has been estimated that an organized, integrated plan of action involving all nations could, through improvements in conventional agriculture, at least double annual world food production within a reasonable period of years. If during the same period, substantial progress is made towards zero population growth, then the lamentable and unreasonable gap between the affluent and disadvantaged nations could be substantially narrowed with enormous benefits to all of the society, in a state of peace and progress. In an organized world food plan, all of the nations concerned would have to accept the rationale of balanced production worldwide. Thus, decisions would have to be made as to where individual crops could be most efficiently and economically produced and how these could be appropriately distributed in exchange for other commodities produced elsewhere. This would be in effect a voluntary system of cropping patterns, quotas, and reserves, as proposed by Dr. Boerma of FAO and Dr. Marei, Secretary-General of the World Food Conference. It would be designed and operated for the benefit of all nations to eliminate periods of glut and scarcity and the economic disadvantages these carry with them.

Our present crises are increasingly apparent and threatening. To meet them successfully, the world must reorder its priorities. It must decide how the utilization of our human and natural resources can best be applied for the benefit of society, present and future. We cannot indefinitely draw on our nonrenewable resources for socially nonproductive purposes. In the past, the tools of conflict, at great cost and enormous destruction, at best brought about an uneasy and only temporary period of peace. A civilized world guided by the morality urged by Dr. Itty of the World Council of Churches should be able to agree upon concerted action directed to the alleviation of all forms of human disadvantage and the continuing improvement of the human condition and dignity through decent standards of living and opportunity. Essential to this end is the interaction of nations and the exchange of information, materials, and people, leading to growing international understanding directed to building a future world with a compassionate concern for all those who will occupy it and one worthy of those who currently direct its destinies.



Fertilizer and new wheat varieties pay off in Ecuador.

"Millions of lives depend upon our deliberations."



A Global Effort is Necessary

by

SAYED A. MAREI
Secretary-General
World Food Conference



The decision of the UN General Assembly to convene a World Food Conference is of great historical significance. It symbolizes the solemn resolve of the international community to work together to solve the problem of hunger—man's earliest enemy and first concern.

Efforts by the international community to solve the world's food problem have been underway in one form or another throughout the past four decades. In 1937 the League of Nations set up a committee to study the inter-related questions of nutrition, food production and economic policy. This initiative led ultimately to the creation, in 1945, of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) as a specialized agency of the United Nations. In the past 29 years FAO has provided a focus for international action in the field of food and agriculture.

Another important development was the establishment in 1961 of the World Food Programme, as a joint UN/FAO body, initiating a new concept of multilateral aid in the form of food for development. This Programme has made a significant contribution to the alleviation of hunger and poverty.

In 1964 the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was established as a permanent organ of the General Assembly. This action greatly strengthened the capacity of the United Nations system to tackle the complex international trade dimension of the world food problem. During recent years, the increasing support given to the agricultural sector by the World Bank, the regional development banks, the United Nations Development Programme and other agencies of the United Nations system has had a considerable impact on food production in many regions.

Two other international events which left their mark in this critical area were the first and second World Food Congresses, held in 1963 and 1970, respectively. These Congresses were not inter-governmental in character, but were attended by a large number of eminent persons with major responsibilities in government, in business and in non-governmental organizations and made a number of important recommendations.

Lately, there has been a growing realization that the problems of food production, consumption and trade need to be resolved in the wider context of development problems. It was from this perspective that the General Assembly adopted an International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade.

Despite these important landmarks and some lesser ones, the world as a whole is still far from providing adequate food for all. In fact, today, in absolute terms we have more people who are hungry and undernourished than we had 25 years ago. Throughout this period the world has alternated between large surpluses and acute shortages, between euphoria and despondency, between hope and despair—but it has not yet devised measures which will effectively banish the threat of starvation, hunger, and malnutrition that hangs over millions of human beings.

New Sense of Urgency

The sudden and sharp deterioration in the world food situation in 1972 and 1973 has created a new sense of urgency in tackling this problem. The most significant manifestation of this sense of urgency is the decision to convene the World Food Conference in November 1974 in Rome.

"The principal task of the World Food Conference," the FAO Conference said in its report to the Economic and Social Commission, "should be to bring about a commitment by the world community as a whole to undertake concrete action toward resolving the world food problem within the wider context of development problems."

Determining an Agenda for Action

The provisional agenda is divided into two parts. The first calls for a careful assessment of the present food situation and the nature and magnitude of the future world food problem, including the identification of a possible food gap between projected requirements and food supply if recent trends in production were to continue.

The second part of the agenda covers national and international action to be taken, grouping together under the following three broad headings a wide range of important measures which could have a major im-



Better irrigation in Libya helps raise food production

pact on the resolution of the food problem:

- Measures for increasing food production and consumption in developing countries,
- Strengthening world food security through co-ordinated stock holding, emergency relief and food aid, and
- International trade and international agricultural adjustment.

It is surely self-evident that the first and fundamental remedy of the world food problem lies in raising food production, in both developed and developing countries. The provisional agenda envisions that it will be possible for the Conference to agree on long-term goals for food production by the world community and to adopt a strategy for achieving these goals through appropriate policies and programmes, with particular emphasis on increasing production in developing countries. These, we hope, will include many concrete and specific plans for the development of land and water resources, agricultural inputs—notably fertilizer, agricultural research for a more appropriate technology—and structural and institutional improvements.

The agenda will also focus attention on consumption and nutrition. It calls on governments to re-examine the nutritional status of their populations and to formulate a strategy for ensuring an adequate diet for all.

The second item will deal with measures to strengthen world food security within a new framework for national and international food policies, the need for which has already been highlighted by the events of the last two years. Even if effective national and international measures are taken to increase production and thus to meet the projected gap between demand and supply of food, there will inevitably be periodical setbacks, for instance, droughts and other disasters, the effects of which will call for a much higher degree of international co-operation.

Emergency Food Reserves Needed

In this context, an important prerequisite is improved co-operation in maintaining food stocks and co-ordinating national reserves policies, so as to ensure that adequate physical supplies are available at all times. This, however, will constitute only the first modest step towards World Food Security—the basic objectives of which have already been endorsed by governments at the Seventeenth Session of the FAO

Conference. The next logical step would be an agreement on more effective measures for providing emergency relief in cases of disaster, including creating international food reserves for use in emergencies.

Another important component of a World Food System would be the formulation of a long-term policy for food aid, linking the concepts of food security and development assistance. Such a policy would allow for improved international co-ordination of food aid programmes, as well as ensuring continuity of food aid supplies and opening the way to an increased role for multilateral food aid.

The third broad heading for action is international trade and international agricultural adjustment. It is envisioned that the Conference will seek specific objectives and programmes which have a bearing on the solution of the food problem, and which could be carried out subsequently through existing international machinery, to achieve greater stability in food prices and greater consistency between national and international agricultural policies.

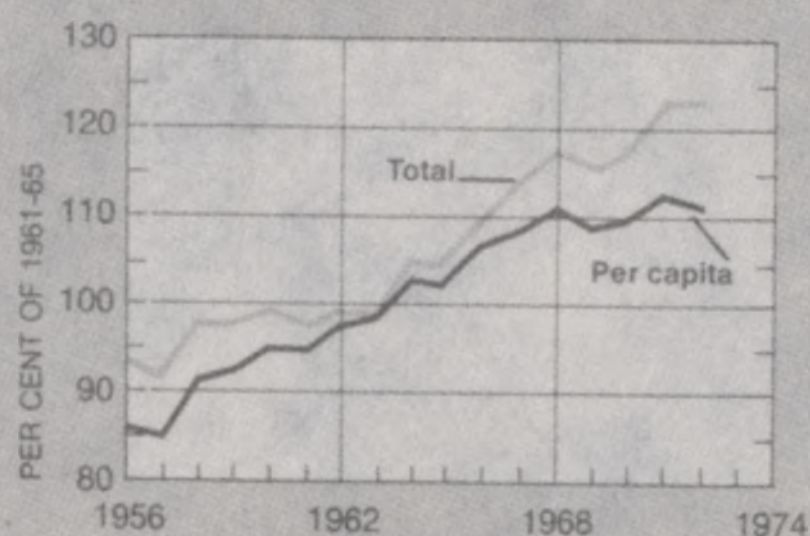
Governments will identify under each agenda item the specific actions and programmes on which the Conference could focus its attention. I am pleading vigorously for a business-like approach, both in the preparatory phase and during the Conference itself. In particular, I hope that we can keep clearly in mind these three areas in which, subject to effective follow-up action, decisive measures can be taken.

Long and intensive work will be required in a very short time by all concerned, and especially by the organizations of the United Nations system directly involved in preparing background material and documents. This will undoubtedly put a considerable strain on the resources and the expertise of the organizations concerned, but I am convinced that they will rise to the occasion.

An even heavier responsibility will fall on the participating governments, since it is up to them to agree on the policy measures and concrete actions that are needed to achieve the Conference objectives.

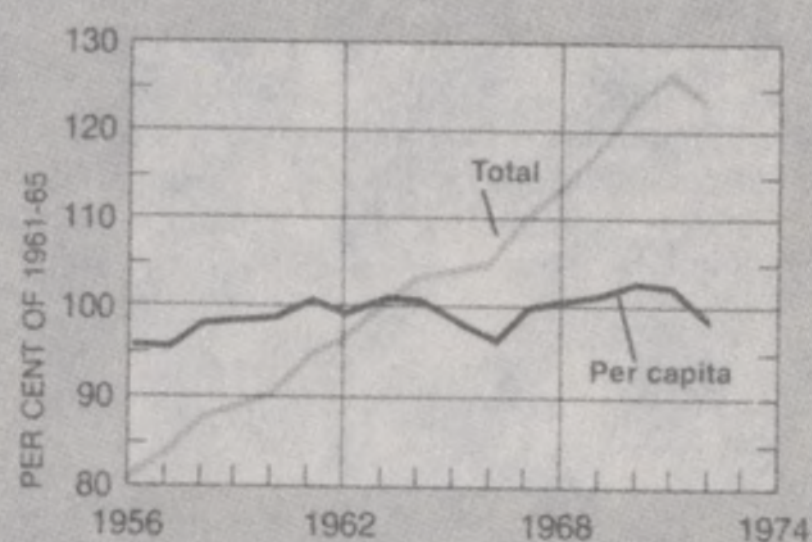
The challenge that we face today in solving the problem of hunger and malnutrition is greater and more complex than at any time in the past. The way in which the international community meets this challenge will affect the lives of millions of human beings all over the world. **I, for one, believe that success can be achieved only on one basic condition—the nations of the world must agree to act vigorously together in the pursuit of a common overriding goal. All countries have a contribution they can make to this endeavour, and all must share responsibility for its success or failure.** Millions of lives are dependent upon our decisions. It should, therefore, be the firm resolve of all to ensure that the World Food Conference of 1974 marks a milestone on the road this world must travel towards our common goal of banishing, once and for all, the scourge of hunger from our globe.

Food Production and Population Growth in Developed Countries



Source: U. S. Department of Agriculture

Food Production and Population Growth in Developing Countries



Source: U. S. Department of Agriculture

*"The neglect of agriculture has
created a potential for disaster . . ."*

The Case for World Food Security



by
ADDEKE H. BOERMA
Director-General
Food & Agriculture Organization
of the United Nations



Twenty-five years ago, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. One of the Articles of the Declaration proclaimed that "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family." Among the necessary components of this right, the first to be mentioned was food.

There are many people in the world, especially in the richer countries, who will regard this as a fine statement of the obvious. There are many others, especially in the poorer countries, who will also regard it as a fine statement, but of a remote ideal. **For the fact is that the world has never come anywhere close to a situation in which everyone has had enough food for an adequate standard of living. Neither in the more distant past nor in the twenty-five years since the Universal Declaration was adopted. Nor today. Today, in fact, there are grounds for believing that, as a result of events in the last year or so, the situation has actually become worse.** It is more critical than it has been at any other time since the years immediately after the end of the Second World War. At the middle of this year, the wheat stocks of major exporting countries may be down to about 20 million tons. At present the outlook for the harvest seems good; some major producers have increased their wheat acreage and the weather so far has been favorable, with the possible exception of the Soviet Union. But the fact remains that the world has become dependent for its basic food supplies on the outcome of a single season's harvests and a single season's weather. If there is a substantial shortfall in any region we could be face to face with crisis on a considerable scale.

Even with good harvests the world continues to be faced with shortages and high prices both for cereals

and for the chemical fertilizers which are needed in vast quantities if any considerable increase in food production is to be achieved.

In the prosperous countries of the world this situation has contributed to a level of inflation which is causing a great deal of concern; for the developing world it is an almost intolerable burden. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) has recently estimated that the developing countries' import bill for cereals will rise from \$4,000,000,000 in the 1972/73 crop season to nearly \$10,000,000,000 in 1973/74. The increase alone equals about two-thirds of the yearly total of official aid that they have received in recent years.

Fertilizers And Energy Costs Escalating

This current situation is a direct outcome of the poor harvest of 1971 and then of 1972 when world food production actually declined for the first time since the Second World War. Then in 1972 came massive grain purchases by the Soviet Union which further severely depleted stocks. Over the same period, increased demand and inadequate manufacturing capacity have caused a growing shortage of fertilizers. Recently, the jump in oil prices has helped to push up the cost of the limited supplies of fertilizer which have been available.

Although these recent events may have precipitated the present critical situation in the developing countries they are not the basic cause of it. For this one must look to the lack of sufficient investment of effort and of money in agriculture in recent years. There have been modest gains in food production it is true. During the 1950's production in the developing world increased annually by 3.2 per cent and in the 1960's by 2.7 per cent. But most of this extra production was taken up by in-

creased populations and in many countries where food consumption levels were already dangerously low 20 years ago, they have declined further or, at best, remained stationary. **This neglect of agriculture has thus created a potential for disaster which could easily be realized in the next year or so unless we make a fresh and more vigorous effort to meet what is, after all, man's most basic material need.**

Our most immediate and urgent need is to rebuild food stocks to give us security against serious food shortages and, with this in mind, last year I proposed a co-ordinated system of national reserve stocks of cereals in both developed and developing countries. These stocks would be held, owned, and controlled nationally but there would be an international policy link-up with regular consultations to agree on the action needed to meet the threat of a food shortage in any given area of the world.

This proposal was endorsed by FAO's Governing Conference last November. It is now being embodied in a formal undertaking for acceptance by governments. In view of the present situation and in the light of the

positive reaction by governments in November there is every reason to believe that the proposal will be accepted. The task now will be to translate an idea into a specific programme for action.

For a start it is clear that if the scheme is to work, all governments which adhere to it will need to think out very carefully what their national stock policies should be. In the case of smaller and poorer countries little more can be expected than a commitment to their own survival. More powerful countries, especially those which are major exporters of food, will have to consider not only their own needs but also those of others.

Measures to help developing countries build up their own stocks have been given particular attention. Discussing the question in November 1973, the FAO Conference drew attention to the role which the World Food Programme could play with its more than ten years' experience in the distribution of food supplies to meet emergency situations and to back programmes of national development. The Conference urged governments to make additional pledges to the WFP. The World Bank (IBRD) and the regional banks, including



In many developing countries there is little additional available land which can be easily brought into production.

the African Development Bank, have expressed their willingness to finance storage facilities and other infrastructure while the IBRD has also suggested that it might be able to finance the initial food stocks themselves, as part of an overall project. The International Monetary Fund has indicated that it could assist countries in tiding over temporary, or medium-term, balance of payments problems that could arise in building up and maintaining reserve stocks.

Substantial support is thus beginning to build up for these proposals and I have real hope that we are on our way towards a World Food Policy which will include mutually-agreed stock-holding policies; measures for price stabilization; more effective food aid arrangements to deal with emergencies; and more systematic long-term food aid policies better adjusted to more general requirements. To these I would like to see added an improved food information and outlook system covering the whole world.

Today, the technical possibilities exist for great increases in production in virtually every developing country—there is absolutely no doubt about that. But, as I have already noted, we have conspicuously failed to make the effort that is needed; rich and poor, we are all to blame.

Clearly, the main effort must be made by the devel-

oping countries. They must work more energetically to introduce improved technology into their agriculture. They must make more efficient use of the resources and technology that they already possess.

There is a crying need for social reform. In too many developing countries customs of land tenure, of the employment of labour, of provision of rural credit, and of marketing are antiquated and wasteful. Some countries must give more thought to their population policies. **The limitation of population growth is not a magic key to progress but it is certain that the present rate of population growth is a burden on many economies and often on limited natural resources.**

The world must take more energetic and intensive measures to slow down the present headlong rate of population growth, especially in the developing countries. While it is true that the world has the technological capacity to feed much more than the present population of this planet, I do not think that the ghost of Malthus has been exorcised. For technology is only one factor in the food and population equation.

At the same time, the developing countries are going to need much greater support from the more prosperous countries. It might be remembered that only a few years ago the United Nations General Assembly as a whole agreed that the developed countries should be able to



The world fish catch after reaching a peak in 1970 has declined in recent years.

devote 0.7 per cent of their gross national product to aid by 1975. Today the level of official aid is about one-half of that figure and the general flow of aid seems more likely to decline than increase. Yet I do not see aid from the richer countries as disinterested charity; it is a long-term investment in the world economy as a whole which will ultimately pay dividends to all countries.

I believe that together with an increase of aid from the traditionally rich countries there should come greater economic help from the newly-rich oil-producing countries. I think it is a very welcome portent for the future that several of them have already announced steps to channel resources into existing or new development funds. An example close to FAO is the decision of Saudi Arabia to pledge \$50 million to the joint UN/FAO World Food Programme for 1975-76.

Aid to the developing countries means also giving them a fairer deal in international trade. They need to earn more foreign exchange in order to speed up their economic and social development. But we all need them to earn more as a contribution to a healthy and thriving world economy. At FAO we have drawn up proposals for measures of adjustment to national agricultural policies which could contribute to this aim. Our studies have shown that very modest trade concessions, which would hardly be noticed in the agricultural economies of most of the developed countries, could give a very substantial boost to the economies of the poorer agricultural producing countries.

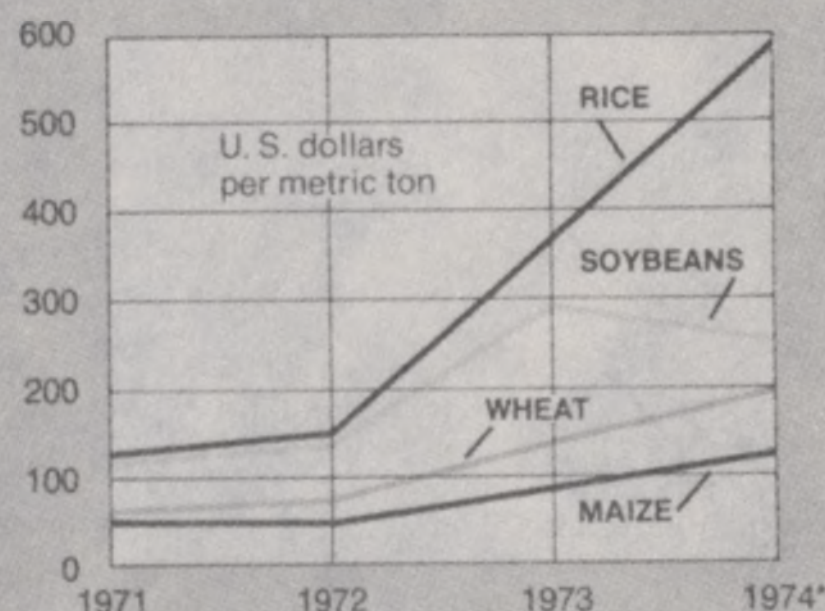
Cooperation Could Bring Success

I do not believe that the long-term outlook for food production is a gloomy one as long as we do not continue to drift as we have drifted for too many years.

I do believe that today the food situation is more immediate and more obvious to most people than it has been in years. Everybody is affected by shortages and higher prices for food. I think most people are nervous about what the future may bring and this is not an unhealthy state of affairs. In November, a special UN World Food Conference is to be held in Rome. If present concern and apprehension can then be transmuted into a firm commitment for action by the countries that take part then we could begin to hope that the aim of freedom from want might become an attainable hope for the world at large.



Average Annual World Prices
Selected Agricultural Commodities, 1971-74



Source: Preparatory Committee of the
World Food Conference, 1974

*Date is for March, 1974

Improved technology can increase food yields.

*We have seen men on the moon
but can we help men on earth?*

Challenge and Opportunity: The World Food Problem

by

Shri C. Subramaniam
Minister of Industrial Development
and Science and Technology
Government of India



The over-all requirement for food is greater than its availability and the gap between the two is widening. Failure to achieve a durable balance between the two portends a downhill course of poverty, disease and social disorder for many hundreds of millions of people.

It took 18 centuries for world population to increase from about 210 million to one billion. It took only a little over a century thereafter for the second billion to be reached; the third needed only 30 more years. At present rates of growth, it will take hardly 15 years for the 4 billion mark to be reached. That will happen within a year or two. Much of this increase is taking place in the underdeveloped world.

The problem of food in relation to the population to be supported by it is not only a problem of quantity and quality but also of distribution. Today, one third of the world's population uses two thirds of its grain. Much of this goes to feed live-stock to supply the milk, the eggs and the meat for consumers in the affluent countries. As a recent article in *The Economist* (London, April 20, 1974) put it succinctly:

Some countries will pay more money for the grain to keep their livestock alive than others will be able to afford for their starving population.

As within nations, so also among nations, without the purchasing power, mere physical availability of food does not imply that all will be well fed. News of large harvests merely mocks at the deprived, whether they be nations or classes of people within a nation.

The optimism that characterised the middle sixties on the ability to produce adequate food for the world's population is now quite muted. 1972 and 1973 witnessed a sharp deterioration in the world food situation, with large areas being affected by drought, dwindling reserves and mounting pressure on prices. A further spell of drought in parts of Africa and Asia could well tip the scale in the present precarious balance between requirements and availabilities and drive millions to the verge of Malthusian starvation. It is against this background that the World Population Conference and the World Food Conference are to be held later this year.

These Conferences offer a valuable forum not merely to review the immediate problem but also to work out a consensus on the main contours of a **world strategy** to avert this looming danger. **Reaching an accord on a genuinely cooperative action programme designed to strengthen national and international programmes to fight hunger and malnutrition wherever it may exist should be the guiding spirit of the deliberations at these Conferences.**

Food Is A Complex Situation

Both from the point of view of *what* has to be done and from the point of view of *who* will do it, the whole chain—food production, handling, distribution, and consumption—must be considered as a complete system. Corrective measures on various aspects of the imbalance between supply and demand for food will need to be devised in full awareness of their inter-relationships with a view of optimizing the results for the

system as a whole.

On the supply side, low crop yields in the developing countries often indicate considerable untapped production potential in their farms. At the margin, returns on additional inputs in these areas are likely to yield better returns than in areas where the potential is already being exploited more intensively and crop yields are already high. This will be a relevant consideration in planning the further deployment of scarce inputs for achieving the increase in output that the world so urgently needs.

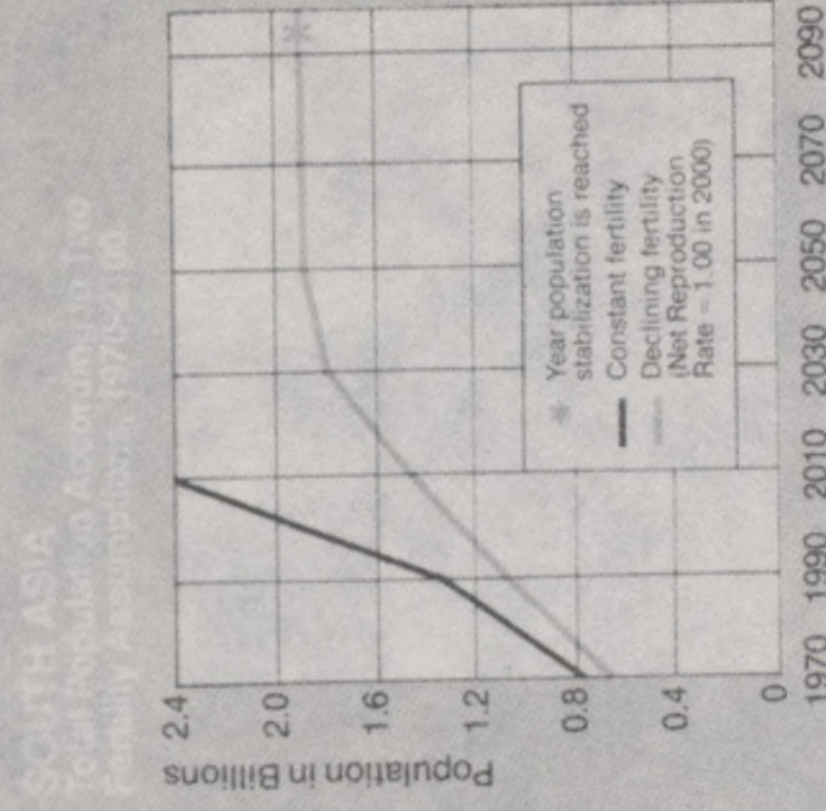
Scientific Approach to Agriculture

Agricultural research has significant technological breakthroughs to its credit in improving yield potential of some of the major food crops such as wheat, rice, sorghum, maize and pearl millet. Crop yield is not, however, a simple function of the variety of seed used. It is dependent also on soil and climatic factors, on availability of water for irrigation, on effectiveness of pest control measures and, of course, on the socio-economic frame-work in which the farming community operates. **Research work in major international centres for improving genetic potential of seeds needs to be carried further and adapted through a net-work of local research stations in order for the results to be most meaningful for different local environments.**

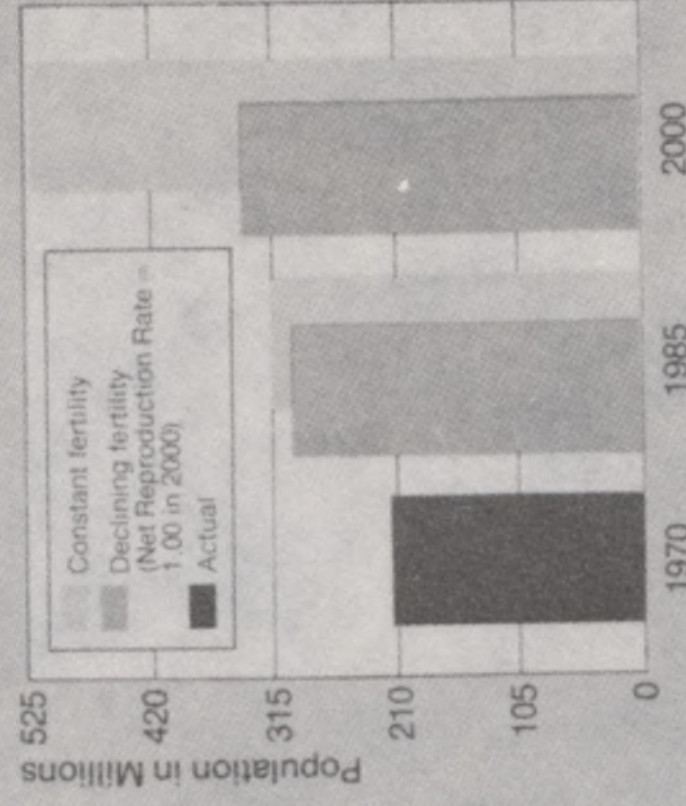
Another area where further research, development and extension is urgently required for improving agricultural productivity in the developing countries is in carrying out soil and water surveys on a comprehensive basis and in popularising scientific soil and water management techniques.

A specific commitment from the developed countries at the forthcoming Population and Food Conferences for help in initiating or strengthening activities in the developing countries to promote increased agricultural production would be timely and valuable. UN agencies can also assist in promoting an atmosphere where national Governments are encouraged to bestow the required priority for modernizing their agriculture.

A technological breakthrough in agriculture is not automatically or easily converted into a production advance. For this to happen the requisite inputs—high-yielding varieties of seed, plant nutrients, plant protection, chemicals—will have to be supplied to the farmers, in time and in adequate quantity. The demands



SOUTH ASIA
South-Asia Population (6-17 Years)
According to Two Fertility Assumptions
1970, 1985, and 2000



SOURCE: International Statistical Programs Center, U. S. Bureau of the Census, based on data provided by the Community and Family Study Center, University of Chicago, January 1974.

Additional projections for most developing countries are available free upon request from the Victor-Bostrom Fund Committee



that this aspect of agricultural development make on the production and delivery systems are immense. National governments will have to accept primary responsibility for ensuring that this set of activities is attended to on a priority basis. Even here international assistance in disseminating information and in providing technical and training facilities could be fruitful.

Recent Asian and African experiences highlight the fundamental difference between techniques needed, on the one hand, for promoting industrial development based on the concept of *mass production*, and techniques needed for stimulating agricultural advance which must be based upon a concept of *production by masses* for it to be relevant to most developing countries. The institutional and managerial innovations that this implies are far-reaching.

Wastage Must Be Reduced

One aspect of the food supply problem, in relation particularly to the developing world, that perhaps has not received as much attention as it has deserved relates to the savings in grain that are possible by cutting down losses between what is produced and what is available for consumption. Estimates of losses in total production owing to lack of care at the harvesting and post-harvesting stage vary widely. But by all accounts they are large and to a great extent avoidable. Measures for improving prevalent techniques can save millions of tons of valuable foodgrains and protect their nutritional value, making all the differences between starvation and survival for large numbers of people.

Simple equipment must be devised and brought into use that reduce wastage and check deterioration in food value at various stages of transport, storage and processing.

Family Planning Requires High Priority

The Pearson Commission's warning in 1969 that "no other phenomenon casts a darker shadow over the prospects for international development than the staggering growth of population" found its echo in the UN Declaration on Population in 1970 which appealed to national Governments to recognize family planning as one of their vital interests. It is one of the more encouraging facets in an otherwise gloomy picture that an increasingly large number of Governments in the developing world have specifically accepted policies



and promoted programmes for limiting growth rates in their populations. This commitment now extends approximately to two-thirds of the population of the developing areas. In terms of actual coverage by specific programmes, however, progress has been much slower. As per one estimate*, roughly 10 per cent of the married women of reproductive age in 18 countries with specific operational programmes of family planning have accepted the programmes and are practicing contraception. Extending this coverage and improving the effectiveness of family planning programmes will demand high priority in any programme for meeting the world food problem.

*Populating Planning—Sector Working Paper—World Bank, March 1972—p. 18.

Available evidence clearly indicates that for sustaining a family planning programme effectively, it is often helpful to relate it around a comprehensive health care system. It is hard to find examples where attempts at reducing population growth have met with significant success when death rates of infants and children have continued to be high. Recognizing the fact that bridging the nutritional gap for the entire population in the developing countries will be a long term endeavour, a Report commissioned by the United Nations on "A Strategy for Fighting Protein Hunger" (1970) argued that Governments should in the first instance, concentrate on meeting the nutritional requirements of vulnerable groups in the population, namely, the infants, the nursing and the pregnant mothers. In most countries there is also considerable scope for increasing the nutrient value of existing diets at no great additional cost by a suitable combination of diets or by supplementing deficient elements. International assistance for further research, development and extension in this field would pay handsome dividends in upgrading nutritional levels among large masses of the people in the developing world.

A Global Plan or Many National Plans?

A central issue that the forthcoming Conferences on Population and Food respectively will need to face is whether action designed to meet this threat of hunger and malnutrition, at a time when science and technology can provide us with the tools for combating the threat effectively, will be left to the planning and execu-



tive capabilities of each national Government, or whether a global plan of action could be evolved by mutual agreement so that the challenge is tackled as a common threat and by cooperative endeavour.

The situation, of course, poses no direct threat to some of the countries. But the long-term problems flowing from the massive increase of populations concern the world as a whole, and not merely particular nations. The anxiety voiced with over-all "Limits to Growth" underlines this commonality. For some of the developing countries, these limits are already not hypothetical. The per capita agricultural land available in India, for instance, is only about 0.37 hectare, whereas the authors of The Club of Rome report **Limits to Growth** envision a minimum requirement of 0.4 hectare per capita for ensuring adequate nutritional standards.

Even for the more advanced nations where the problem of food deficits is yet to emerge, mass production technology developed by them calls for intensive use of various non-renewable forms of energy. We must work to evolve new technologies of agriculture and patterns of distribution and packaging which use less energy and non-renewable resources. A leading ecologist once said that when we eat potatoes, we are in fact mostly eating oil. This statement well characterizes the agricultural practices of the industrialized countries. Recent studies have shown that in some cases, the fossil fuel subsidy is so great that the food calories obtained by the consumer are even less than the input of calories from non-renewable resources.

Self-Reliance in Food Advisable

In the discussions relating to the world food problem, it is necessary to shift the emphasis from trade to production and the means for achieving higher production. Let the deficit nations be helped to become self-reliant within a foreseeable future. Under such an approach, programmes designed to train research workers, to supply equipment, to provide extension aids, to upgrade managerial skills in the rural context assume special significance. In terms of costs, such a policy is not likely to impose undue strains on the resources—financial or human—of the developed world, compared with what it would cost directly to find adequate food to keep the growing millions in the developing areas adequately fed by production of stocks in and by the more

advanced countries. It is better to supply the seed, the nutrients and the pesticides in time to prevent the famine than to supply the grain to fight starvation after allowing it to occur. It is better moreover to help the national governments to produce an adequate stock of well-trained scientists, technologists, administrators and extension workers who can help in the efficient production and use of the improved seeds, fertilisers and other chemicals than to perpetuate helpless dependence of one block of countries on another block of countries to secure their minimum food needs. This is not to argue against possible advantages of international specialisation. **But in such a vital commodity as basic foodstuffs, each nation should feel itself sufficiently self-reliant that its national survival is not tied to fickle changes of climate—both natural and political.**

Build-up of such capabilities, skills and organisations in the countries that lack them presently to meet the elementary food requirements of their vast and growing millions will take time. In the meanwhile, international action for creating a buffer stock to meet emergency needs will once again require consideration at the highest level. The World Food Congress provides a welcome opportunity for considering this question. **Can we at least arrive at some understanding that surplus countries will hold a certain minimum level of reserve stocks and operations on this reserve would be subject to international monitoring? The aim should be to guarantee an agreed level of emergency supplies for use in areas that may need them at short notice for sheer survival and for ensuring a reasonable stability in prices.**

To recapitulate briefly, we need to concentrate efforts at achieving agreement on a global programme of action in regard to the following six major areas:

- (1) Massive assistance for improving agricultural production through strengthening scientific and managerial capabilities among the developing countries;
- (2) Supply of requisite raw materials for production, particularly of nutrients and power, at prices that will be within the paying capacity of the developing countries;
- (3) An Agricultural Inputs-Bank under international auspices for the benefit of the developing world with distribution to be made on the

basis of mutually agreed priorities and prices;

- (4) reducing loss and wastage to minimise the present gap between production and consumption;
- (5) special efforts at meeting the nutritional deficiencies of vulnerable segments in the world's population; and
- (6) a Food Buffer, if not directly internationally owned, then at least operated as per internationally devised guidelines.

The forthcoming conferences of world leaders should particularly beware of engaging in endless discussions that do not lead to a clear-cut programme of action. **If the challenge facing us is not met now, with imagination and compassion by the international community, the breathing spell provided to us by the scientists would have been lost through failure of statesmanship. Let us hope that the same enthusiasm and energy that characterised the U.S. programme of "Man on the Moon" before 1970, will at this juncture in human development, be captured at the international level for saving, from avoidable starvation and malnutrition, "Men on the Earth".**



Grains are the basis for the diets in developing countries.

Declaration on Food & Population

The following Declaration on Food and Population, which has now been signed by over 2,200 distinguished citizens from over 100 countries was presented to United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim on April 25, 1974. Messages of support for the Declaration were received by a number of government leaders. The Response by the Secretary-General is printed below. The Declaration together with the list of signers, the Secretary-General's Response and the Messages of Support have been printed in Arabic, Chinese, English, French, German, Portuguese, Russian and Spanish. These are available free upon request by writing to Food and Population, Suite 200, 1835 K Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006

*To Governments,
Organizations and Men
and Women Everywhere
We, the Undersigned,
Address this Declaration on
Food & Population*

o link unites the family of man more than his need for food. For food is an essential condition of life, common to all people; wherever they are, whatever they do they share alike in this need.

The stark truth is that man's ability to produce food is not keeping pace with his need. Despite efforts by governments and the international community to solve world food problems, more people are hungry today than ever before.

Hundreds of millions of the world's people are undernourished. Population growth is adding 75 to 80 million more people each year, 200,000 each day. Within the next 25 years or so our present numbers of nearly 4 billion will be nearly 7 billion. They must all be fed.

he world food situation took a sharp turn for the worse in 1972 and 1973:

1. Stocks of grain have hit an all-time low since the end of World War II. Surplus stocks formerly held in reserve have nearly been exhausted and no longer offer security against widespread hunger and starvation.

2. Food prices have reached new highs. Last year, despite a record world harvest, escalating demand nearly doubled grain prices. The increasing cost of food threatens to cause serious hardship for many people already spending most of what they have on food.

3. Less of the cheaper protein foods, which normally supplement grain diets, is available. The world's fish catch and per caput production of protein-rich legumes, the staple diet in many countries, have declined.

4. Food shortages have created serious social unrest in many parts of the world and are particularly severe in countries where hunger and the diseases that thrive on under-nourished bodies are prevalent. This scarcity has been aggravated by the consumption of more and more grain to produce meat, eggs and milk.

5. Mounting fertilizer and energy shortages are reducing food production in certain areas and increasing food prices.

In this new and threatening situation, a bad monsoon in Asia (which could occur in any year), or a drought in North America (like those in the 1930's and 1950's), could mean severe malnutrition for hundreds of millions and death for many millions.

This dangerously unstable world food picture, when seen against an unprecedented population increase, has created an immediate sense of urgency. The dangers of food shortages could remain a threat for the rest of this century—even if, hopefully, bumper crops in some years create temporary surpluses and even if the trend toward reduced birth rates becomes general throughout the world.

World food production in the years ahead must rise at least 2 percent a year to keep pace with the present rate of population growth. But it must rise a good deal more if the world's people are to be provided with an adequate diet. This required annual increase in food production is considerably greater than that which occurred during recent decades—and seems to be increasingly harder to achieve each year. But unless there is this necessary and continuous increase in food production, there will be even more hunger and malnutrition and soaring food prices.

The need to seek solutions is pressing. The nature of the problem, the precarious state of world food production made critical by predicted expectations of continued population growth, calls for concerted action by the world community. There is only one cure for hunger and that is food. No palliatives or panaceas in the form of reports or resolutions can alleviate the pain of empty stomachs that must be filled. International resolutions, however high-minded, are a mockery if they do not have a tangible impact on the human condition.

The United Nations is now providing leadership on both these problems. In

August the United Nations will convene the World Population Conference in Bucharest. In November it will convene the World Food Conference in Rome. These are the first occasions when governments have agreed to meet to consider these crucial questions and to consider taking action on them.

With these two conferences only a few months away, we urge governments, acting before, at and after these two global conferences, to consider realistic and purposeful measures such as the following:

1. Give high priority to programs in each country which will increase the production of grains, legumes and other staple food crops; ensure the availability of protein-rich foods, particularly to the more vulnerable population groups; expand the production of fertilizer; and improve the opportunities for small farmers to make a reasonable living. Develop a comprehensive and constructive World Food Plan for adoption at the World Food Conference.

2. Support sound population policies relevant to national needs which respect national sovereignty and the diversity of social, economic and cultural conditions; accept and assure the human right of each couple to decide for themselves the spacing and size of their families;^{*} and recognize the corresponding responsibility of governments to provide their peoples the information and the means to exercise this right effectively.^{**} Embody these policies in a World Population Plan of Action to be agreed upon by governments at the World Population Conference.

* United Nations Teheran Declaration of Human Rights, 1968 (para. 16)

** Resolution 1672 (LII) of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, 1969

3. Recognize that the interdependence of the world community creates an obligation to assist in the necessary funding of food and population programs by both developing and developed countries. This calls for the elaboration and implementation of a global strategy by the United Nations and its family of agencies, including the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and the United Nations Fund for Population Activities.

4. Establish sufficient food reserves through national and international efforts to provide continuing vital insurance against food shortages.

5. Recognize that, in our finite world where resources are limited, the family of man must one day, and hopefully fairly soon, bring birth rates into reasonable balance with the lowered death rates that have been achieved. Many governments see the need to guide national policy toward this objective.

solution to the present world food crisis must be found within the next few years.

The social transformation which can lead to a reduction in the world rate of fertility, along with lowering the rate of mortality, will take decades to accomplish. But a start must be made now because the millions of people being born each year place a heavy burden on the resources available to many nations for education, health, employment and the maintenance of environmental quality. A reduction in population growth could help alleviate this burden. Effective measures toward resolving both the world food and population problems must come within a total strategy of development. Not only is social and economic development desirable in itself, but also it contributes to moderating population growth. All these measures are designed to improve the quality of life.

In this Declaration, we focus on food because it is the most critical of the pressures

on the world today. It is the greatest manifestation of world poverty, which has many aspects. The absolute number of desperately poor are far greater today than ever before in history. The need to eradicate acute poverty is being recognized more than ever as a collective responsibility. It is a task which global partnership and the demands of social justice make imperative.

We repeat, food is crucial because literally tens of millions of lives are suspended in the delicate balance between world population and world food supplies. Growing populations, denied sufficient food needed for survival, resist all efforts to secure a peaceful world. With increased production and more equitable distribution of food, the future could provide a prospect of less misery and more hope for countless people now deprived of the basic necessities that are their right.

The World Food Conference represents a unique opportunity. This opportunity must not be missed. Comprehensive international agreements must be reached to assure at least minimal food supplies, with sufficient annual carry-over stocks. Disastrous breakdowns in the world food supply can thus be avoided. All nations may then rest secure in the knowledge that this, the most critical of their immediate problems, is being attacked with wisdom, vigor and unity of purpose.

In the name of humanity we call upon all governments and peoples everywhere, rich and poor, regardless of political and social systems, to act—to act together—and to act in time.

Response by UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim



Following is the text of the statement made by Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim on receiving the Declaration on Food and Population presented by a group of eminent intellectuals and scientists at a ceremony at United Nations Headquarters, April 25, 1974.

I am grateful to be given this Declaration. It is marked by a profound concern for the improvement of the human condition. The Declaration is important of itself by virtue of the authority of the signers whose standing in all walks of life is reflected by the stature of those who have come to the United Nations today to bear witness to it.

I have recently described the times we are living in as being characterized by mass poverty, food shortages, an energy crisis, a continuing oppressive burden of military expenditure, inflation exacerbated by world monetary instability, and the prospect before us of a doubling of human numbers by the turn of the century.

The Declaration addresses itself primarily to the dramatic depletion of available food reserves and the shortfall in world food production. There is no more immediate task than that of rescuing the world from a situation which, for many, has always been precarious and is now even more hazardous. Short-term measures, while essential, must not be allowed to become palliatives, for the coming years will increase our vulnerability.

Virtually in no other area is it more pressing than in the one to which your Declaration addresses itself: the need to assure that the men, women, and children of Africa, Asia, Europe and the Americas, whatever their origin, their religion, their political philosophy, their age, their social condition have the basic foods which are the one essential and undebatable pre-condition of a life of dignity and decency. Without an assured supply, all our other aspirations for peace, for social justice, for growth and creativity, both as individuals and as nations, lose their meaning and take on a hollow ring.

I cannot but be sharply and painfully conscious of the dangers posed by the Declaration, having recently returned from the Sahel. There, the suffering provoked by a six-year drought is resulting in premature death, disease and a dreadful sense of helplessness. The tragic spectacle of dying cattle and their owners fleeing the encroaching desert induces a sense of desperation into what should be the objective analysis of the world's food situation and prospects.

It is no accident that this Declaration is presented at the United Nations. This body was established in the final phase of the most devastating war in history not merely to embody the highest aspirations of mankind, but to provide an operational vehicle for global action. The present crisis and those that we can see looming ahead can be overcome. They are indeed a serious challenge to use all our forces, our determination and ingenuity to provide a better life for future generations.

This is a year in which the international community, with some brutally abrupt reminders of what the future may hold, is facing up to the situation. At its present special session, the General Assembly is devoting its attention to finding the basis of a more equitable and workable economic system—a system which takes into account not only the needs of all nations, but also the imperative interrelationships of the several parts of the problem: poverty, the conservation and just apportionment of natural resources, the preservation of the environment, and the problems of trade and monetary system. Food and population, the two urgent issues to which your Declaration addresses itself, form an integral part of this whole.

In August, in Bucharest, for the first time Governments will hold a world population conference. Shortly afterwards, in Rome, the World Food Conference will offer Governments the opportunity to tackle the world food problem. Your call therefore for international co-operation to ensure supplies of food comes at an opportune moment. The World Food Conference will present the Member States of the United Nations with the unique opportunity to take immediate practical and urgently needed steps to redress a tragic situation which we can no longer afford to ignore.

The unprecedented growth of the world's population is compounding man's difficulties in feeding himself. The time at our disposal is very short. You point out that the world's food production has barely kept pace with population increases. Our goal is not mere survival but a life of dignity and peace with hope for each new generation to improve the conditions of life for the billions of men, women and children who will inhabit the earth in the coming decades.

Whether or not we can increase food production depends, as the Declaration states, not on a torrent of words and resolutions, but on adopting new and tangible objectives, hammering out the global strategies needed and revitalizing the machinery to achieve them. In spite of its ideological complexity and the political and other constraints that must exist in any global body, the United Nations can and will respond.

It is in this same spirit of commitment and determination that I receive this Declaration. I am confident that the international community can and will find humane solutions to the serious problems of food and population which confront mankind.

*"All of our efforts will be in vain . . .
unless we stabilize world population"*

Precarious World Food Situation

by

NORMAN E. BORLAUG
Director

The International Wheat and Maize Improvement Center
Nobel Peace Prize 1970



The present world food shortage is a new development, the implications of which are only now becoming fully apparent to consumers and governments. As late as spring 1972, the world felt very complacent about agriculture. There seemed to be adequate food reserves. Then drought began in late 1971 and continued throughout 1972, adversely affecting wheat production in the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and Australia. Also in 1972 a poor monsoon reduced rice, sorghum and millet production in South Asia and in Africa south of the Sahara.

In a few months' time many of these countries, beginning with the Soviet Union, were forced to import large quantities of grain. Stocks which had previously been thought "surplus" disappeared overnight. Prices of grains, such as wheat, for example, increased from about \$1.60 per bushel in July 1972 to something over \$6.00 at the beginning of 1974. They have now settled at about \$3.60 or \$3.70 a bushel—which represents a doubling of wheat prices in just two years.

With the disappearance of the food grain reserves, the whole world food situation is precarious. Without food people can only live for about three weeks at best. If major drought occurs in the world now, or a crop failure in any of the large grain-producing areas of the world, tens of millions could die in an international disaster and little could be done to prevent it. It was only a small change in production that triggered off these potentially catastrophic events and brought famine so close.

Cereal grains provide a good indication of total food

production. The 1971 crop of cereal grains was an all-time record harvest—1,100,000,000 metric tons. To visualize what that means, picture a highway—a highway built of grain—that encircles the earth at the Equator. This highway of grain is about 16 meters in width—the width of one of the main avenues in any large city—and it will have a depth of about two meters. Such a highway would approximate the volume of the 1971 record grain crop.

Building A New Highway of Grain Every Year

Yet each year we must reconstruct this highway of grain because each year we consume it in its entirety. It is not made of cement so that once it is built it can be used for 30 years with minor repairs. This highway of grain we demolish by consuming it each and every year. So each year we must reconstruct this highway. Then at the same time each year we must also begin building a second highway of the same dimensions—16 meters in width, two meters in depth—and 1000 kilometers long in order to provide for population growth.

How do we do this?

We have two choices:

- increase the land area under cultivation, or
- increase the yields on the area already under cultivation.

Except for a few countries, there is little additional good land that can be brought under cultivation. Only costly, time consuming projects such as irrigation will provide new farm land. North America has some addi-

tional land which could be brought back into production—perhaps 10 - 15 million acres, but most of the land which once lay fallow has already been brought back into production. Certainly in the vast problem areas of the world where the great majority of the world's population—and some would say overpopulation—already lives, there is hardly any additional land that can be brought into production rapidly.

Therefore production per acre must be increased on the lands already under cultivation. In most of those densely populated areas, agriculture is so old that the soil has been exploited for decades or even for centuries. It has been depleted of essential nutrients such as phosphorous, potash, nitrogen, and other elements.

Agricultural Research Vital

The only way to restore productivity to this soil is through research—research to determine what the limiting factors are—and chemical fertilizers to replenish the depleted soil. Only in that way can the soil be made responsive to the needs of those improved crop varieties which will hopefully increase yields dramatically. **Fertilizer is a must for most of the depleted soils of the developing world. Unfortunately, it is in very short supply.**

Further research must be undertaken to develop new high-yield crop varieties such as those we have developed for wheat at the International Wheat and Maize Improvement Center in Mexico. The International Rice Research Institute is examining ways to increase rice yields. Research is underway elsewhere in the developing nations to meet indigenous needs for certain other crops.

These new varieties of plants are genetically engineered to respond to better nutrition in the local environments and to produce heavy yields of grain. These plants must also have built into them resistance to the major diseases and insect pests that are present in different areas. Otherwise, the addition of fertilizer could stimulate weeds and pests rather than wheat or rice.

Much research must be done locally. Even though seeds that have been developed elsewhere can be used temporarily as a stopgap means, in the long run research programs must be established in developing countries. New people must be trained. These are costly

and time consuming projects, but they must be undertaken.

To this already difficult and precarious task, the present energy crisis has added an immense burden—largely through higher petroleum prices. Within the last few months, about twelve to fifteen of the Third World nations which export petroleum products have become, in effect, very wealthy. But the remainder of the developing nations are in a worse situation than ever, as the case of India illustrates.

India's Crisis

In 1971 India spent approximately \$560 million on the import of three basic products: crude oil, fertilizer, and about 2.1 million metric tons of food grains.

If India were to buy the same amount of those three products today—which it cannot afford to do—India would find that the price of crude oil and the price of fertilizer have gone up about four- or five-fold. The price of food grains has tripled. Finally freight rates to transport these commodities from point of production to point of import have also doubled and tripled because they too are dependent on energy. **In order to obtain the same amount of these products as purchased in 1971, India would have to pay approximately \$3.1 billion—or more than five times as much as in 1971.**



Each year we must build a highway of grain.

Completely impossible. India's foreign exchange earnings from all sources are about \$2.4 billion. India has to cut back on crude oil imports. This, in turn, cuts down not only total industrial production, but also Indian domestic fertilizer production which, again, adversely affects food production. In 1974 production of wheat alone will be on the order of about five million tons less because India was unable to get enough fertilizer. The shortfall may be even more because India's domestic production of fertilizer is also reduced.

What can be done about situations like this?

Fertilizer Production Must Be Expanded

Fertilizer production must be expanded. In order to maintain per capita food consumption at the present level the world will have to build 15 new fertilizer complexes each year at a total investment about \$7 to \$8 billion a year.

A big job lies ahead. One future development which, hopefully, will occur is the production of fertilizer in the Middle East. Natural gas which is now being flared off Arab oilfields and wasted is the best raw material for the production of nitrogenous fertilizer. I have encouraged Arab nations, as well as Iran, to install greater fertilizer capacity. It is good business from their standpoint both to export one of the most basic of human



High yielding rice requires fertilizer and pesticides

needs into world markets and to try to remove the destructive waste of flaring gas.

Today the world has no food grain reserves, despite the fact that last year, 1973, produced an all-time record harvest of grain. I hope that at the World Food Conference in November in Rome, arrangements can be made so that responsibility for financing the storage of reasonable stocks in many parts of the world can be agreed upon, and so that all nations can participate at least by token contributions. Those nations which have the capability should approach this issue on a global basis.

In conclusion, let me emphasize that you cannot consider food without considering population. Whenever you talk about planning for food production, you need to know how many people you are setting the world's tables for. Therein lies the other side of the coin. The rapid reduction of death rates has precipitated rapid population growth. **All of our efforts to increase food production will be in vain, unless we stabilize world population.**

Population Growth Affects Everyone

Population growth today is a monster with many tentacles that reaches out and tries to suppress standards of living throughout the world. Even those who have already achieved economic development, such as the USA and the USSR, are threatened.

In the short time that it takes to say "This is monstrous," there are five more people born into this world than have died. That is a serious situation. It is difficult for democratic governments to deal with rapid population growth when a country is already over-populated. The potential for violence is enormous. Yet in countries with good educational programs, combined with good family planning programs and clinics, the birth rate and death rate can be brought into balance, helping to ensure a better life for the people.

Let us not be misled into believing, however, that any developed country can very conveniently isolate itself as a nation from all of the unstable and explosive political situations that are appearing in many parts of the world.

Governments will tumble unless these problems are met. Internal civic strife will become revolution and revolution may become international.

*The limits of agriculture could
be reached by century's end*

World Fertilizer Shortage Threatens Food Supply



by

Raymond Ewell
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The world is now in the grip of an acute shortage of fertilizer. Prices have risen dramatically during the past 18 months and show no sign of abating. The present shortage of fertilizer will continue for many years and will have a severe impact upon agricultural production in developing countries. During 1974 the shortage of fertilizer will probably result in crops no higher than 1973 crop levels in many of the larger developing countries such as China, India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand, Turkey and Egypt.

An adequate fertilizer supply is a tremendously important component of agricultural development programs. In the last twenty years approximately one-half of the gain made in food production output was due to increased fertilizer usage. Increased irrigation, high yielding seed varieties, bringing more land into production and all other items accounted for the other fifty per cent. Unfortunately, fertilizer will be the limiting factor in the further development of agriculture in the next twenty-five years.

Developing Countries Hardest Hit

It is ironic and tragic that the world fertilizer shortage will restrict agricultural productivity in precisely those countries which can least afford to grow less food. One ton of fertilizer applied on the fields in a developing country will yield twice as much additional grain as it would have produced in a developed country. Yet the developing countries with their populations

doubling every 28 years use only about a tenth as much fertilizer per person as do the developed nations.

The fertilizer shortage has its roots in the dearth of two other items—investment capital and manpower. Fertilizer plants are very expensive to build. It is doubtful that the fertilizer industry can expand fast enough to keep up with the demand.

The shortage of large capital investments to build new plants is exacerbated by the shortage of engineers capable of designing and building fertilizer plants. With the worldwide push to build new oil refineries, nuclear power plants, coal conversion plants, etc., fewer and fewer trained engineers are available to build the fertilizer plants which are so desperately needed.

The foregoing view of the future fertilizer situation does not mean that fertilizer production is going to decline. Far from it. Fertilizer production will continue to increase at a high rate for many years, but demand will increase even faster than production. If this proves to be true, the present shortages will become more acute. It behooves every country to become as self-sufficient in fertilizer as is economically possible.

The rapid increase in demand for fertilizer in developing countries is linked to three factors—population growth, the need to improve per capita caloric intake and the relatively low level of fertilizer usage in these countries. Between 1956 and 1973—years for which good statistics are available—the developing countries increased their fertilizer consumption by 705 percent and grain production increased by fifty percent. Be-

Fertilizer Usage Per Capita Selected Countries, 1972-73

Country	Nitrogen Fertilizer Consumption (1,000 Metric Tons)*	Population (Mid-1973)	Per Capita Fertilizer Consumption (kilograms per capita)
France	1,524	52.3	102
U.S.A.	7,372	210.3	77
Germany, Fed. Rep.	1,131	59.4	55
U.S.S.R.	5,182	250.	47
Brazil	394	101.3	15
China	3,459	799.3	6
Pakistan	346	68.3	6
India	1,778	600.4	4.5
Indonesia	347	132.5	3.4
Bangladesh	145	83.4	2.3
Nigeria	11	59.6	3

*Nitrogen Fertilizer only, thousands of tons, 1972.

Source: Fertilizer data is from FAO Production Yearbook 1972 and Annual Fertilizer Review 1972.

cause of the rapid population growth, however, grain production per capita increased by only one percent. With few prospects for a rapid decrease in the rate of world population growth, we can expect an acceleration rather than a diminution in the demand for fertilizer.

Further, the depletion of world grain reserves, bad weather, and the consequent price increase, have combined to place world food production in a very precarious position. In the developed nations food prices have risen dramatically. In certain developing countries, however, millions of poor people are being held hostage to drought, famine, and malnourishment. Hundreds of thousands cannot tighten their belts any more without succumbing to starvation or protein deficiency. Food assistance has and will continue to be required to make up for short term production shortfalls.

Fertilizer Aid More Efficient Than Food Aid

It would be wise, however, for the industrialized nations to reevaluate their food and fertilizer assistance programs for the long term. Food assistance can breed dependency and illusions about the urgency of agricultural development in low income nations. The suppliers of food assistance, on the other hand, could probably save money by giving food deficit nations adequate

fertilizer to grow their own food rather than by growing it in the developed nations and shipping it to those needing assistance. For example, to supply an Asian country with 4.5 million tons of a cereal grain would cost a developed nation about \$750 million. If a chronic food deficit nation received enough fertilizer in advance to grow this many tons of a cereal grain, however, it would cost the developed nation only one-third as much—a savings of \$500 million.

Food, fertilizer and population are interdependent. While every effort should be made prior to and after the World Food Conference to step up agricultural production, we must recognize that there are limits to the number of acres on which food can be grown. Continued population growth, even at declining rates of growth during the rest of the century, will make it increasingly difficult for the developing countries to hold their own in per capita food production. In fact, before the end of the century it is quite possible that the limits of agriculture will be reached and per capita food production in the developing countries will have declined below present levels. Every effort must be made, therefore, consistent with national sovereignty and human dignity, to slow population growth before those limits are reached.



Fertilizer applied in a developing country yields twice as much additional grain as in a developed country.

Health of mothers and children are seriously affected by malnutrition.

Food, Nutrition and Family Health



by
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In the last year, the world has been jolted out of its slumber over food and nutrition problems by the severe famines which have occurred in the Sahel Region of Africa, India and to a lesser extent, in other parts of the developing world. This is not a new phenomenon by any means. In many developing countries chronic hunger, aggravated periodically by droughts and floods, always affects large numbers of the population. The United Nations has drawn attention to the fact that one third of mankind goes to bed hungry every night. This one third is in practice restricted to the "Third World." It therefore means that upwards of 50 per cent of the populations of developing countries are badly fed and suffer from various degrees of malnutrition. The food and nutrition problems which are primarily a result of poor agricultural and social development, in turn, help to aggravate the seriousness of all other development problems.

Vulnerable Groups Must Be Helped

Even within countries where overall malnutrition is a problem, "vulnerable groups" which include pregnant women, lactating women, infants and young children are by and large the people who suffer most from the consequences of severe malnutrition. This means that at the family and household level, the health of mother and child are most seriously affected (either directly or indirectly) by nutrition problems.

Mothers and children are most affected because their physiological needs for food are greater than societies generally recognise. The conditions most frequently seen are protein calorie malnutrition which

is a mixed deficiency of proteins and calories—the extreme forms being Kwashiorkor and Marasmus—primarily affecting children from the time of weaning until they are able to partake fully of the household foods. In developing countries, the pre-school child period is considered one of the most susceptible periods for malnutrition. It is estimated that 900,000,000 children suffer from severe or moderate protein calorie malnutrition each year. Malnutrition throws a severe strain on individual, household and national resources and is itself a major cause of mortality. **It has been estimated recently that out of every 100 children under five years of age who died in various parts of Latin America, five per cent died from causes directly due to malnutrition, while another 55 per cent died with malnutrition as an associated cause of death.**

Vitamin A deficiency, which is due to lack of green leafy vegetables or carotene-rich fruits in the diet, is also widespread and leads to night blindness or even destruction of the eyes. Another very widespread condition is iron deficiency which causes anaemia, especially in pregnant women. It has been amply demonstrated that diseases which children and women in other countries can live with or get over quite easily become killers in the face of severe malnutrition. Malnutrition, therefore, acts synergistically with other conditions to cause the very high levels of mortality found in developing countries.

The nutritional status of developing countries has many complicated inter-relationships with the total development problems of these countries. The major source of difficulty is food production. Agricultural

development is very slow in many of the countries of the Third World because the methods used are largely elementary and very inefficient. There is a low level of capital inputs and low fertilizer usage. The recent fuel crisis has affected the fertilizer industry so badly that the cost of food production is bound to increase. In many places, the food crop production is entirely dependent on climatic and weather conditions. Whenever these conditions become adverse, man is exposed to the ravages of nature.

In addition to actual production, storage and processing difficulties are immense. Of the foods produced in tropical Africa, for example, between 10 and 30 per cent of all the grain is destroyed by insects and vermin of various kinds. There is much wastage also during the distribution and marketing of the food.

The increase in population which is taking place in many of the developing countries at more than two per cent per annum means an increased number of mouths to feed. With higher levels of education and urbanization, the number of able-bodied people consuming rather than producing food is considerably increased. Finally, the disproportionate investment by governments in cash crops such as cotton and coffee, as opposed to food crops has helped to aggravate the situation.

Education affects nutrition and food choice of an individual both directly and indirectly—indirectly,

because the better educated a person is the more likely he is to get a well paid job and able, therefore, to afford a variety of foods. With a good income the percentage of a salary spent on food is small and permits flexibility in times of rising food prices. The poorly paid do not have this flexibility and as costs rise tend to buy only the cheapest and least nutritious foods. The more educated people are freer from taboos and have a better understanding of the reasons for the choices in food than others. Even the methods of food preparation used by those ignorant of nutrition can diminish the food values.

There is also the question of "pecking order" of those who consume the food. In many homes in developing countries, for instance, the father has first choice of the more nutritious part of the food; the women and children come last. Where there is plenty of food and a wide variety of it, this hierarchy has very little influence on family nutrition and health, but where the food available is only marginally adequate for the family, then the distribution of that food within the home becomes a matter of some considerable importance. The women and children who need them most may have the least of the protein-rich sauces that generally accompany the staple rice or grain.

A woman should normally gain the equivalent of twice the birth weight of her child during pregnancy. Yet a sizeable proportion of women in developing



Better nutrition must be taught mothers to help provide good diets for children.

countries are unable to put on this much weight during pregnancy—indicating inadequate nutrition. Some gain no weight at all. Since the baby is biologically dependent upon the mother, this means that the mother's own nutrition is being sacrificed for the child. In such circumstances frequent, closely-spaced pregnancies help to deplete the mother of the nutrients she needs. Frequently, she becomes anaemic, loses teeth and weight and may finally die with one of the pregnancies. **In short, the heavy maternal mortality of developing countries is due not only to infectious and communicable diseases, but also to anaemias and general under-nutrition which are essentially preventable. All are more hazardous in closely spaced pregnancies.**

The children themselves may be marked from birth. They may be premature or their birthweights and their natural stores of nutrients and immunity may be low. The more malnourished the mother, the less satisfactorily can she breast feed the baby. If she becomes pregnant again, the baby is weaned from the breast. In the absence of satisfactory weaning foods or the money for buying such food, closely spaced pregnancies themselves become a direct cause of infant and young child malnutrition and consequent death.

Supplementary Food Programs Needed

It is conceded that improving family income and encouraging the production of varied foods are essential to adequate nutrition. Certain specific measures may be undertaken in addition to assist especially vulnerable groups. A surveillance of families to identify those at special risk would enable health and nutrition workers to concentrate on these. Such vulnerable groups should be the targets for supplementary feeding programmes which might include skimmed milk, corn and soya milk preparations as well as mixtures of local cereals and pulses. These programmes should aim at educating families to be able to eat more adequately from locally available foods.

Intensive nutritional education efforts should be aimed at encouraging breast feeding, satisfactory weaning practices and adequate birth spacing. Family planning education and services must be included in the total programme, which should also include vaccination and other efforts to control infection and to cleanse the environment.

Daily Calorie Consumption for Selected Food Groups by Region

	Cereal	Meat	Eggs
Sub-Saharan Africa	1109	61	3
Mexico & Central America	1197	131	16
South America*	898	203	13
South Asia	1300	8	1
South East Asia	1589	77	8
West Asia	1480	78	7
Eastern Europe	1498	314	31
EEC Nations	878	474	50
North America	659	610	64
USSR	1544	240	27

Developing Countries Average	1300	89	8
Developed Countries Average	1127	371	44

*Excludes Argentina and Brazil
Source: FAO Food Balance 1964-66

It is necessary for sovereign governments to understand the importance of adequate nutrition to the national development effort. **Governments should give food and nutrition high priority and evolve strategies for improving the production, processing and distribution of food.** Specific attention should be given to the production of low cost weaning foods, based essentially on local ingredients. Governmental and voluntary programmes concerned with food, nutrition and family planning should be expanded and strengthened.

The United Nations should renew its call for a nutrition fund which will help give visible evidence that food and nutrition have high priority. Such a fund would complement the population fund and show that the world recognizes the two-way relationship between food and nutrition problems and population. International efforts must be intensified in the search for alternate natural and synthetic sources of proteins and the major vitamins. In the long run, international action in both nutrition and family planning can only gain universal acceptance when the nations of the world demonstrate their concern with social justice and their willingness to reorient international trade, commerce and general development to help diminish the gap that exists today between the rich and the poor.

"Population growth is the dominant source of expanding demand for food."

Food: Growing Global Insecurity

by

LESTER R. BROWN

Senior Fellow

Overseas Development Council



The soaring demand for food, spurred by continued population growth and rising affluence, has begun to outrun the productive capacity of the world's farmers and fishermen. The result has been declining food reserves, skyrocketing food prices, intense international competition for exportable food supplies, and export controls on major foodstuffs by the world's principal food supplier.

We appear to be entering an extended period in which global grain reserves, which provide a crucial measure of safety when crop failures occur, will generally remain on the low side, and in which little if any excess cropland will be held idle in the United States. Food prices are likely to remain considerably higher than they were during the last decade. Meanwhile, the world has become overwhelmingly dependent on one continent—North America—for exportable food supplies. **From a global perspective, the world is likely to be in a vulnerable situation on the food front in the years ahead. Particularly alarming in the immediate future is a world shortage of nitrogen fertilizers which may restrain production gains in the developing nations for several years to come.**

High food prices and shortages are an inconvenience for the more affluent societies and individuals, but they place poor nations, and the poor within nations, in an especially dangerous predicament. For the sizable segment of mankind that spends 80 per cent of its income on food, a doubling in the price of wheat or rice cannot possibly be offset by increased expenditures. It can only drive a subsistence diet below the subsistence or survival level.

Worldwide, population growth is still the dominant source of expanding demand for food. If world population were to continue to expand at nearly two per cent annually, merely maintaining current per capita consumption levels would require a doubling of food production in little more than a generation. But rising affluence has also emerged as a major claimant on food resources. In the poor countries, the annual consumption of grain per person averages only about 400 pounds per year. In the United States and Canada, by contrast, per capita grain utilization approaches one ton per year. Of this total, only about 200 pounds are consumed directly in the form of bread, pastries, and breakfast cereals. The remainder is consumed indirectly in the form of meat, milk, and eggs.

As incomes rise in the northern tier of industrial countries, stretching from Western Europe through the Soviet Union to Japan, a sizable share of the additional income is being converted into demand for livestock products, particularly beef. These nations are importing increasing amounts of livestock products, or of feed-grains, and soybeans, with which to expand their livestock production.

Four Critical Resources

As the world demand for food climbs, constraints to further expansion of food production become increasingly apparent. The traditional approach to increasing production—expanding the area under cultivation—has only limited potential for the future. This approach is especially constrained by the lack of availability of water for agricultural purposes. In many regions of the world, fertile agricultural land would



Planting high yield varieties, better irrigation and the application of fertilizers result in greater crop yields.

be available if water could be found to make it productive. But most of the rivers that lend themselves to damming and to irrigation already have been developed. The expansion of irrigated area is likely to slow down as we run out of easy opportunities to continue expanding.

In many developing countries, intensification of agricultural production on the existing cultivated area will require a several-fold increase in energy supplies for running tractors, milling, harvesting, drying and the like. With world energy prices increasing rapidly, the costs of intensifying food production will rise commensurately.

Fertilizer is now in critically short supply, and the outlook in this case, too, is higher prices. One reason for the fertilizer shortage is a lag in the construction of new production facilities which will not be rectified for several years, but the rising cost of energy will also keep fertilizer prices high, since the manufacture of nitrogen fertilizer—the most widely used chemical fertilizer—commonly requires natural gas or naphtha as a raw material, and the process of manufacture requires large energy inputs. In 1974, there are signs that many nations—including some very populous ones, such as India, Indonesia, Pakistan and the Philippines—will be unable to obtain the needed amounts of fertilizer regardless of price as Japan, Europe, and the United States cut back exports. **It appears certain that reduced fertilizer supplies during 1974 will cause a drop in food production in several key developing countries even if weather conditions are good, substantially increasing food import needs at a time when global reserves are already at dangerously low levels and prices at record highs.**

A major constraint on expanding the supply of high-protein foods is the fact that oceanic fisheries are no longer expanding rapidly. From 1950 to 1970, the world fish catch climbed dramatically, going from 21 to 70 million tons. But since 1970, the catch has declined for three consecutive years which clouds future prospects. Many marine biologists now feel that the global catch of table-grade fish is at or near the maximum sustainable level.

Extra Food Production Hurts World Ecology

In many parts of the world, the growing demand for food is putting more pressure on the food-producing

ecosystem than it can withstand. Two dramatic examples among the many possible may be cited. One is now all too evident in the drought-plagued Sahel in Africa. Over the past thirty-five years, human and livestock populations along the sub-Saharan fringe have increased rapidly, putting more pressure on the ecosystem than it can withstand. The result is over-grazing, deforestation, general denudation of the land, and the southward movement of the Sahara at rates up to 30 miles per year.

Coping with this situation requires far more than temporary famine relief. The world must recognize that a continuing food relief effort for this region will be required indefinitely. But relief only treats the symptoms of ecological overstress. Failure to address and alleviate the causes of ecological stress in this region—through land management and stabilizing population growth—will mean the destruction of a significant portion of Africa's food-producing capacity.

The Indian subcontinent presents a second dramatic example of ecological overstress. During the past fifteen years, as human and livestock populations have increased, the subcontinent has been progressively deforested. During August of 1973, Pakistan experienced a devastating flood, by far the worse in its history. With deforestation continuing, one can only predict that the incidence and severity of flooding in Pakistan, India and Bangladesh will be much greater in the future than it is at present. In effect, deforestation caused by population pressures may be undermining the food-producing capability of a subcontinent on which a population of nearly three quarters of a billion people now depends.

Global Food Reserves Depleted

Since World War II the world has been fortunate to have, in effect, two major food reserves—one in the form of grain reserves in the principal exporting countries, and the other in the form of cropland held idle under government programs in the United States. The sum of global reserve stocks and the potential grain production of idle cropland gives a good indication of the actual total reserve capability in the world food economy in any given year. As the following table demonstrates, the world is now in a situation of extreme vulnerability. **In 1973 and 1974, world reserve**

The Changing Pattern of World Grain Trade*

Region	1934-38	1948-52	1960	1966	1973**
(million metric tons)					
North America					
Latin America			0		- 4
Western Europe	-24	-22	-25	-27	-21
Eastern Europe & U.S.S.R.		-	0	- 4	-27
Africa		0	- 2	- 7	- 4
Asia		- 6	-17	-34	-39
Australia & New Zealand					

*Plus sign (+) describes net exports; minus sign (-) denotes net imports.

**Estimate.

Source: Based on U. S. Department of Agriculture data.

capabilities in relation to consumption needs have fallen far below any previous level in the postwar era.

North American Breadbasket is Precarious

The extent of global vulnerability is particularly underlined by the growing dependence of the world on North America for exportable food supplies. Over the past three decades, North America—particularly the United States, which accounts for three-fourths of the continent's grain exports—has emerged as the world's breadbasket (see table). North America today contributes a larger share to the world's exportable supplies of grains than the Middle East does to the world's supply of oil. This extreme dependence leaves the world in a very dangerous position in the event of an adverse crop year in North America. Both the United States and Canada are affected by the same climatic cycles, and share a history of droughts every twenty years.

The global food outlook calls for the creation of an internationally managed food reserve system, which would provide a measure of price stability in the world food economy. This would be in the self-interest of all nations. Clearly the world community has a basic humanitarian interest in ensuring that famine does not occur in the densely populated low-income countries following poor crop years—an assurance the affluent

nations may be less able to provide in the future if the current system of autonomous, nationally oriented food planning is allowed to continue without modification.

The time has come for the United States to undertake a major reassessment of its food aid program. The surpluses on which the program relied in the past are likely to appear much less frequently in the future. A new commitment must be made to ensure the availability of needed levels of grant and concessional food aid regardless of whether commercial surpluses exist at the time. International pledges to the World Food Program must also be increased beyond the \$440 million target for 1975-76 to offset the recent commodity price rise.

A close examination of the extent of overfishing in many of the world's fisheries underlines the urgency of evolving a cooperative global approach to the management of oceanic fisheries at the 1974 Law of the Sea Conference. Failure to do this may result in continuing depletion of stocks, declining catches, and rises in sea-food prices that will make those of the early 1970s seem modest by comparison.

A variety of forces should compel those in countries like the United States to reduce the demands they place

on world food resources. This can most readily be accomplished through the substitution of vegetable-based protein for animal protein.

Over the longer run, the greatest opportunities for expanding food supplies lie in the developing countries, where the world's greatest reservoir of unexploited food production potential is located. Large increases in food supply are possible in these countries—at far lower cost in resources than in agriculturally advanced nations—if farmers are given the necessary economic incentives and have access to the requisite inputs. International and bilateral support for agricultural development in the poor countries needs to be strengthened considerably.

A crash effort to increase world fertilizer production will be necessary if current shortages are to be alleviated. Great potential exists for combining energy and capital in the Persian Gulf with industrial technology to produce ample amounts of low cost fertilizer for use in developing nations.

Population Growth Must Be Slowed

The prospect of an emerging chronic global scarcity of food underlines the need to slow and stabilize population growth as rapidly as possible. Given recent demographic trends, one can conceive of this occurring in the industrial countries, but in the poor countries, it will be much more difficult to achieve population stability within an acceptable time frame. The historical record indicates that birth rates do not usually decline dramatically unless certain basic social needs—a reasonable standard of living, an assured food supply, a reduced infant mortality rate, literacy, and health services—are satisfied, providing the basic motivation for smaller families.

Population-induced pressures on the global food supply will only continue to increase if substantial economic and social progress among the world's poor is not made. A greatly expanded program to make family planning services available to all who desire them, in rich and poor nations, is certainly necessary. Access to family planning services alone, however, will not break the dismal cycle in which most of the increases in food production have always been consumed by an ever expanding number of mouths to feed, leaving much of mankind hungry.

World Food Security Index

	Reserve Stocks of Grain	Grain Equivalent of Idled U. S. Cropland (million metric tons)	Total Reserves	Reserves as Days of World Consumption (days)
1961	154	68	222	95
1962	131	81	212	88
1963	125	70	195	77
1964	128	70	198	77
1965	113	71	184	69
1966	99	79	178	66
1967	100	51	151	55
1968	116	61	177	62
1969	136	73	209	69
1970	146	71	217	69
1971	120	41	161	51
1972	131	78	209	66
1973	103	20	123	37
1974 (proj.)	89	0	89	27

Source: Prepared on the basis of U. S. Department of Agriculture data.

*"The world is shrinking fast
into a small neighbourhood"*

Human Family Responsibilities



by
CHIRAPURATH I. ITTY
Director, Commission on the
Churches' Participation in Development
World Council of Churches



What happens in one place inevitably affects another; every calamity has global repercussions. This is true of the present scarcity of food and the famine situation in some countries. For one thing, the causative factors behind such local or national situations are as much global as national. This is a new factor of the present stage in history. When famines occurred in the past, they were wholly or mainly due to local conditions. Today, due to improvements in national and global transportation systems and commodity markets, famine is generally more evenly spread among the world's poor and the locale of intensity may be shifted.

To illustrate, the grain sale between the United States and the Soviet Union, and the consequent depletion of American reserves and spiralling price increases, have been a factor in the acute food situation in certain countries of the Third World. **In this global village in which we live, no nation can take a unilateral action without considering the inevitable effects in the world as a whole. To allow some members of the human family to die of starvation when other members have the means to prevent it is nothing less than callous or even cruel.**

The range of moral implications of the present situation can be seen more clearly if one analyses causes and some possible remedies. How did the present food crisis come about? The simple answer is that production has lagged behind demand. This leads to two other questions. Why has production not increased adequately and why has demand reached new levels?

No doubt the major reason for the present shortage was the adverse weather conditions in many parts of the world during the 1972-73 period. Favourable weather

conditions in the immediate future could solve the short-term problem. But the factors involved are many and varied. What happened in recent months is symptomatic of a long-term trend in the production of goods. This causes alarm.

Shortage of Available Land

On the one hand, there is a serious shortage of land that can be used for agriculture. In densely-populated regions such as Europe and Japan, agricultural land is being taken over to make room for industrial expansion, recreational facilities and urban growth. Elsewhere, a good deal of agricultural land is lost through erosion, for example in the Indian sub-continent, North Africa, the Middle East, Central America and the Andean region. In some other areas, the available land cannot be used due to inadequate water supply. However, if the world is taken as a whole, there is additional land in many parts which can still be brought under cultivation. But this would require a global approach to the problem and a change in outlook of certain nations with potential land resources which could be used to feed the world's population.

Increasing Per Acre Yields

The other viable possibility is to increase the yield of the land in use. For example, wheat yield per acre in the USA is three times that of India, while rice yield in Japan is three times that of Thailand. Increased yields, however, demand capital input in the form of fertilizers, pesticides and technology as well as educational efforts among the farmers of the poor countries. Additional effort is needed, as the so-called "Green Revolution" has

not yet fulfilled the great expectations that were raised when it was launched.

The sad fact is that poor countries have insufficient capital to improve their production. The appeal by the United Nations at the beginning of this Second Development Decade to the rich nations to allocate one per cent of their gross national product to development assistance has been ignored by almost all. In fact, the net flow of development assistance to the poor countries has actually diminished in recent years due to the outflow of debt payments and inflation. Worse still, the present economic order, including trade relations, monetary systems and investment policies, is geared to the rich becoming richer and the poor poorer. In many respects it is the same system that enables the rich to grow that prevents the poor from advancing. Unless the exploitative pattern built into the present economic order is radically changed, development prospects, including increased food production, will continue to be bleak.

If mankind is one human family, it is the moral duty of the rich one third to help the poor two thirds. An attitude of charity is not enough. What is called for is a system that is free of exploitation and injustice.

Population Growth Must Be Slowed

The question of increasing demands for food also needs examination. There are two main factors. One is the growth of population and the other is rising demand caused by increasing affluence. World population grows at about two per cent each year and is expected to double in 30 years. This fact alone explains a corresponding increase in the demand for food. **It is obvious that, if the world is to avert a major catastrophe, efforts should be made to curb the increase in population along with efforts to increase food production.**

The problem is more serious when one considers the situation of the poor nations, societies and families. Four-fifths of the annual world population increase of an estimated 70 million occurs in the poor countries. In many of these countries, which are already faced with mass poverty and lack of resources for growth, the increase in population means additional burdens and greater misery. Even in these countries, the poorest societies contribute more to the population increase, resulting in increased poverty for themselves and their children. Therefore, mere common sense dictates the

need for a concerted effort at family, national and global levels to bring down the rate of population growth.

This is easier said than done. One measure that the world as a whole and nations in particular can and must take is massive educational programmes on family planning and making cheap and effective contraceptive methods available to all, particularly, to poor families.

However, from a moral and religious point of view it is necessary to emphasize that governments must recognize the fundamental right of parents to determine the size and spacing of their families, as stated by the United Nations Conference on Human Rights at Teheran. At the same time, the parents have the moral obligation to exercise their rights in the light of their responsibility to the larger society.

According to a statement "Population Policy, Social Justice and the Quality of Life" issued last year by the World Council of Churches, "If a government considers that some intervention is required, that government must:

- (1) Demonstrate that continued unrestricted liberty poses a threat to human welfare; that the common good is threatened;
- (2) Demonstrate that the proposed restrictions on freedom promise in the long run to maximize options of choice;
- (3) See that the restrictions on free choice fall upon



Refugees from the recent drought in Ethiopia

- all equally;
 (4) Choose the programme that entails least intervention."

Issues of Social Justice

An equally important aspect of this problem is the interrelationship between social justice and population growth which was also pointed out in the above mentioned statement:

Recent studies relating to Taiwan, Mexico, Turkey, Egypt and the India-Pakistan-Bangladesh sub-continent suggest that programmes of social justice in particular localities may lead to a decline in birth-rates, while birth-rates remain high where growth is not governed by social justice. Such indications if confirmed by subsequent research could bring a significant shift in the approach to population problems. **Instead of stressing economic growth and reduction in birth-rates as the main preconditions and agents of social well-being, improvement in the lot of the common man may be seen as essential for an effective population policy.** . . . Just as distributive injustice within a developing economy contributes to the misery of the masses and gives a visible face to the population problem, so lack of international economic justice contributes to the impoverishment of the Third World. Thus it is



require emergency food supplies and medical care.

necessary to consider international economic justice as an essential remedial measure for the global population problem.

The increasing demand for grain caused by affluence also needs consideration. In North America per capita grain consumption currently approaches one ton per year—about five times that of the Third World. The main reason is that substantial grain resources go to feed cattle and poultry in order to produce meat, milk and eggs. It is estimated that if grain production were increased by 30 million tons per year, eight million tons of it would be necessary to meet increasing demands by the affluent and the rest for the increasing poor population. Therefore, alongside the efforts to curb population there is a need to curb the increasing demand arising from the rich by reducing their animal protein intake.

For this and other reasons, it is fair to say that the imbalance between population and resources which is the crux of the population crisis is carried more by developed than by developing nations. By a much higher per capita use of resources, developed nations are aggravating the existing disequilibrium. In developed nations the main stress needs to be not only on reducing population growth, but also on reducing wasteful use of the world's resources, together with an attack on environmental and ecological problems that pose a threat to all mankind.

Reevaluation of Priorities Required

We have reached a point of decision. For years it has been assumed by many that development of the poor societies could be achieved without any cutback in the rate of growth and consumption of the rich nations. The present food and energy crises have proved this assumption false. It was also thought that a little more aid, or slightly better terms of trade, would bring about a reasonable rate of development in the poor countries. This assumption has also proven to be false.

Unless the present world systems that govern international economic relations and behaviour are radically altered and the policies and structures of countries changed in order to bring together social justice and self-reliance as enlightening principles of economic growth, the world will be faced with unprecedented calamities and tensions. If mankind is one human family, it can maintain itself only on the basis of justice, solidarity and peace.

"Business As Usual" Cannot Continue



by
HAROLD W. BOSTROM
President
M.I.P. Sciences, Inc.

Much has been written and more will be written on the problems that besiege mankind globally. There is an energy crisis. There has been, for some time, a population crisis. Today there is a food crisis while mineral and other shortages are developing. Yet there is still a tendency, in all nations, not to recognize the magnitude of these crises but, instead, to look hopefully for "business as usual." The tragic fact is that 3.8 billion people may be developing or seeking a life style that is more than nature or the eco-system can bear on this planet of finite resources. **Great tragedy will befall us unless overly rapid population growth can be slowed down and life styles and consumer demands in many nations become more modest.**

Enormous sums have been spent to develop hybrid mutant strains of cereal grains with which to buy time, food, and therefore hope for the human family. Years have been spent laboring in the laboratory and the fields successfully improving yields. For this work Norman Borlaug received the Nobel Peace award. Food gains, however, have not been sufficient. Ominously, increases in the cost of fertilizer may soon slow the rate of increase in agricultural production.

All Resources Are Limited

At one time, it appeared that resources, for all practical purposes, were without limit. We are now entering a new era in the history of mankind. In these coming decades, many changes and sacrifices will be required if the human race is to survive in a viable world society. What are these changes? For the U.S.A., Margaret Mead, the anthropologist, suggested that if each citizen ate one less hamburger a week, that could provide sufficient protein to ameliorate hunger in the developing countries and to buy time to perform the long term task of checking population growth. I would make some fur-

ther suggestions: Millions of small farms and acres of farm land in the U.S.A. and elsewhere have been abandoned, either because farming is no longer profitable or because other land uses such as roads or suburbs have seemed more urgent. Means should be found to return people to land which must be reserved for food production. Wasteful use of foods for pets, extensive fertilizing of lawns and golf courses, and above all, massive expenditures on armaments cut directly or indirectly into the amount of food available for hungry people. Priorities should be reevaluated and reorganized in the developed countries. These issues should be debated in an international forum—the United Nations for example. Developing nations should be advised that help will be provided if they too focus on internal reforms, population management and other priority programs.

The frontiers of the physical world—such as the amount of arable land which can be brought into production—are closing, but technology is still capable of titanic innovation. A great constituency of human beings must band together to urge political leaders everywhere from the smallest nation states to those having the most powerful nuclear muscle to find a new equilibrium between man and nature. There can be no true peace or prosperity until this challenge is met. Visible progress was made at the UN Environmental Conference at Stockholm in 1972. The second great opportunity will be in Bucharest, Romania in August 1974 at the World Population Conference. There will be other meetings to follow. But time is also a resource, not infinite in terms of the problems needing resolution.

Time is in very short supply today as nations must apply the full measure of human intelligence, ingenuity, and good intentions to banish the terrible prospect of continuing world hunger and deprivations from this planet.

R. T. Ravenholt Receives Hugh Moore Award



Dr. Reimert T. Ravenholt was awarded the 1974 Hugh Moore Memorial Award on June 20 at the Hotel Americana during the International Convocation on the World Population Crisis in New York. Ravenholt is the Director, Office of Population, Bureau of Population and Humanitarian Assistance for the Agency for International Development (AID).

"Few people so richly deserve an award as much as Ray Ravenholt does," stated William H. Draper, Jr., Honorary Chairman of the Population Crisis Committee and Master of Ceremony during the award presentation. "It has been under his capable leadership and guidance that the United States mobilized talent and resources to assist developing countries to help solve their own population problems. When Dr. Ravenholt began eight years ago, the Agency for International Development had only two fulltime professionals in the Population Branch and a budget of a few million dollars.

Today, he directs a staff of more than 100 employees and a program of about \$125,000,000. He has forged a splendid team of professionals throughout the world who have been responding successfully to the many requests for population and family-planning assistance from developing nations. All of us who work in the population movement, and in fact the world, owe him thanks and appreciation." In presenting the award to Dr. Ravenholt, Mrs. Hugh Moore heartily congratulated him on behalf of the Hugh Moore Fund and the Population Crisis Committee, of which she is a director.

The Hugh Moore Memorial Award is given annually to an outstanding individual who has demonstrated imagination, initiative and vision in the population field.

The award is given in memory of Hugh Moore, the inventor of the Dixie Cup and a founder of the Population Crisis Committee. The annual recipient of the Hugh Moore Award is chosen by the Population Crisis Committee in consultation with the International Planned Parenthood Federation, the Association for Voluntary Sterilization and the Population Institute—all organizations which Hugh Moore supported.

Last year the award went to Dr. Malcolm Potts, then Medical Director of the International Planned Parenthood Federation.

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UNITED NATIONS

**WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE**

ROME, 5-16 November 1974

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMMES OF ACTION

Resolution onAchievement of a Desirable Balance Between Population and Food Supply

Sponsors: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Barbados, Burma, Colombia, Egypt, Ghana, India, Iran, Kenya, Korea, Lesotho, Malaysia, Mauritius, Mexico, Nepal, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Turkey.

The World Food Conference,

Recognizing that the increasing demand for food is related to the unprecedented population growth, which has doubled the world's population in a single generation,

Realizing that despite improved agricultural technology an appreciable share of the human race continues to be seriously undernourished, and that many millions face actual starvation,

Bearing in mind that land and water resources are limited and that it is becoming increasingly difficult for food production to meet the food needs of a rapidly growing world population,

Recalling that in recent months in Bucharest our various governments have agreed by consensus on a World Population Plan of Action,

Now calls on all governments and on people everywhere not only to make every possible effort to grow and equitably distribute sufficient food so that all human beings may have an adequate diet - a short-range goal which priority and the best techniques might make possible - but also to support, for a longer-term solution, sound population policies relevant to national needs which would assure the right of all couples to decide freely and responsibly the spacing and size of their own families within the framework of a strategy of development.

PRESS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

November 5, 1974

No. 477

As Prepared For Delivery

ADDRESS BY
 THE HONORABLE HENRY A. KISSINGER
 SECRETARY OF STATE
 BEFORE THE WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE
 ROME, ITALY
 NOVEMBER 5, 1974

Secretary Kissinger:

We meet to address man's most fundamental need. The threat of famine, the fact of hunger have haunted men and nations throughout history. Our presence here is recognition that this eternal problem has now taken on unprecedented scale and urgency and that it can only be dealt with by concerted worldwide action.

Our challenge goes far deeper than one area of human endeavor or one international conference. We are faced not just with the problem of food but with the accelerating momentum of our interdependence. The world is midway between the end of the Second World War and the beginning of the twenty-first century. We are stranded between old conceptions of political conduct and a wholly new environment, between the inadequacy of the nation-state and the emerging imperative of global community. In the past thirty years the world came to assume that a stable economic system and spreading prosperity would continue indefinitely. New nations launched themselves confidently on the path of economic and social development; technical innovation and industrial expansion promised steady improvement in the standard of living of all nations; surpluses of fuel, food and raw materials were considered a burden rather than a blessing. While poverty and misery still afflicted many parts of the globe, over the long run there was universal hope; the period was fairly characterized as a "revolution of rising expectations." That time has ended. Now there are fundamental questions about our capacity to meet even our most basic needs. In 1972, partly due to bad weather around the globe, world grain production declined for the first time in two decades. We were made ominously conscious of the thin edge between hope and hunger, and of the world's dependence on the surplus production of a few nations. In 1973 first a political embargo and then abruptly raised prices for oil curbed production in the world's factories and farms, and sharply accelerated a global inflation that was already at the margin of government's ability to control. In 1974, the international monetary and trading system continues under mounting stress, not yet able to absorb the accumulated weight of repeated shocks. Its institutions still struggling to respond. The same interdependence that brought common advance now threatens us with common decline.

We must act now and we must act together to regain control over our shared destiny. Catastrophe when it cannot be foreseen can be blamed on a failure of vision or on forces beyond our control. But the current trend is obvious and the remedy is within our power. If we do not

For further information contact:

act boldly, disaster will result from a failure of will; moral capability will be inherent in our foreknowledge.

The political challenge is straightforward: will the nations of the world cooperate to confront a crisis which is both self-evident and global in nature? Or will each nation or region or bloc see its special advantages as a weapon instead of as a contribution? Will we pool our strengths and progress together, or test our strengths and sink together?

President Ford has instructed me to declare on behalf of the United States: We regard our good fortune and strength in the field of food as a global trust. We recognize the responsibilities we bear by virtue of our extraordinary productivity, our advanced technology, and our tradition of assistance. That is why we proposed this conference. That is why a Secretary of State is giving this address. The United States will make a major effort to match its capacity to the magnitude of the challenge. We are convinced that the collective response will have an important influence on the nature of the world that our children inherit.

As we move toward the next century the nations assembled here must begin to fashion a global conception. For we are irreversibly linked to each other -- by interdependent economies and human aspirations, by instant communications and nuclear peril. The contemporary agenda of energy, food and inflation exceeds the capacity of any single government, or even of a few governments together, to resolve.

All nations -- east and west, north and south -- are linked to a single economic system. Preoccupation with narrow advantage is foredoomed. It is bound to lead to sterile confrontations, undermining the international cooperation upon which achievement of national objectives depends. The poorest and weakest nations will suffer most. Discontent and instabilities will be magnified in all countries. New dangers will be posed to recent progress in reducing international tensions. But this need not be our future. There is great opportunity as well as grave danger in the present crisis. Recognition of our condition can disentrall us from outdated conceptions, from institutional inertia, from sterile rivalries. If we comprehend our reality and act upon it, we can usher in a period of unprecedented advance with consequences far transcending the issues before this Conference. We will have built an international system worthy of the capacities and aspiration of mankind.

The Food Challenge

We must begin here with the challenge of food. No social system, ideology or principle of justice can tolerate a world in which the spiritual and physical potential of hundreds of millions is stunted from elemental hunger or inadequate nutrition. National pride or regional suspicions lose any moral and practical justification if they prevent us from overcoming this scourge.

A generation ago many farmers were self-sufficient; today fuel, fertilizer, capital and technology are essential for their economic survival. A generation ago many nations were self-sufficient; today a good many exporters provide the margin between life and death for many millions.

Thus food has become a central element of the international economy. A world of energy shortages, rampant inflation, and a weakening trade and monetary system will be a world of food shortages as well. And food shortages in turn sabotage growth and accelerate inflation.

The food problem has two levels -- first, coping with food emergency. and second, assuring long-term supplies and an adequate standard of

nutrition for our growing populations.

During the 1950's and 60's global food production grew with great consistency. Per capita output expanded even in the food-deficit nations; the world's total output increased by more than half. But at the precise moment when growing populations and rising expectations made a continuation of this trend essential, a dramatic change occurred: during the past three years, world cereal production has fallen; reserves have dropped to the point where significant crop failure can spell a major disaster.

The longer-term picture is, if anything, starker still. Even today hundreds of millions of people do not eat enough for decent and productive lives. Since increases in production are not evenly distributed, the absolute number of malnourished people are, in fact, probably greater today than ever before except in times of famine. In many parts of the world thirty to fifty percent of the children die before the age of five, millions of them from malnutrition. Many survive only with permanent damage to their intellectual and physical capacities.

World population is projected to double by the end of the century. It is clear that we must meet the food need that this entails. But it is equally clear that population cannot continue indefinitely to double every generation. At some point we will inevitably exceed the earth's capacity to sustain human life. The near as well as the long-term challenges of food have three components:

-- There is the problem of production in the face of population trends, maintaining even current inadequate levels of nutrition and food security will require that we produce twice as much food by the end of this century. Adequate nutrition would require 150 per cent more food, or a total annual output of three billions tons of grain.

-- There is the problem of distribution. Secretary General Marei estimates that at the present rate of growth of 2½ per cent a year the gap between what the developing countries produce themselves and what they need will rise from 25 million to 85 million tons a year by 1985. For the foreseeable future, food will have to be transferred on a substantial scale from where it is in surplus to where it is in shortage.

-- There is the problem of reserves. Protection against the vagaries of weather and disaster urgently requires a food reserve. Our estimate is that as much as 60 million tons over current carryover levels may be required.

In short, we are convinced that the world faces a challenge new in its severity, its pervasiveness, and its global dimension. Our minimum objective of the next quarter century must be to more than double world food production and to improve its quality. To meet this objective the United States proposes to this Conference a comprehensive program of urgent, cooperative world-wide action of five fronts:

- Increasing the production of food exporters;
- Accelerating the production in developing countries;
- Improving means of food distribution and financing;
- Enhancing food quality;
- Ensuring security against food emergencies.

Let me deal with each of these in turn.

Increased Production By Food Exporters

A handful of countries, through good fortune and technology, can produce more than they need and thus are able to export. Reliance on this production is certain to grow through the next decade and perhaps beyond. Unless we are to doom the world to chronic famine, the major exporting nations must rapidly expand their potential and seek to ensure the dependable long-term growth of their supplies.

They must begin by adjusting their agricultural policies to a new economic reality. For years these policies were based on the premise that production to full capacity created undesirable surpluses and depressed markets, depriving farmers of incentives to invest and produce. It is now abundantly clear that this is not the problem we face; there is no surplus so long as there is an unmet need. In that sense, no real surplus has ever existed. The problem has always been a collective failure to transfer apparent surpluses to areas of shortages. In current and foreseeable conditions this can surely be accomplished without dampening incentives for production in either area.

The United States has taken sweeping steps to expand its output to the maximum. It already has 167 million acres under grain production alone, an increase of twenty-three million acres from two years ago. In a address to the Congress last month, President Ford asked for a greater effort still; he called upon every American farmer to produce to full capacity. He directed the elimination of all restrictive practices which raise food prices; he assured farmers that he will use present authority and seek additional authority to allocate the fuel and fertilizer they require; and he urged the removal of remaining acreage limitations.

These efforts should be matched by all exporting countries. Maximum production will require a substantial increase in investment. The best land, the most accessible water, and the most obvious improvements are already in use. Last year the United States raised its investment in agriculture by \$2.5 billion. The United States Government is launching a systematic survey of additional investment requirements and of ways to ensure that they are met.

A comparable effort by other nations is essential. The United States believes that cooperative action among exporting countries is required to stimulate rational planning and the necessary increases in output. We are prepared to join with other major exporters in a common commitment to raise production, to make the necessary investment, and to begin rebuilding reserves for food security. Immediately following the conclusion of this Conference, the United States proposes to convene a group of major exporters -- an export planning group -- to shape a concrete and coordinated program to achieve these goals.

Accelerated Production of Developing Countries

The food exporting nations alone will simply not be able to meet the world's basic needs. Ironically but fortunately, it is the nations with the most rapidly growing food deficits which also possess the greatest

capacity for increased production. They have the largest amounts of unused land and water. While they now have 35 percent more land in grain production than the developed nations, they produce 20 percent less on this land. In short, the largest growth in world food production can -- and must -- take place in the chronic deficit countries.

Yet the gap between supply and demand in these countries is growing, not narrowing. At the current growth rate, the grain supply deficit is estimated to more than triple and reach some 85 million tons by 1985. To cut this gap in half would require accelerating their growth rate from the historically high average of $2\frac{1}{2}$ percent per annum to $3\frac{1}{2}$ percent -- an increase in the rate of growth of 40 percent.

Two key areas need major emphasis to achieve even this minimum goal: new research and new investment.

International and national research programs must be concentrated on the special needs of the chronic food deficit nations and they must be intensified. New technologies must be developed to increase yields and reduce costs, making use of the special features of their labor-intensive, capital-short economies.

On the international plane, we must strengthen and expand the research network linking the less developed countries with research institutions in the industrialized countries and with the existing eight international agricultural research centers. We propose that resources for these centers be more than doubled by 1980. For its part the United States will in the same period triple its own contribution for the international centers, for agricultural research efforts in the less developed countries, and for research by American universities on the agricultural problems of developing nations. The existing Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research can play an important coordinating role in this effort.

The United States is gratified by the progress of two initiatives which we proposed at the Sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly last April: The International Fertilizer Development Center and the study on the impact of climate change on food supply. The Fertilizer Center opened its doors last month in the United States with funds provided by Canada and the United States: we invite wider participation and pledge its resources to the needs of the developing nations. And the important study on climate and food supply has been taken on by the United Nations World Meteorological Organization.

National as well as international research efforts must be brought to bear. The United States offers to share with developing nations the results of its advanced research. We already have underway a considerable range of promising projects: to increase the protein content of common cereals; to fortify staple foods with inexpensive nutrients; to improve plant fixation of atmospheric nitrogen to reduce the need for costly fertilizers; to develop new low cost, small-scale tools and machines for the world's millions of small farmers.

We also plan a number of new projects. Next year, our space, agriculture and weather agencies will test advanced satellite techniques for surveying and forecasting important food crops. We will begin in North America and then broaden the project to other parts of the world. To supplement the WMO study on climate, we have begun our own analysis of the relationship between climatic patterns and crop yields over a statistically significant period. This is a promising and potentially vital contribution to rational

planning of global production.

The United States will also make available the results of these projects for other nations.

Finally, President Ford is requesting the National Academy of Sciences, in cooperation with the Department of Agriculture and other governmental agencies, to design a far-reaching food and nutrition research program to mobilize America's talent. It is the President's aim to dedicate America's resources and America's scientific talent to finding new solutions, commensurate both with the magnitude of the human need and the wealth of our scientific capacities.

While we can hope for technological breakthroughs, we cannot count on them. There is no substitute for additional investment in chronic food-deficit countries. New irrigation systems, storage and distribution systems, production facilities for fertilizer, pesticide and seed and agricultural credit institutions are all urgently needed. Much of this can be stimulated and financed locally. But substantial outside resources will be needed for some time to come.

The United States believes that investment should be concentrated in strategic areas, applying existing, and in some cases very simple, technologies to critical variables in the process of food production. Among these are fertilizer, better storage facilities and pesticides.

Modern fertilizer is probably the most critical single input for increasing crop yields; it is also the most dependent on new investment. In our view fertilizer production is an ideal area for collaboration between wealthier and poorer nations, especially combining the technology of the developed countries, the capital and raw materials of the oil producers and the growing needs of the least developed countries. Existing production capacity is inadequate worldwide; new fertilizer industries should be created especially in the developing countries to meet local and regional needs for the long term. This could be done most efficiently on the basis of regional cooperation.

The United States will strongly support such regional efforts. In our investment and assistance programs we will give priority to the building of fertilizer industries and will share our advanced technology.

Another major priority must be to reduce losses from inadequate storage, transport, and pest control. Tragically, as much as 15 percent of a country's food production is often lost after harvesting because of pests that attack grains in substandard storage facilities. Better methods of safe storage must be taught and spread as widely as possible. Existing pesticides must be made more generally available. Many of these techniques are simple and inexpensive; investment in these areas could have a rapid and substantial impact on the world's food supply.

To plan a coherent investment strategy, the United States proposes the immediate formation of a coordinating group for food production and investment. We recommend that the World Bank join with the Food and Agricultural Organization and the UN Development Program to convene such a group this year. It should bring together representatives from both traditional donors and new financial powers, from multilateral agencies and from developing countries, with the following mandate:

-- To encourage bilateral and international assistance programs to provide the required external resources.

-- To help governments stimulate greater internal resources for agriculture.

-- To promote the most effective uses of new investment by the chronic deficit countries.

The United States has long been a major contributor to agricultural development. We intend to expand this contribution. We have reordered our development assistance priorities to place the central emphasis on food and nutrition programs. We have requested an increase of almost \$350 million for them in our current budget. This new emphasis will continue for as long as the need exists.

For all these international measures to be effective, governments must reexamine their overall agricultural policies and practices. Outside countries can assist with technology and the transfer of resources; the setting of priorities properly remains the province of national authorities. In far too many countries, farmers have no incentive to make the investment required for increased production because prices are set at unremunerative levels, because credit is unavailable, or because transportation and distribution facilities are inadequate. Just as the exporting countries must adjust their own policies to new realities, so must developing countries give a higher priority for food production in their development budgets and in their tax, credit and investment policies.

Improving Food Distribution and Financing

While we must urgently produce more food, the problem of its distribution will remain crucial. Even with maximum foreseeable agricultural growth in the developing countries, their food import requirement is likely to amount to some 40 million tons a year in the mid-1980's, or nearly twice the current level.

How is the cost of these imports to be met?

The earnings of the developing countries themselves, of course, remain the principal source. The industrialized nations can make a significant contribution simply by improving access to their markets. With the imminent passage of the trade bill, the United States reaffirms its commitment to institute a system of generalized tariff preferences for the developing nations and to pay special attention to their needs in the coming multilateral trade negotiations.

Nevertheless, an expanded flow of food aid will clearly be necessary. During this fiscal year, the United States will increase its food aid contribution, despite the adverse weather conditions which have affected our crops. The American people have a deep and enduring commitment to help feed the starving and the hungry. We will do every thing humanly possible to assure that our future contribution will be responsive to the growing needs.

The responsibility for financing food imports cannot, however, rest with the food exporters alone. Over the next few years in particular, the financing needs of the food-deficit developing countries will simply be too large for either their own limited resources or the traditional food aid donors.

The oil exporters have a special responsibility in this regard. Many of them have income far in excess of that needed to balance their international payments or to finance their economic development. The continuing massive transfer of wealth and the resulting impetus to worldwide inflation have shattered the ability of the developing countries to purchase food, fertilizer and other goods. And the economic crisis has severely reduced the imports of the industrialized countries from the developing nations.

The United States recommends that the traditional donors and the new financial powers participating in the coordinating group for food production and investment make a major effort to provide the food and funds required. They could form a subcommittee on food financing which, as a first task, would negotiate a minimum global quantity of food for whose transfer to food-deficit developing countries over the next three years they are prepared to find the necessary finances.

I have outlined various measures to expand production, to improve the earning capacity of developing countries, to generate new sources of external assistance. But it is not clear that even these measures will be sufficient to meet the longer-term challenge, particularly if our current estimates of the gap by 1985 and beyond prove to be too conservative.

Therefore, ways must be found to move more of the surplus oil revenue into long-term lending or grants to the poorer countries. The United States proposes that the development committee, created at the recent session of the Governors of the International Bank and Monetary Fund,

be charged with the urgent study of whether existing sources of financing are sufficient to meet the expected import requirements of developing countries. If these sources are not sufficient, new means must be found to supplement them. This must become one of the priority objectives of the countries and institutions that have the major influence in the international monetary system.

Enhancing Food Quality

Supplies alone do not guarantee man's nutritional requirements. Even in developed countries, with ample supplies, serious health problems are caused by the wrong kinds and amounts of food. In developing countries, the problem is magnified. Not only inadequate distribution but also the rising cost of food domms the poorest and most vulnerable groups -- children and mothers -- to inferior quality as well as insufficient quantity of food. Even with massive gains in food production, the world could still be haunted by the spectre of inadequate nutrition.

First, we must understand the problem better. We know a good deal about the state of global production. But our knowledge of the state of global nutrition is abysmal. Therefore the United States proposes that a global nutrition surveillance system be established by the World Health Organization, the Food and Agricultural Organization and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. Particular attention should be devoted to the special needs of mothers and young children and to responding quickly to local emergencies affecting these particularly vulnerable groups. Nutrition surveying is a field with which the United States has considerable experience; we are ready to share our knowledge and techniques.

Second, we need new methods for combatting malnutrition. The United States invites the WHO, FAO and UNICEF to arrange for an internationally coordinated program in applied nutritional research. Such a program should set priorities, identify the best centers for research, and generate the necessary funding. The United States is willing to contribute \$5 million to initiate such a program.

Third, we need to act on problems which are already clear. The United States proposes an immediate campaign against two of the most prevalent and blighting effects of malnutrition: Vitamin A blindness and iron deficiency anemia. The former is responsible for well over half of the millions of cases of blindness in less developed countries; the current food shortages will predictably increase this number. Iron deficiency anemia is responsible for low productivity in many parts of the world.

Just as the world has come close to eradicating smallpox, yellow fever and polio, it can conquer these diseases. There are available new and relatively inexpensive techniques which could have a substantial impact. The United States is ready to cooperate with developing countries and international donors to carry out the necessary programs. We are prepared to contribute \$10 million to an international effort.

Finally, we need to reflect our concern for food quality in existing programs. This Conference should devote special attention to food aid programs explicitly designed to fight malnutrition among the most vulnerable groups. The United States will increase funding for such programs by at least \$50 million this year.

Ensuring Against Food Emergencies

The events of the past few years have brought home the grave vulnerability of mankind to food emergencies caused by crop failures, floods, wars and other disasters. The world has come to depend on a few exporting countries, and particularly the United States, to maintain the necessary reserves. But reserves no longer exist, despite the fact that the United States has removed virtually all of its restrictions on production and our farmers have made an all-out effort to maximize output. A worldwide reserve of as much as 60 million tons of food above present carryover levels may be needed to assure adequate food security.

It is neither prudent nor practical for one or even a few countries to be the world's sole holder of reserves. Nations with a history of radical fluctuations in import requirements have an obligation, both to their own people and to the world community, to participate in a system which shares that responsibility more widely. And exporting countries can no longer afford to be caught by surprise. They must have advance information to plan production and exports.

We commend FAO Director General Boerma for his initiative in the area of reserves. The United States shares his view that a cooperative multilateral system is essential for greater equity and efficiency. We therefore propose that this Conference organize a Reserves Coordinating Group to negotiate a detailed agreement on an international system of nationally-held grain reserves at the earliest possible time. It should include all the major exporters as well as those whose import needs are likely to be greatest. This group's work should be carried out in close cooperation with other international efforts to improve the world trading system.

An International Reserve System should include the following elements:

- Exchange of information on levels of reserve and working stocks, on crop prospects and on intentions regarding imports or exports;
- Agreement on the size of global reserves required to protect against famine and price fluctuations;
- Sharing of the responsibility for holding reserves;
- Guidelines on the management of national reserves, defining the conditions for adding to reserves and for releasing from them;
- Preference for cooperating countries in the distribution of reserves;
- Procedures for adjustment of targets and settlement of disputes and measures for dealing with non-compliance.

Agenda For The Future

The challenge before this conference is to translate needs into programs and programs into results. We have no time to lose.

I have set forth a five point platform for joint action:

- To concert the efforts of the major surplus countries to help meet the global demand;
- To expand the capacity of chronic food deficit developing nations for growth and greater self-sufficiency;

- To transfer resources and food to meet the gaps which remain;
- To improve the quality of food to ensure adequate nutrition;
- To safeguard men and nations from sudden emergencies and the vagaries of weather.

I have outlined the contribution that the United States is prepared to make in national or multilateral programs to achieve each of these goals. And I have proposed three new international groups to strengthen national efforts, coordinate them and give them global focus;

- The Exporters Planning Group;
- The Food Production and Investment Coordinating Group;
- The Reserves Coordinating Group.

A number of suggestions have been made for a central body to fuse our efforts and provide leadership. The United States is openminded about such an institution. We strongly believe, however, that whatever the mechanisms, a unified, concerted and comprehensive approach is an absolute requirement. The American delegation headed by our distinguished Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz is prepared to begin urgent discussions to implement our proposals. We welcome the suggestions of other nations gathered here. We will work hard and we will work cooperatively.

Conclusion

Nothing more overwhelms the human spirit, or mocks our values and our dreams, than the desperate struggle for sustenance. No tragedy is more wounding than the look of despair in the eyes of a starving child.

Once famine was considered part of the normal cycle of man's existence, a local or at worst a national tragedy. Now our consciousness is global. Our achievements, our expectations, and our moral convictions have made this issue into a universal political concern.

The profound promise of our era is that for the first time we may have the technical capacity to free mankind from the scourge of hunger. Therefore, today we must proclaim a bold objective -- that within a decade no child will go to bed hungry, that no family will fear for its next day's bread, and that no human being's future and capacities will be stunted by malnutrition.

Our responsibility is clear.

Let the nations gathered here resolve to confront the challenge, not each other.

Let us agree that the scale and severity of the task require a collaborative effort unprecedented in history.

And let us make global cooperation in food a model for our response to other challenges of an interdependent world -- energy, inflation, population, protection of the environment.

William Faulkner expressed the confidence that "man will not merely endure, he will prevail." We live today in a world so complex that even only to endure, man must prevail. Global community is no longer a

sentimental ideal but a practical necessity. National purposes, international realities and human needs all summon man to a new test of his capacity and his morality.

We cannot turn back or turn away.

"Human reason," Thomas Mann wrote, "needs only to will more strongly than fate and it is fate."

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INFORMAL SURVEY OF PRIVATE VOLUNTARY RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS

December 17, 1974.

SENATOR MARK O. HATFIELD

Catholic Relief Services.—Loose quote: "We are expecting a decrease in giving, but it hasn't happened yet. This is the best year we're had in terms of individual gifts. The American people are expressing greater compassion to the needy than is our government." Their corporate and foundation gifts are about the same as the the past—no decrease, but no increase either. They will be able to give more complete info in March at the conclusion of their annual fund drive.

World Vision International.—Income is rising. They surmise that it is because that they are one of the few evangelical organizations involved in relief and development. As evangelicals gain a greater social consciousness, they look for ways to express their concern. Many come to World Vision. They observe that missionary agencies which support people overseas are having difficulty. The cost of living rises overseas. Missionary giving must rise to compensate. Much missionary support comes from churches which are on tight budgets and can make few, if any, adjustments between budget times.

Church World Service.—Spoke with Kirk Alliman, a Mennonite. No hard statistics available yet. Their receipts are down a bit. Gifts from member denominations are holding up. Individual gifts are down. CROP, their hunger appeal outside churches to community groups, is as well as last year. They suspect that the negative publicity re their internal struggles is hurting them a little, but don't place the blame entirely there. Their specific appeals for so many tons of grain to be shipped to a particular country are getting great responses. A recent one was oversubscribed to the point that they were able to buy an extra shipment.

CARE.—"If the economy is having an effect on giving, it is a good effect. Our receipts are up 35 percent over last year (as of November 22)." The 35 percent includes only cash gifts. It does not include gifts in kind. CARE has two basic funds: regular or development and emergency. Current receipts are running about \$6 million. Mr. Gaffio of CARE says that the American people are compassionate and are responding to the hunger situation in a way more indicative of the true convictions of the population than is the National Government.

Mennonite Central Committee.—Spoke with Paul Longacre. Their receipts are up 15 to 20 percent over last year. They continue to see a significant increase in giving and link it to the increased interest and support in response to the world food crisis. They have seen some significant yearend giving from both individuals and churches. Their constituency is spread across the United States and Canada, and is inclusive of many rural people. Except for cattle growers, Mr. Longacre says that farm income has been good this year. Grain prices have remained up. They receive much correspondence indicating that their people want the Government to do more. He wants to help us and appreciates the Senator's efforts.

Lutheran World Relief.—Dr. Bob Busche. Giving is up. From churches, about 7.5 percent. From individuals: usually it is 5 to 7 percent of the income from churches—if it lasts all year, it will be 20 to 25 percent of income from churches. Giving is related to hunger situation. Three church bodies associated with LWR are emphasizing: (1) That Christians share, and (2) that Christians consider options in lifestyle that will eventually result in newer, more widespread patterns of production and consumption. Identifies giving to broad and favorable coverage of the food problem by the media and to the Thanksgiving and Christmas seasons. They are interested in educating people and asking Government to invest in life-sustaining activities rather than life-destroying systems. People are in increasing numbers becoming impatient with the slowness of the Government to respond to the hunger situation. Government should reestablish priorities and not increase taxes in order to act on the problem. Lutheran programs overseas emphasize long-term education and development in addition to immediate relief. An indicator of the interest is the fact that LWR is receiving many more requests for speakers on the hunger topic.

Baptist World Relief.—Dr. Carl Tiller. Giving is not down as a result of the economy. It is steady and even up slightly. Designated giving to the Sahel and Honduras is up because of the compassion of the people.

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January 6, 1975

FOOD ADVOCATE'S STATEMENT ON THE WORLD FOOD CRISIS

Food Advocates is a grantee agency of OEO, funded under the American Emergency Food and Medical Services Act, and sponsored by the Department of Nutritional Sciences, University of California at Berkeley. Its philosophical commitment has been to feed the hungry within the United States, of whatever religion, race, or ethnic background; to those in underdeveloped regions of the United States, as the isolated hollows of Appalachia to those in the inner city, whether it be the barrios of Los Angeles or the ghettos of Oakland and Richmond. Its specific mission has been three programs: litigation on behalf of extending rights of recipients in administration of United States food programs; nutritional education for recipients of food; and bridging the gap between the technical language of experts and the customs and life styles of those in need; developing other programs for more effective and efficient use of food buying power, and food.

Food Advocates, given its mission, advocates presentation and extension of food aid within the United States. As recent reports have shown, there is a large population of the working poor, within even the United States whose diets are substandard and who are qualified for but do not receive food aid, including food stamps. (New York Times, Thursday, January 2, 1975.) This definition of substandard diet is based not on the standard promulgated by USDA as the minimum necessary for continued health and well-being, but on a lower standard derived for a so-called "emergency" circumstances.

It is the position of Food Advocates that just as the spirit of the American Constitution and government guarantee to all Americans the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, with the right to health and well-being subsumed under this broad guarantee, so the spirit of the UN Charter to which the United States subscribes, includes a guarantee of comparable human rights to all citizens of the planet.

Food Advocates endorses therefore the spirit with which Secretary Kissinger went to Rome, if not the outcome at Rome. Said Mr. Kissinger to the World Food Conference on November 5th:

"Our presence here is recognition that the external problem has taken on unprecedented scale and urgency and that it can only be dealt with by concerted worldwide action... We are stranded between old conceptions of political conduct and a wholly new environment, between the inadequacy of the nation-state and the emerging imperative of global community."

Kissinger said: "The U.S. will make a major effort to match its capacity to the magnitude of the challenge."

Regrettably, only the merest token of American commitment was forthcoming at Rome. Food Advocates urges a matching of rhetoric with action, and urges a major U.S. effort "to match its capacity to the magnitude of the challenge. We agree also with the statement of the Secretary of State to the World Food Conference that "our minimum objective of the next quarter century must be to more than double world food production", as well as to find solutions to problems of distribution and financing. We agree also with the Secretary's statement that "on the international plane, we must strengthen and expand the research network linking the less developed countries with existing (international research)". Dr. Doris Calloway of the University of California's Department of Nutritional Sciences and one of Food Advocates' staff Consultants is now in Rome at the request of the Food and Agricultural Organization's advising on reorganization of its nutritional research program with specific reference to the needs of multi-ethnic populations.

Food Advocates also endorses Secretary Kissinger's statement at Rome inviting "WHO, FAO and UNICEF to arrange for an internationally coordinated program in applied nutritional research." Food Advocates also supports Secretary Kissinger's observation at Rome that American agriculture, in developing ~~food production~~ policy, must abandon the scarcity mentality and move to an abundance mentality. The domestic limitation of production which was necessary and appropriate policy in safeguarding agricultural investment and income must be abandoned in a response to real demand and world wide need. International ways must be found to fund maximum domestic development of our fertile and abundant agriculture, at the same time that we move forward in development of greater agricultural capacity abroad.

Food Advocates supports both public and private efforts to deal with the stark reality of hunger. We regret that the proposal for a World Food Council adopted by the UN is not stronger. A Council reporting directly to the General Assembly, rather than through ECOSOC, would seem to be a stronger response to a crisis. An additional reporting layer within UN may diminish the World Food Council's capacity for flexible and quick response. However, Food Advocates endorses FAO and UN efforts to respond, without thereby assuming that they preempt the field. There is room also, and need, for private and voluntary efforts to deal with a problem of global magnitude. Food Advocates is now participating, and stands ready to participate further in whatever way it can make its resources available, in a flexible cooperation with those responding to the problems of common concern: hunger, malnutrition, starvation.

We regret that the lack of generosity in our specific emergency short-term commitment at Rome suggest to the world that the United States government is long on rhetoric and short on will.

James D. Jefferson
Executive Director

WCRP Report

WORLD CONFERENCE OF RELIGION FOR PEACE 777 United Nations Plaza New York, N. Y. 10017, U.S.A.

DISARMAMENT AT THE WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE

By Dr. Homer A. Jack*

1. INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of the World Food Conference, held at Rome in November 1974, was to formulate plans to solve the world food crisis. However, in an increasingly complex and interdependent world, the production and distribution of food cannot be separated from other economic, social, and political problems.

Indeed, the disparity between what the world spends annually on its military establishment compared to what it now spends for aid to agricultural development in the developing countries is great: more than one hundred to one, \$275 billion to \$2 billion or less.

This disparity just cannot be ignored in discussing a world food program, when much of the discussion revolves around finding funds as well as finding food-grains.

Thus while disarmament was not on the agenda of the World Food Conference -- and its officials probably did what they could to keep away from such "political" problems -- the issue inevitably arose at several levels of the Conference.

This issue cannot be dissociated from studies on the relationship between disarmament and development done in recent years under the auspices of the United Nations. Consequently in the Appendix is given a synopsis of the important 1972 and 1974 studies. Also reference should be made to the Memorandum entitled, "Strengthening the Link Between Development and Disarmament" in the WCRP series of Disarmament Reports, published in September, 1972.

The Memorandum below is devoted exclusively to this issue of disarmament at the Conference. It should be read together with the accompanying Memorandum on the whole Conference.

--H.A.J.

Athens, Greece
November 19, 1974.

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3. THE RESOLUTION.	

The principal work of the World Food Conference was accomplished in its three standing committees. The agenda of the First Committee was three-fold: measures for increasing food production in developing countries within the wider framework of development, measures for increasing food production in developed countries, and policies and programs for improving consumption patterns in all countries.

On November 9th, Peru submitted a resolution (E/CONF. 65/C.1/L.11) on the reduction of military expenditures and food. This was first discussed at a session of the Committee on November 12th. A representative of the Holy See (a Member State of the Conference) said the gap is scandalous between the vast amounts spent for arms and the pitifully small ones spent in the battle against hunger. Australia said there was no link since cutting down on military budgets did not mean adding to expenditures for more food. The U.K. and Japan agreed with Australia. Canada indicated that if it contributed 10 percent of its defense budget to aid, this would be reducing what it now spends. China added that some developing countries were threatened and thus those who were able needed to keep their defenses primed. Malawi expressed deep scepticism about the resolution.

Because much work was obviously needed to make this resolution acceptable to all delegations -- the Chairman tried to prevent any voting in the Committee -- he appointed a Drafting Group consisting of Peru, the Holy See, Italy, Australia, the Soviet Union, Malawi, China, and the World Conference on Religion and Peace. (NGOs had rather flexible prerogatives at the Conference: when a representative of the World Conference on Religion and Peace asked to speak on this issue, the Chairman said that he preferred to have him join the Drafting Group!)

The Group met (with China absent) for two hours and revised the original resolution. The representative of Malawi maintained his scepticism about any resolution on the subject making any difference. The representatives from Australia and Italy cooperated in revising the draft, but expressed doubts that this route would obtain more money for food. The Holy See was eager for an acceptable text as was, of course, Peru. The Soviet Union wanted the resolution to reflect the initiative of his country in the 28th General Assembly -- Resolution 3093 (XXVIII).

After much discussion, it was agreed not to include any precise figure in the operative clause in order to make the resolution not wholly unacceptable to China. It was also agreed that, in lieu of mentioning ten percent in the operative clause, a preambular clause would reflect the Soviet-initiated resolution. The original operative clause and the revised clause are as follows:

Original Text

1. Calls on the States participating in the Conference to allocate, beginning in 1975, a sum equivalent to 10 percent of the defense expenditures listed in their national budgets

Revised Text

1. Calls on the States participating in the Conference to take the necessary measures for the most rapid implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and

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to assist in the financing of food production in the developing countries and the establishment of reserves to deal with emergency cases;

2. Establishes a committee responsible for the distribution and channeling of the funds so provided in coordination with FAO and the World Food Program and taking into account the institutional mechanisms which may arise from the Conference.

other organs of the United Nations pertaining to the reduction of military expenditures on behalf of development, and to allocate a growing proportion of the sums so released to the financing of food production in developing countries and the establishment of reserves to deal with emergency cases.

On November 14th, the revised resolution was taken up by the First Committee. The Chairman announced that the document before the Committee (E/CONF.65/C.1/L.11/Rev. 1) was in error in listing Australia, Holy See, Italy, Malawi, Peru, and the U.S.S.R. as sponsors. They had been active members of the Group, but only Peru was the sponsor.

The Italian delegate indicated that his country was not a sponsor, but he shared the spirit of the revised draft. However, due to the governmental crisis of his country, it must abstain in the vote. Columbia indicated its support. The U.S. delegate recalled that his country abstained on the vote of resolution 3093 in the 28th General Assembly and, due to this precedent, must abstain on this resolution. He warned that there should be no misunderstanding. If the U.S. reduced military expenditures, savings would not automatically be devoted to food aid or agricultural grants. Such an allocation would take a change in perceptions. The U.S. maintains a high degree of scepticism about this principle since it might not be the best way to obtain the needed results. Panama, Cuba, and Romania all said that they would support the resolution.

The Chinese delegate said that, after reading the revised text, he felt that it was an improvement. Still, there were major drawbacks to it. The superpowers should be asked to reduce their arms expenditures. Countries faced with colonialism, Zionism, and other threats should strengthen and not weaken their self-defense capabilities. Also the proposal to cut defense expenditures by ten percent is peddled by one superpower to deceive world opinion. Their tricks are evident. This proposal could only provoke controversy and yield no possible results in the final concluding days of the Conference. Finally, China firmly opposed certain General Assembly resolutions, including 3093, and thus China with regret could not go along with the revised text.

The Soviet representative said that its position was well known and it fully supported the draft. Yugoslavia also endorsed the revised resolution. Jordan said that the world spends 6.5 percent of its GNP, or more than \$200 billion, annually on arms, with eight countries spending a total of \$160 billion. Sweden indicated that although it supported the main purpose of this resolution, disarmament and development should be pursued vigorously each on its own. Thus it would not be in a position to support the draft. Norway shared the view of Sweden. On the other hand, Costa Rica, Mongolia, and Czechoslovakia supported the draft. The German Democratic Republic, Argentina, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Poland also supported the draft. Denmark regretted that its position was the same as that of Norway.

Malawi expressed continuing cynicism. Even if the resolution were adopted unanimously, he doubted if the majority of States would abide by its spirit. Most citizens of most States don't even know what their State's military budget is. Despite his being a member of the Drafting Group, he felt that this resolution was a dead letter. If the majority say they can't support this resolution, then why try to adopt it? France indicated that it was not in a position to support the resolution since it was not a realistic one.

The Chairman admitted that this resolution caused the Committee, for the first time,

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real difficulty. He proposed that it be held over for another day.

On November 15th the First Committee discussed the revised text once again. The Chairman said that some were opposed to the revised text, some were reserved, and others were in favor. Thus it was right that they slept over the matter. Now they had to recommend something to the plenary. Should they merely transmit the reservations to the text or discuss the draft further? Australia announced its abstention. The Holy See said it supported the revised text as it had the original one. Japan would abstain. The German Federal Republic said that it abstained on a similar proposal at the General Assembly at New York and would do so at Rome.

The Chairman decided to take an informal poll. Although 100 delegations were present in the Committee, some did not respond to the roll call. It was announced as 42 in favor, 19 abstaining, and one (China) opposing. The Chairman then asked Peru what the Committee should do. The delegate from Peru said that the resolution should now go to the plenary, indicating the number of States abstaining and against.

China indicated that it reserved its right to speak on this resolution in the plenary. The Chairman asked if absentees during the informal vote would like to be listed. Several spoke up, notably South Korea and Zambia. The Netherlands urged that only the total number of abstentions and negative votes should be transmitted, not the names of countries.

At the final plenary session of the Conference on November 16th, the resolutions of the First Committee were presented for adoption. While there was some doubt among delegates on how the Peruvian resolution would be handled, it was transmitted to the plenary with the 13 others. The President of the Conference said that, according to the rules, the decision on resolutions would first be taken, after which there could be explanations of vote. He said that all 14 resolutions had been recommended for adoption. Before the President could obtain a decision, China got the floor and announced its opposition to the Peruvian resolution (No. 14). Correct measures must be taken to solve the world food problem. China indicated that developing countries cannot rely on disarmament for their development. That superpower which claims to donate funds for development is mouthing deceptive platitudes. Albania also spoke and said that Resolution 14 referred to the Soviet-sponsored U.N. resolution. That was demagoguery of Soviet imperialists and had nothing to do with a solution to the food problem. They could not support the resolution. Iran said that any reduction of their military budget had to be authorized by parliament and thus its representatives had no authority to agree to the resolution.

Then the Conference President was able to declare all 14 resolutions of the First Committee adopted without objection and without vote. (The Declaration was subsequently also approved in a like manner.) Following this action there was a series of explanations of vote, mostly on Resolution 14 (but also on the mention in other resolutions of the resolutions from the Sixth Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly pertaining to the new international economic order.) Some of the reservations to the Peruvian resolution follow: The U.K. indicated that, had there been a vote on No. 14, it would have abstained. Similar remarks were made by Denmark, Netherlands, Australia, France, Belgium, Ireland, U.S.A. (by Secretary Butz), Switzerland, Italy, Israel, Japan, German Federal Republic, Sweden, Norway, and Austria.

These reservations somewhat marred the tone of the final plenary. Perhaps one State could have spoken for most in making these reservations for the record. As it was, the roll-call of Western reservations -- only 15 on this issue and less on all other First Committee resolutions -- gave a negative cast to the closing session. This made Senegal and Mexico draw some negative public conclusions. Mexico said that "the strong will not give away a single bit of their power." Senegal felt the Conference delegates were leaving "with our heads not held high." However, more concern was directed to the rigid positions

of the West on the new international economic order than on disarmament.

During consideration of the Findings of the World Food Conference by the 29th U.N. General Assembly in December, 1974, there was some comment on this resolution on allocating funds from savings through disarmament. During debate in the Second Committee on December 11th, just after a resolution was adopted by consensus endorsing the report of the Rome Conference, several Member States referred to this particular action of the Conference. Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R. mentioned the resolution favorably. China again discussed the "so-called reduction of military expenditures." Its representative repeated its opposition to this resolution adopted at Rome.

4. THE DECLARATION.

Early in the preparation of the Conference, Peru proposed that the Conference issue a Universal Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger. The Preparatory Committee sessions refused to discuss, accept, or modify the draft Peruvian Declaration. The third session asked the Secretariat to draft an alternate Declaration and both texts would be presented to the Conference for consideration. However, neither contained any mention of allocating some savings from disarmament to food.

Committee I of the Conference put the formulation of an agreed text into the hands of a working group called "The Friends of the Rapporteur," chaired by Mr. Ulf Hjertonsen of Sweden. This group contained three representatives from each of the five regional groupings plus China and Peru. This group negotiated a new draft based both on the Peruvian and Secretariat texts.

During the negotiations, three draft paragraphs on the savings from disarmament emerged. The first had obvious Soviet origins and read as follows: "For a definitive and lasting solution of the food problem it is necessary to direct all efforts toward closing the gaps which today separate developing from developed countries. The lasting solution of the food problem for all peoples is only feasible in a worldwide atmosphere of peace, detente, and security. Active disarmament measures would help make available large financial and material resources for developing agricultural production and thus for substantially improving food security. The application of the principles of peaceful co-existence in relations between States of different social systems favors full and effective cooperation and thus creates good pre-conditions for implementing the decisions of the World Food Conference."

A second alternative paragraph was more in line with Chinese policy: "For a definitive and lasting solution of the food problem it is necessary to direct all efforts toward closing the gaps which today separate the developing from developed countries. The lasting solution of the food problem for all peoples is only feasible in a worldwide atmosphere of real peace, detente and security. Genuine disarmament by the superpowers, dismantling of their military bases abroad and withdrawal of their military forces from abroad would help to make possible large financial and material resources for developing agricultural production and thus for substantially improving food security. The application of the principles of peaceful co-existence in relations between States of different social systems favors full and effective cooperation and thus creates good pre-conditions for implementing the decisions of the World Food Conference."

A third alternative was labelled a compromise and appeared to encompass the non-aligned position: "Peace and justice encompass an economic dimension helping the solution of the world economic problems, the liquidation of underdevelopment, offering a lasting and definitive solution of the food problem for all peoples and guaranteeing to all countries the right to implement freely and effectively their development programs. To this effect, it is necessary to eliminate threats and resort to force and to fully apply the principles of peaceful co-existence, non-interference in each others internal affairs, full equality of rights, respect of national independence and sovereignty as well as to promote the cooperation

between all states, irrespective of their political, social, and economic systems. The further improvement of international relations will create better conditions for international cooperation in all fields which should make possible large financial and material resources to be used, inter alia, for developing agricultural production and substantially improve world food security." This paragraph omitted the word, disarmament.

The Friends of the Rapporteur could not decide to recommend any of these three alternate drafts. In the meantime, the Chairman-cum-Rapporteur drafted a fourth alternative which he presented on his own authority directly to the First Committee: "Peace and justice encompass an economic dimension helping the solution of the world economic problems, the liquidation of underdevelopment, offering a lasting and definitive solution of the food problem for all peoples and guaranteeing to all countries, the right to implement freely and effectively their development programs. To this effect, it is necessary to eliminate threats and resort to force and to promote peaceful cooperation between states to the fullest extent possible, to apply the principles of non-interference in each others internal affairs, full equality of rights, respect of national independence and sovereignty as well as to encourage the peaceful co-existence between all states, irrespective of their political, social, and economic systems. The further improvement of international relations will create better conditions for international cooperation in all fields which should make possible large financial and material resources to be used, inter alia, for developing agricultural production and substantially improve world food security."

All four alternatives were presented to the First Committee at its marathon final meeting on November 16th. Nigeria proposed that the Chairman's draft be accepted as a compromise. France was willing to accept this text, except for two words -- peaceful co-existence. The representative recalled that this phrase had been discussed in the U.N. for 15 years and his country could not accept it. He proposed the substitute of "in tolerance and good neighborliness." The Soviet Union asked why only the U.N. General Assembly discusses disarmament. Substantial disarmament could help solve the food problem. The Soviet representative hoped that the first draft text would be accepted, but it would also agree on the Chairman's draft. The U.K. suggested that the whole paragraph on disarmament was not relevant to the purpose of the Conference. The phrase on peaceful co-existence caused the maximum difficulty for the U.K. delegation for well-known reasons expressed in other forums. Italy said its attitude corresponded to that of France. The German Federal Republic also said that peaceful co-existence includes certain ideas to which its government could not subscribe. Either the phrase could be replaced with the French substitute or "cooperation" could replace "co-existence" which actually goes further.

China then made a major intervention. Her representative indicated that China expounded its position in the meeting of Friends. It is firmly opposed to the concept of detente and disarmament as reflected in the first alternative. It can agree on the second or third alternatives. One superpower is creating tensions everywhere. Where is detente? It is peddled to lull the world's people to achieve the purpose of its own expansion. The Chinese position on disarmament is consistent. The Chinese Government, understanding the aspirations of some developing countries, is in favor of genuine disarmament, not sham disarmament. One superpower clamors for disarmament every day, but expands its influence every day. The two superpowers sign a strategic arms agreement but intensify the arms race. The U.N. has adopted many resolutions on disarmament, but not a single achievement has resulted. The superpower peddling the concept of savings from disarmament is like drawing a cake to fill one's stomach. It is propaganda that this concept can help lessen hunger. The superpowers must cease their own arms expansion.

The Chairman finally interrupted and said that the meeting was in Rome and not New York (at the more political U.N. Headquarters). The Chinese continued and said they would accept the substitute of peaceful cooperation. However, the draft was acceptable to them since it did not contain the word, disarmament. The Soviet Union did not answer attacks on it by China, but asked why the original compromise was not acceptable. Poland objected to the

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deletion of the phrase, peaceful co-existence. The Chairman urged that "peaceful cooperation" be accepted since "we have lived under peaceful co-existence for years." He said that any reservations could be made in the plenary session. At this point the interpreters walked off their job (it was 4:40 p.m. and the meeting began at approximately 10:40 a.m.) The Chairman announced that the meeting would continue in one language -- English -- but the Chairman-cum-Rapporteur's draft should be accepted since certain groups were prepared to wreck the whole Declaration. The German Democratic Republic said that it also wanted the phrase, peaceful co-existence, to be retained.

There was virtually no more discussion of this section of the Declaration either in the First Committee or the plenary. The final session of the latter adopted the Declaration with the compromise paragraph without objection -- and without any serious reservations by any delegates.

5. NGO STATEMENT.

The NGOs present at the Rome Conference decided to compose and issue a Declaration for use primarily as a follow-up of the Conference by the total NGO community. Also it was published on the last day of the Conference for all participants.

The NGO drafting committee agreed to put the disarmament problem both in the section on principles and also on that section dealing with crucial areas for early action.

The principle was that "food security and the maintenance of adequate, readily available reserves must have at least as high priority as military security."

The final area of early action read: "Last, but not least, all these efforts would come to naught in case of major war or violence. NGOs will actively strive to eliminate, wherever possible, the underlying causes of international conflict and urge a drastic reduction of the world's armament budgets, the savings to be allocated toward integrated socio-economic development, including food production and purchases."

This statement (E/CONF.65/NGO 21) was endorsed by more than 25 NGOs at the Conference and circulated to the whole Conference on its last day.

6. THE MCGOVERN STATEMENT.

Senator George McGovern of the U.S.A., fresh from a re-election victory, joined other members of the Congressional observers to the U.S. delegation. On November 13th, he held an extremely well-attended press conference and proposed a World Food Development Program, financed by arms reductions and oil profits.

McGovern proposed that all the nations of the world reduce their military budgets by ten percent "which would produce a worldwide set-aside of \$20 billion annually." (The U.N. estimates current world military expenditures at \$275 billion, so this estimate is actually at least \$7 billion short!) The unique feature of the proposal was McGovern's call for simultaneously the oil-exporting nations to earmark ten percent of their new oil income (estimated at \$70 billion annually) or \$7 billion. He proposed that this \$27 billion be turned over annually to an International Food Authority "to give us the means for ending hunger on this planet." He added that "we can and must end hunger and malnutrition for humanity," but "this will not be true if the major military powers continue to waste their substance in military overkill; nor will it be done if those who have oil beneath their feet continue to use it to accumulate beyond reasonable use."

Senator McGovern answered a number of questions from the press. He said that it is not likely in the U.S.A. that foreign aid appropriations would be increased in the present political climate. He added that money for food and development would have to be found by

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altering priorities within the present U.S. budget.

McGovern's proposal was widely carried in the world press. However, the U.S. delegation at Rome did not exactly embrace his proposal. It was, however, endorsed by Senator Hubert Humphrey and Senator Richard Clark, two colleagues also on the Congressional observer team present.

7. OTHER DIMENSIONS.

Of the more than 100 delegates who addressed the plenary and other forums of the Conference, a few mentioned the need for world disarmament and allocating of funds saved therefrom for food.

President Luis Echeverria Alvarez of Mexico in an address to a plenary meeting of the Group of 77 at the Rome Conference asserted that "the precarious balance of atomic power . . . serves as a justification for continuing the armaments race at levels that entail with a hundred-fold risk the squandering of resources that are indispensable to man's survival." Further he said that "there is no possibility for an authentic solution in a system which continues to allocate 275 billion dollars to rearmament and less than 10 percent of that amount to international economic aid -- an aid which in most cases has been a concrete economic means of broadening spheres of domination or extending cultural influence."

Pope Paul VI in his speech recalled that "as far back as 1964, on the occasion of our journey to India, we launched an appeal to the nations, asking that, by a truly substantial commitment -- the result mainly of a reduction in expenditure on arms -- there be set up a Fund with the aim of giving a decisive impulse to the integral advancement of the less well-endowed sectors of mankind. Today the time has come for an energetic and binding decision along the same lines. . ."

Mr. Hao Chung-Shih, Chinese Vice-Minister for Agriculture and Forestry, in his speech to the plenary said that "the assertion that money can be saved from disarmament to help developing countries solve their food problem is even more preposterous. Every year the superpowers talk about disarmament, but are actually engaged in arms expansion. They are stepping up their arms race and keep increasing their arms expenditures. The superpower that strongly advocates the use of money saved from disarmament to aid developing countries has never honored its own words. Far from helping solve the world food problem, the platitudes it is mouthing are designed to lead the conference astray and attain its own ulterior purposes."

8. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

The effort to inject the concept of disarmament into the World Food Conference was a welcome one if not entirely successful. From the experience, certain conclusions can be made.

1. To draw a direct link between disarmament and development at U.N.-related forums is, in today's world, still difficult. The developing world rightly wants substantial development aid, whether or not the larger powers disarm. Likewise, disarmament is crucial -- to prevent war if not to make available huge sums for development and food -- whether or not savings from disarmament are used for development, including food.

2. To draw even an indirect link is also still difficult, especially if the figure of ten percent is used, because this conjurs up General Assembly resolution 3093 which became so politically-contentious because of Soviet backing and Chinese criticism. Thus any identification with Resolution 3093 only guarantees a war of words between Russia and China and a cluster of abstentions from most Western European and other States.

3. It does seem possible to find several political formulations which call for

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substantial disarmament and the use of some of the savings therefrom for development and food. Such formulations must be carefully made and carefully explained. The original Peruvian text did so partly by asking all nations to disarm, not only the five permanent members of the Security Council. However, that draft text by inserting the ten percent figure made the resolution unacceptable to some. The revised draft eliminated the ten percent figure in the operative clause, but by the citing of Resolution 3093 in the preamble, objections continued.

4. At a U.N. conference on a specialized topic, such as food, the representatives of states who remain present to the end tend to be specialists. When confronted with a general political problem, such as disarmament, they tend to reflect the earlier stated positions of their governments. Thus there is little opportunity for flexibility in positions.

5. The need for new formulations and plans relating disarmament to development, including food -- such as that projected by Senator McGovern at the World Food Conference -- are important and should be continued in many world forums.

6. The necessity of universal disarmament, not limited to the developed countries, should be stressed.

7. The prospects for immediate savings from disarmament for use in development, and for food purchases or agricultural aid, appear to be far from bright. Perhaps if one state, or a group of states, begins this process, such an example might be an important catalyst.

8. The rigidity of the Western European and Other States on this issue by admitting no tie between disarmament and development must be broken. One would hope that Sweden and Austria, if not Australia, Netherlands, or Canada, might take the lead.

9. The Government of Peru, and especially Mr. Alfredo Saco Miro Quesada, deserve credit for persisting on this issue when real pressures were exerted to drop the subject in the quest for unanimity.

10. The Chinese must be made to agree to the usage of the word, disarmament, in international forums. Once it was the Americans who were allergic to the word, and now it is the Chinese. This valuable, universal concept should not be vetoed by any nation.

9. APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A: REPORT OF CONSULTANT-EXPERTS ON DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT.

The 25th U.N. General Assembly in resolution 2685 (XXV) asked the U.N. Secretary-General to assemble consultant-experts to establish the link between the Disarmament Decade and the Second U.N. Development Decade so that an appropriate portion of the resources released as a consequence of progress toward disarmament could be used to increase assistance for the economic and social development of developing countries. The Consultant-Experts, headed by Mrs. Alva Myrdal of Sweden, released its report which has become a well-known U.N. document entitled "Disarmament and Development." (E.73.IX.1)

The experts in their introduction denied any direct link: "We believe that these two objectives -- disarmament and development -- are of the greatest importance to the world community. But fundamentally they stand separately from one another. The U.N. has agreed to seek each one vigorously in its own right, regardless of the pace of progress in approaching the other. Specifically, nations have agreed that national and international efforts to promote development should be neither postponed nor allowed to lag merely because progress in disarmament is slow.

However, there were other general considerations noted by the Experts. The

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achievement of disarmament "would create very favorable conditions for development." Also, the present disarmament agreements (up to mid-1972) "have not yet led to any reduction in military expenditure." In striving to adopt disarmament measures, countries "unquestionably also take into account the great economic possibilities implicit in disarmament through the redirection of resources to goals of peaceful development." Indeed, "the positive effect of disarmament in the form of the diversion of domestic resources will be of very great importance to most countries, including the developing ones."

The Experts then repeated a denial of the linkage: "There are here two separate political objectives -- disarmament and development -- and two sets of political motives, one for each. The pursuit of each objective can proceed without the other, and it should proceed urgently." Then they gave some indication of linkage: "These two objectives can, however, be linked to each other because the enormous amount of resources wasted in the arms race might be utilized to facilitate development and progress." Indeed, "the blatant contrast between this waste of resources and the unfilled needs of development can be used to help rouse public opinion in favor of effective disarmament, and in favor of the achievement of further progress in development, particularly of the developing countries."

The Experts made the further introductory point that "the employment of the resources released by disarmament, especially for development purposes, is not likely to take place spontaneously; it will require concerted action on the part of the Governments of the countries concerned."

The Experts finally felt it necessary to show what the "relationships -- 'links' -- are between disarmament measures and development prospects and, in particular to show that in case of a general reduction in military expenditure of substantial magnitude, an increase in economic aid will be required to help prevent the widening of the per capita income 'gap' between developed and developing countries that would otherwise result."

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations.

"Disarmament and development are of the greatest importance to the world community. But fundamentally they stand separately from one another. The U.N. has agreed to seek each one vigorously in its own right, regardless of the pace of progress in approaching the other . . .

"However, disarmament and development can be linked to each other because the enormous amount of resources wasted in the arms race might be utilized to facilitate development and progress. Furthermore, the blatant contrast between this waste of resources and the unfilled needs of development can be used to help rouse public opinion in favor of effective disarmament, and in favor of the achievement of further progress in development particularly of the developing countries . . .

"The release of resources for peaceful uses . . . sometimes referred to as the 'disarmament dividend' can be redirected to raise standards of living and to promote faster growth . .

"The shocking discrepancy between world expenditures for armaments and for aid to the poorer nations should be regularly publicized . . ."

APPENDIX B: REPORT ON REDUCTION OF MILITARY BUDGETS.

The 28th U.N. General Assembly adopted resolution 3093 B (XXVIII) which requested the Secretary-General, with the assistance of consultant-experts, to prepare a report on the reduction of the military budgets of the States permanent members of the Security Council . . . and on the utilization of a part of the funds thus saved to provide international assistance to developing countries." This report was issued in October, 1974 (A/9770) and constitutes one more in the growing series of significant U.N. Consultant-Experts reports on disarmament. The report was discussed by the 29th U.N. General Assembly and will soon become generally

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available.

A few of the many insights of the Report are given here since they are pertinent to this Memorandum:

"The latest available estimate of world military expenditure, for 1973, is \$205 billion at constant (1970) prices, and it is \$240-275 billion at current (1973) prices . . . There appears something of a ratchet effect; once a new and higher level of military expenditure has been established, it tends to be maintained. We have taken as the long-term trend the average rise from 1961 to 1973. This shows a volume rise of three percent a year. At present-day prices, this is equivalent to an annual addition of the order of \$7-8 billion to the world total. The NATO and Warsaw Pact countries account for some 80 percent of the total. The developing countries' share of the world total has risen from 5.5 percent in the early 1960's to 11 percent today . . . The developed countries' appropriations for military purposes are some 20 times their appropriations for development aid. There are many reasons why the level of resources devoted to development assistance is so low; the high level of resources devoted to military expenditure may be one explanation . . . The estimates of the share of gross national product devoted to military expenditure by the developed countries decreased from 8.7 in 1962-64 to 6.6 in 1971-73, while the share devoted to official development assistance by the developed countries decreased from .4 in 1962-64 to .26 in 1971-73. . .

"The objectives of a reduction in military budgets are clear. The first is that, as a measure of arms control and disarmament, it should be a step along the road to a more peaceful world. The second objective is to release resources for economic and social welfare; and these released resources should be used both for the benefit of the State making the reduction and, through international assistance, for the benefit of developing countries -- a view which the group (of experts) emphatically endorses . . .

"There is indeed a danger in the present world climate of opinion that countries would pre-empt the whole of the released resources for their own use. If this were to happen, the consequence would be that the relative gap in the standard of living between the developed and developing world would widen even further. Hence . . . that a portion of the funds and resources saved should be devoted to international assistance to developing countries . . . If the major military Powers were to channel approximately one percent of the resources currently devoted to military expenditure to development aid, the addition to the flow of aid would be of the order of \$2 billion at 1973 prices. This would increase that flow by no less than 20 percent . . .

"We do not need to establish a link between disarmament and development; our mandate does this for us. We note the wider background: the General Assembly has declared this decade to be both the Disarmament Decade and the Second U.N. Development Decade; and the Strategy of the Second U.N. Development Decade is to aim for a six percent rate of growth for the developing countries . . . The mid-Decade target for this official flow of aid -- a target which not all donor countries have accepted -- has been set at a minimum net amount of .7 percent of the gross national product at market prices of economically advanced countries . . . The share of national product devoted to aid has been moving away from the target, instead of towards it -- falling from around .4 percent of the national product in the early 1960's to .26 percent in the early 1970's, so that it is now much less than one-half what would be required to meet the target figure . . .

"Disarmament and development are two of the great requirements of our time. We consider that the proposals discussed in this report mark a great opportunity for advancing on both fronts at the same time."

APPENDIX C. REDUCTION OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES FOR INCREASING FOOD PRODUCTION.

The World Food Conference,

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Recalling General Assembly Resolution 3180 (XXVIII), which stipulates that the principal purpose of the World Food Conference is to devise ways and means by which the international community as a whole may deal concretely with the world food problem,

Recalling further General Assembly Resolution 3121 (XXVIII), establishing that the contributions to the World Food Programme must be augmented by substantial additional contributions from other sources,

Stressing heading 2 "Food" of General Assembly Resolution 3202 (VI), on a Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order,

Considering also General Assembly Resolution 2667 (XXV), 2831 (XXVI) and 3075 (XXVIII) "Economic and social consequences of the armaments race and its extremely harmful effects on world peace and security",

Recalling also General Assembly Resolution 3093 (XXVIII), on "Reduction of the military budgets of States permanent Members of the Security Council by 10 percent and utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries",

Noting FAO Resolution 3/73 which recognizes that the guaranteeing of world food security is the joint responsibility of the entire international community,

Considering with concern that there is a severe world food crisis which must be confronted energetically by all states,

Recalling with equal concern that the Report of the Group of Experts on Disarmament and Development (A/9770) estimates that more than 200 thousand million dollars are spent annually for military purposes, which shows the enormous disproportion between the military expenditures and the present goals of agriculture development aid,

Calls on the states participating in the Conference to take the necessary measures for the most rapid implementation of the Resolutions of the General Assembly and other organs of United Nations pertaining to the reduction of military expenditures on behalf of development, and to allocate a growing proportion of the sums so released to the financing of food production in developing countries and the establishment of reserves to deal with emergency cases.

APPENDIX D: PERTINENT PARAGRAPH IN UNIVERSAL DECLARATION ON THE ERADICATION OF HUNGER AND MALNUTRITION.

(viii) Peace and justice encompass an economic dimension helping the solution of the world economic problems, the liquidation of under-development, offering a lasting and definitive solution of the food problem for all peoples and guaranteeing to all countries the right to implement freely and effectively their development programmes. To this effect, it is necessary to eliminate threats and resort to force and to promote peaceful cooperation between States and to the fullest extent possible, to apply the principles of non-interference in each others internal affairs, full equality of rights, respect of national independence and sovereignty as well as to encourage the peaceful cooperation between all States, irrespective of their political, social and economic systems. The further improvement of international relations will create better conditions for international co-operation in all fields which should make possible large financial and material resources to be used, inter alia, for developing agricultural production and substantially improving world food security.

* * *

WCRP Report

WORLD CONFERENCE OF RELIGION FOR PEACE 777 United Nations Plaza New York, N. Y. 10017, U.S.A.

HUNGER NEVER AGAIN? THE WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE

By Dr. Homer A. Jack*

1. INTRODUCTION.

The World Food Conference, held at Rome in November, 1974, was generally well-reported in the world press. Yet as always the momentary news -- the 24-hour visit by U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger and an attack on population control by Pope Paul VI -- was better reported than the final plan of action of the Conference and its Universal Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger.

Rome constituted a new beginning to humankind's age-old quest for sufficient food. It showed the world both the complexity of the problem and the interdependence of food with other factors. Secretary Kissinger indicated how "we are irreversibly linked to each other -- by interdependent economies and human aspirations, by instant communications and nuclear peril." He added that "recognition of our condition can disenthral us from outdated conceptions, from institutional inertia, from sterile rivalries."

This Memorandum is a description of this historic conference -- its background, organization, politics, and productivity.

While the enormous problem to prevent famine and lessen malnutrition can only be met by enormous governmental and inter-governmental programs, the humanitarian programs and political action of voluntary, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), including religious groups, should not be minimized. Thus there is a section in this Memorandum on the role of NGOs at Rome and also on their possible role in helping implement the action plan.

This Memorandum should be read in connection with an earlier one in this series entitled, "The World Food Conference: Its Background, Procedures, and Prospects." Also a concurrent Memorandum discusses "Disarmament at the World Food Conference." It is proposed that, in June 1975, an additional Memorandum will be issued in this series to record the initial implementation by governments and NGOs of the plans forged at Rome.

-- H.A.J.

Rome, Italy
November 16, 1974

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*Dr. Homer A. Jack, Secretary-General of the World Conference on Religion and Peace, was an accredited non-governmental observer at the World Food Conference.

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3. BACKGROUND AND ORGANIZATION.

The Fourth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries held at Algiers in September 1973 urged that, in the context of the serious food crisis, an emergency joint conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) be convened at ministerial level in order to formulate an international program. Also in September 1973, U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in the general debate at the U.N. General Assembly proposed that a world food conference be convened under U.N. auspices in 1974.

The Economic and Social Council of the U.N. (ECOSOC) in October 1973 decided to recommend to the 28th U.N. General Assembly the convening of a world food conference. The 17th session of the FAO Conference supported the proposal for a Conference and authorized its Director-General to draw from its Working Capital Fund up to \$500,000 to cover costs of preparing and servicing the Conference. The 28th session of the U.N. General Assembly in resolution 3180 (XXVIII) decided to convene a World Food Conference under the auspices of the U.N. for about two weeks in November 1974 at Rome.

The U.N. Secretary-General on 1 February 1974 appointed Mr. Sayed Ahmed Marei, of Egypt, as Secretary-General of the Conference. The first session of the Preparatory Committee was held at New York in February 1974. Two subsequent sessions were held at Geneva and at Rome, with a total of 40 meetings. Ambassador Olof Rydbeck of Sweden was chairman.

The Preparatory Committee discussed and recommended a draft provisional agenda, draft provisional rules of procedure, and a draft organization of work. The Secretary-General presented the second session with an assessment of the world food situation. This was revised for the third session of the Preparatory Committee and published as "Assessment of the World Food Situation: Present and Future." This was presented to the Conference. Also the Secretary-General presented the third session with "Proposals for National and International Action." These were so voluminous that he was asked to condense these proposals into ten draft resolutions immediately to be considered by states and then by the Conference itself.

The World Food Conference opened on 5 November 1974 at the Palazzo dei Congressi in Rome and continued through the early morning of 17 November. At the first plenary session Dr. Giuseppe Medici of Italy, the host country, was elected President. Eighteen Vice-presidents were elected (after some prolonged political bickering), with Mr. Aftab Ahmad Khan of Pakistan elected Rapporteur-General.

The draft rules of procedure were adopted by the plenary as were the provisional agenda and organization of work. These provided for plenary sessions and three committees, the latter to try to meet simultaneously. The several agenda items were distributed amongst

the three countries as follows:

First Committee: (a) Measures for increasing food production in developing countries within the wider framework of development; (b) Measures for increasing food production in developed countries; and (c) Policies and programs for improving consumption patterns in all countries, and aiming at ensuring adequate availability of food in developing countries, particularly to vulnerable groups. The Committee was also asked to deal with the proposed Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger.

Second Committee: (d) The strengthening of world food security through measures including inter alia a better early warning and food information system, more effective national and international stock-holding policies, and improved arrangements for emergency relief and food aid. The Committee was also asked to consider arrangements for follow-up action, including appropriate operational machinery on recommendations or resolutions of the Conference.

Third Committee: (e) Specific objectives and measures in the area of international trade and adjustment which are relevant to the food problem, including measures toward stabilization, and expansion of markets for exports from developing countries.

Chairmen were elected for each of the Committees -- from Sierre Leone, the U.S.A., and Argentina respectively. Each Committee also had three Vice-Chairmen and a Rapporteur.

While the Conference was to be held on a ministerial level -- with ministers of agriculture or foreign affairs to be present -- very few stayed for the entire Conference. Most attended the opening and left after a few days. (One who was present at the beginning and the end was U.S. Secretary of Agriculture, Earl L. Butz.)

The general debate consisted of speeches by representatives of 104 of the 133 nations present. (Most of the 138 Member States of the U.N. were represented. However, such states as Cyprus and South Africa were not present; such non-member states of the U.N. as Switzerland and the Holy See were officially present.) Also participating in the general debate -- which lasted almost a week -- were representatives of 16 inter-governmental organizations (e.g., the World Meteorological Organization), four liberation movements (e.g., Palestine Liberation Organization and the People's Liberation Movement of Angola), and six NGOs (e.g., World Council of Churches and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.) Several additional speakers addressed the plenary, including U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, Italian President Giovanni Leone, and Mexican President Luis Echeverria Alvarez.

The suggested length of speeches in the general debate was 15 minutes. A few delegates spoke for almost an hour. There were no verbatim or even summary records of the plenary sessions, but many speeches were available on delivery. Also there was a press release after each meeting of the plenary (and each committee).

There were likewise no verbatim or summary records of the proceedings of the three committees. The Conference made so many decisions on so many levels, and so quickly because of its short duration, that few participants were able easily to absorb its total workings. In the absence of records and even a summary of the past day's work in the Order of the Day (which did give the day's meetings and agenda items), the informal newspaper, Pan, provided an official service by at least giving some indication of the contents of plenary, committee, and other discussions. Also the press releases were helpful. At the very end, summary reports of the plenary and of the three committees were approved and ultimately issued, but these did not help the participants.

Pope Paul VI, at the request of the Conference Secretariat, addressed participants. He did not come to the Palazzo, however, but most participants went to the Vatican where he

spoke to them at length in French.

Concurrent with the official meetings, NGOs held daily briefings and workshops. (See section on NC below.) Journalists, numbering more than 1,200 accredited, had daily briefings and also attended frequent press conferences. For example, the U.S. delegation held a daily press conference at the Palazzo. Also present were 69 representatives from agri-business (agro-industry) generally reflecting large farm interests, often multinational.

A number of drafting or contact groups and working parties were formed by the committees. These met in a large caucus room in the basement or wherever members could find meeting space in the relatively small building.

There were frequent caucuses of political groupings. Most frequent perhaps were those of the Group of 77 and the B Group (of some of the developed countries). Notices of such meetings also included the Socialist Group, the Commonwealth States, the European Economic Community, the Asian Group, etc.

The Conference had interpretation in six languages: English, French, Spanish, Russian, Chinese, and Arabic. Documents were available in these languages, but the pace of translation could not always keep up with the need. Also interpreters walked off their job at least once -- after a marathon final session of the First Committee.

A Credentials Committee was appointed, consisting of nine States. It made its report to the 13th meeting of the plenary and it was accepted. However, the Secretariat was criticized by some states for not inviting representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. Their absence apparently prevented the Democratic Republic of Vietnam from participating. (The Republic of Vietnam -- Saigon -- was invited and participated.) Likewise, there was regret expressed that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was absent, since the Republic of Korea was present. Also several criticized the Secretariat for inviting the Khmer Republic and not the Royal Government of Prince Sihanouk.

4. ASSESSMENT OF THE PROBLEM.

A preliminary assessment of the world food situation was prepared by the Secretariat for the second session of the Preparatory Committee meeting in June 1974. This was revised and brought up to date and presented to the final session of the Committee in September/October for further discussion. No serious questions were raised about this description of the food crisis. It was passed on to the Conference itself.

The Preparatory Committee decided to use the assessment as the basis for the national and international action program, but not to assign any Conference committee to study it further. The assessment would, however, be an obvious feature in the general debate. The Committee did, however, ask the Secretary-General to make a note of last-minute information about the 1974 crops.

The report of the general debate, made by the Rapporteur-General, contains some paragraphs on the assessment which bear repeating:

"There was general agreement with the assessment of the world food situation and the nature and magnitude of the world food problem. Where speakers differed from the assessment, this was mainly in respect of the relative importance assigned to the principal factors . . .

"The immediate crisis had begun in 1972, when as a result of very widespread bad weather world food production had fallen slightly for the first time since the second world war. The consequent increase in import demand, especially for staple cereals, had seriously depleted the stocks of the main exporting countries. World prices for most agricultural

commodities had risen steeply, and food prices had been a major factor in a rapid inflation of retail prices that had caused severe hardship for the poorest people, and even brought difficulties in affluent countries. . . .

"The increase in food production in 1973, although substantial, was not sufficient to prevent a further depletion of cereal stocks, or to bring much alleviation in the continuing rise of prices. Moreover, the difficulties in the agriculture sector were by now accompanied by many problems including inflation, worsening unemployment, monetary problems, the energy crisis, fears of worldwide recession, and a general atmosphere of uncertainty about the future

"The 1974 world food supplies were therefore again almost entirely dependent, for the second year in succession, on the current harvests. Even if the weather had been optimal in 1974, there were additional difficulties in maximizing food production, as a result of the worsening shortage and rising price of chemical fertilizers, the new shortage and high price of fuel and power for irrigation pumping and other agricultural purposes, an incipient serious shortage of pesticides, and the increased cost of transportation. There was a dual crisis -- a shortage of food and a shortage of inputs, especially fertilizer. Some speakers, however, felt that the role of increased petroleum prices had been exaggerated as a cause both of the general inflation and of the difficulties in the agricultural sector

"1974 had failed to bring the good harvests needed for the replenishment of stocks and the re-establishment of a reasonable degree of security in world food supplies. The developing countries continued to face a situation of shortage and uncertainty. Stocks had been still further depleted and prices had begun to climb again. For the third successive year, world food supplies in 1975 were dangerously dependent on a single year's production. Even in the best of circumstances, it would be at least two or three years before stocks could be built up enough to provide any real security."

The supplementary note from the Secretary-General used these words: "There are virtually no reserves left in exporting countries and, despite the all-out efforts to expand production in 1974, no likelihood of stocks being replenished until 1976 at the earliest."

The assessment did not go too far into the future -- only to 1985 or 1990 -- and thus did not reflect some of the dire predictions of food shortages given in the popular press. The assessment did assert the following: "The underlying tendency is clear. There are two completely contrasting tendencies: production growing much faster than population in developed countries and the reverse situation in developing countries."

5. INCREASING FOOD PRODUCTION AND IMPROVING CONSUMPTION.

The prime task of the First Committee was to produce an action program to increase food production and improve consumption patterns. (Also the Committee was asked to deal with the two drafts of the Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger.) Mr. S. A. Jabati of Sierra Leone was Chairman of the First Committee and he did an outstanding, expeditious job.

The Committee had before it the large volume of proposals made by the Secretariat as well as the first five draft resolutions presented to it by the Preparatory Committee. In the end, 15 resolutions emerged from this committee on these two topics. They are as follows:

1. Objectives and Strategies for Agricultural Production. In the discussion of this resolution, and others in this and other committees, the Western, developed countries were criticized for all kinds of political and agricultural shortcomings. Yet criticisms of any shortcomings of the developing countries were scarce, except in very technical terms. One

exception was the speech in the plenary of Dr. Philip Potter, General Secretary of the World Council of Churches. After indicating that he himself came from the Third World, he said: "We have been aping the development models of the rich nations, which are irrelevant to our social, economic, and cultural realities. We have worked in collusion with foreign interests to exploit the poor masses, and in so doing have adopted colonial and neo-colonial patterns of behavior. Without adopting radical measures to change the structures in our society and adopting authentic goals and processes for development, we do not earn the right to criticize the rich and powerful elsewhere or the moral credibility and encourage to propose and effect changes in the global order."

After the Committee had discussed the topic and the draft resolution, and amendments thereto, an informal working group was set up under the chairmanship of the Vice-Chairman-cum-Rapporteur (a curious title unique to this committee and growing out of regional politics.) The designated members included Cuba, China, U.S.S.R., Switzerland, and the U.S.A. It submitted to the 14th meeting of the committee a revised draft resolution which was approved without a vote.

The resolution, ultimately endorsed by the plenary, is lengthy, containing 14 preambular paragraphs. The final one affirmed that "in order to solve the food problem, highest priority should be given to policies and programs for increasing food production and improving food utilization in developing countries, so as to achieve a minimum agricultural growth rate of four percent per annum." The first operative paragraph reflected a U.S.A. proposal found in Kissinger's speech: "Resolves that all governments should accept the removal of the scourge of hunger and malnutrition, which at present afflicts many millions of human beings, as the objective of the international community as a whole, and accepts the goal that within a decade no child will go to bed hungry, that no family will fear for its next day's bread, and that no human being's future and capacities will be stunted by malnutrition."

In the remaining nine operative paragraphs, the government of each developing country is called upon to "accord a high priority to agricultural and fisheries development" and "take measures for agrarian reform and a progressive change in the socio-economic structures and relationships in rural areas." The resolution also urged "the developing" to adopt and to implement agricultural policies which encourage the early expansion of food production." It requested "all countries to reduce to a minimum the waste of food and of agricultural resources, in particular land, water, and all forms of energy."

2. Priorities for Agricultural and Rural Development. After an initial discussion of the topic, the same informal working group discussed proposals to amend this draft resolution. This was resubmitted also to the 14th session, approved, and passed on to the plenary where it was adopted.

The resolution in one of its eight preambular paragraphs recognized "the important role of women in rural life, in the production, processing, marketing, and consumption of food, in family nutrition, in decisions of family size and child spacing and in child care and education, the need to involve them fully in the process of rural development, and the implications thereof for education and extension." The first operative paragraph called on governments "to bring about appropriate progressive agrarian reforms in accordance with the political objectives and administrative capabilities of each country." Another paragraph invited governments "to promote the development of cooperative organizations and other associations for the mass of farmers and rural workers for agricultural and rural development and for generating greater self-reliance, self-sufficiency, and motivation."

3. Fertilizers. The revised resolution as approved recognized the "vital role of fertilizers in increasing food production" and the "urgency of eliminating the current global shortage of fertilizers." It recommended that "during the current period of supply shortages and high prices, the international organizations and bilateral aid agencies significantly intensify their efforts to meet the needs of developing countries . . .

through increased material and financial support to the International Fertilizer Supply Scheme." Also recommended was the building of "required additional fertilizer production capacities in appropriate developing countries that possess oil and natural gas" Finally, the resolution called on "each fertilizer-consuming nation . . . to call upon its citizens voluntarily to reduce non-critical uses of fertilizer toward making available more fertilizers for food crop production in developing countries."

4. Agricultural Research, Extension, and Training. The original draft text, amendments, and comments also went to the informal working group which produced a revised resolution which was adopted without vote. This defined agriculture to include production of plants, livestock, and fish. It expressed concern at the inadequate amount of basic research directed to developing "new agricultural technology suited to the needs of developing countries, especially tropical and sub-tropical areas." To this was added research in climatically marginal (e.g., semi-arid and arid) land areas.

5. Policies and Programs to Improve Nutrition. Since a number of suggestions were made for improving the draft resolution, a new informal working group was set up under the chairmanship of the Rapporteur. Their revised text was also accepted without vote by the Committee and the plenary. The first operative paragraph recommended that "all governments and the international community as a whole . . . formulate and integrate concerted food and nutritional plans and policies aimed at the improvement of consumption patterns in their long-term socio-economic and agricultural planning." Governments were also asked to review special feeding programs to determine the suitability and feasibility of undertaking new programs, or improving existing ones, amongst the most vulnerable groups. It also asked that developed countries provide assistance to introduce in the period 1975-76 "emergency programs for supplementary feeding of a substantial number of malnourished children." Governments were also asked to "strengthen and modernize consumer education services; food legislation, and food control programs aimed at the protection of the consumer (avoiding false or misleading information from mass-media and commercial fraud.)"

The resolution also asked that a "global nutrition surveillance system" be established by FAO and other agencies to provide a "method of rapid and permanent assessment of all factors which influence food consumption patterns and nutritional status." Finally, the resolution requested governments to "associate, wherever practicable non-governmental organizations whose programs include nutrition-related activities, with their nutritional efforts."

The First Committee also considered a number of resolutions which were not submitted to it by the Preparatory Committee but came from delegations during the course of the discussions. Those adopted included the following:

6. World Soil Charter and Land Capability Assessment. This was submitted by France, Italy, Malaysia, Senegal, and the U.K. and was adopted after revisions. This recommended that governments apply appropriate soil protection and conservation techniques in conjunction with the measures they take to intensify crop production and grazing and bring new lands into cultivation. They urged appropriate inter-governmental agencies to prepare an assessment of the lands that can still be brought into cultivation. It urged the FAO to establish a World Soil Charter for the most rational use of the world's land resources.

7. Scientific Water Management: Irrigation, Drainage, and Flood Control. The original resolution was submitted by Australia, Bangladesh, India, Nigeria, Pakistan, and Senegal. This urged the optimal use of water resources by encouraging the principles of scientific water management.

8. Women and Food. The women's liberation lobby was muted at Rome, although in many instances the role of rural women was stressed. A special resolution was submitted by Bangladesh, Egypt, the U.K., and the U.S.A. It called upon governments to "involve women

fully in the decision-making machinery for food production and nutrition policies as part of total development strategy." The resolution also called upon governments to promote "equal rights and responsibilities for men and women in order that the energy, talent, and ability of women can be fully utilized in partnership with men in the battle against world hunger."

9. Achievement of a Desirable Balance Between Population and Food Supply. A special resolution on this topic was submitted by 22 states, partly on the initiative of selected NGOs. In the plenary, Soviet Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. N. Rodionov, said that the world could support ten times its present population of 30 to 40 billion people. He said that "we are deeply convinced that the world has not reached its limits of productivity and we see no reason for pessimism on this count."

Pope Paul, in addressing participants, said this about population: "Will men obstinately close their eyes to their own fate and look for alibis, for instance an irrational and one-sided campaign against demographic growth, rather than get down to the essential point?" He added that "it is inadmissible that those who have control of the wealth and resources of mankind should try to resolve the problem of hunger by forbidding the poor to be born, or by leaving to die of hunger children whose parents do not fit into the framework of theoretical plans based on pure hypotheses about the future of mankind." He also asserted that "in times gone by, in a past that we hope is now finished with, nations used to make war to seize their neighbors' riches. But is it not a new form of warfare to impose a restrictive demographic policy on nations, to ensure that they will not claim their just share of the earth's goods?"

of Churches

If some hoped that the World Council would contradict the Vatican on this issue, they were mistaken. Dr. Philip Potter told the plenary: "Certain remedies being discussed seem to us to be either inadequate or exercises in self-deception, or just demagogic. For example, it is being said that what is needed is population control and this will enable development aid and the transfer of grain to the needy to be more effective. But experience has shown that it is precisely socio-economic development which reduces income inequality, and this is a precondition for a decrease in the rate of population growth."

The resolution on this subject as adopted was considerably modified. The final draft substituted "rapidly growing world population" for "constantly doubling world population." Also the final text inserted the phrase, "freely and responsibly" after "spacing of births." The one operative paragraph of this resolution called upon all governments "to support, for a longer-term solution, rational population policies ensuring to couples the right to determine the number and spacing of births, freely and responsibly, in accordance with national needs within the context of an overall development strategy." Since population control here was placed firmly within the context of development, a long debate did not take place as at the World Population Conference in Bucharest. However, in the end the Holy See announced that it could not approve the resolution.

10. Pesticides. Introduced by Gambia, Pakistan, and the U.K., this resolution recommended more coordination to facilitate supplying these insecticides, herbicides, fungicides, avicides, acaricides, and rodenticides to developing countries.

11. Program for the Control of African Animal Trypanosomiasis. Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Mali, Nigeria, and Poland submitted this resolution. It noted that trypanosomiasis, transmitted by the tsetse fly, is a "major limiting factor to rural development in general and animal production in particular in a large number of African countries." It urged a long-term program for its control.

12. Seed Industry Development. Argentina, Austria, El Salvador, Egypt, Netherlands, Nigeria, and Pakistan submitted this resolution. It urged the developing countries to encourage their seed industries and that the FAO program in this regard be strengthened.

13. International Fund for Agricultural Development. This important resolution will be discussed below under Structures and Machinery.

14. Reduction of Military Expenditures by Increasing Food Production. This was introduced by Peru. Some negative comments resulted in the Chairman appointing a committee consisting of Peru, U.S.S.R., Italy, Australia, China, the Holy See, Malawi, and the World Conference on Religion and Peace to discuss the matter further. After several hours of meeting, the members (China was absent) tentatively agreed on a revision. This was reintroduced by Peru. It continued to give rise to reservations, especially by Western states, and to opposition by China. An informal poll was taken by the Chairman and 42 states voted in favor, 19 abstained, and China remained opposed. Since the Chairman did not want to take a formal vote on any issue if at all possible, he announced that the results of the informal poll would be transmitted to the plenary. In the closing hours of the final plenary, the resolution was adopted without objection but with delegates free to explain their position afterwards. A number of states did so. For a detailed account of this important resolution, see the concurrent Memorandum in this series.

Pope Paul told the participants that as far back as 1964, he launched an appeal asking that "by a truly substantial commitment, the result mainly of a reduction in expenditure on arms, there he set up a Fund with the aim of giving a decisive impulse to the integral advancement of the less well-endowed sectors of mankind." He added that "today the time has come for an energetic and binding decision along the same lines." Few delegates listened to the Pope's appeal.

15. Food Aid to Victims of Colonial Wars in Africa. Algeria submitted this resolution which caused some negative comment since some Western delegates felt that it was outside the scope of the Conference. It requested FAO to take immediate action to intensify food aid to the population of Guinea Bissau and Portugal's colonies. The resolution was adopted, with Portugal speaking in its favor.

6. WORLD FOOD SECURITY.

The Second Committee had before it three draft resolutions from the Preparatory Committee. In the end it adopted four resolutions:

1. Global Information and Early-Warning System on Food and Agriculture. A long discussion was held on this topic. First priority would be given to in-depth coverage of information on the main cereals, but then the system could be extended to other products. It was recognized that while all governments should supply information, this would have to be on a voluntary basis and that the national sovereignty in this respect would have to be fully respected. China, in the debate, said it was for individual governments to decide what information to give the System. The Soviet Union expressed reservations about any System and warned against the use of data by multinational trading corporations. There was an irony in the ideological roles here. The U.S.A. is suddenly advocating openness and planning for world grain needs while the U.S.S.R. is using the secrecy and the "market" -- traditional capitalist methods -- for meeting its short-term grain needs!

The draft resolution was put before an informal consultation chaired by Mr. Asoka Jayasinha of Sri Lanka, a Vice-Chairman. The revised resolution as adopted indicated some of the cautions expressed. It requested the FAO to formulate arrangements for the System. A statement was inserted that "where requested, certain information provided by governments would be disseminated in aggregate form particularly in order to avoid unfavorable market repercussions." The resolution also requested the World Meteorological Organization to cooperate with FAO to provide, as part of the System, regular assessments of current weather assembled through the World Weather Watch.

2. International Understanding on World Food Security. This was one of the most

important issues before the Conference. The dramatic depletion of cereal stocks since 1972 drew attention to the necessity of maintaining an adequate year-round flow of food. The Director-General of FAO early in 1974 proposed an International Undertaking on World Food Security with countries undertaking to adopt national stockholding policies which, in combination, would maintain at least a minimum safe level of basic food stocks, principally cereals for the world as a whole. The FAO Council in July 1974 approved the proposal.

There was wide support for this Undertaking. Although this was concerned primarily with cereals, coverage was suggested for other storable foodstuffs. Some states stressed the need for internationally-managed stocks, to be located at strategic points, to complement national reserves. An informal consultation to incorporate amendments was chaired by Dr. W. S. M. Ndow of Gambia, a Vice-Chairman.

The amended resolution as adopted endorsed the objectives of the Undertaking and invited all governments to adopt the guidelines and cooperate to bring it into operation. The resolution also invited all governments of major grain-producing and grain-consuming countries to accelerate the implementation of the Undertaking. Finally, financial assistance was requested to build storage and transportation facilities within developing nations.

3. An Improved Policy for Food Aid. While only a lasting solution to food deficit problems was to be found in increasing food production, it was recognized that food aid would be necessary for several years ahead. This included giving emergency relief, combating hunger and malnutrition among the neediest and most vulnerable groups, and promoting accelerated economic development. The problem of giving aid to avoid disincentive effects on food production in recipient countries was emphasized. The beneficial effects of development projects supported by food aid was underlined, such as undertaken by the world Food Program of FAO. The coordination of bilateral and multilateral food aid programs was stressed. There was wide support to increase the grant (versus concessional or sale-at-reduced-prices) component of food aid and for expanding it through multinational channels. Many agreed with the Secretariat's recommendation that a minimum of 20 percent of total food aid should be provided multilaterally.

A number of different resolutions on this issue were introduced in addition to the one submitted by the Secretariat through the Preparatory Committee. Informal consultations were held, again with Dr. W. S. M. Ndow of Gambia, as coordinator. This resulted in one resolution which was adopted.

One preambular paragraph stressed that "food aid should be provided in forms consonant with the sovereign right of nations, neither interfering with the development objectives of recipient countries nor imposing the political objectives of donor countries upon them." It also affirmed the "need for continuity of a minimum level of food aid in physical terms, in order to insulate food aid programs from the effects of excessive fluctuations in production and prices." It recommended that "all donor countries accept and implement the concept of forward planning of food aid, make all efforts to provide commodities and/or financial assistance that will ensure in physical terms at least 10 million tons of grains as food aid a year, starting from 1975."

The resolution also requested interested cereal exporting and importing countries to meet as soon as possible to increase food and financing availability during 1975 and 1976 for those countries most seriously affected by the current food problem. Also it recommended that the intergovernmental committee of the World Food Program be reconstituted to formulate proposals for more effective coordination of all multilateral, bilateral, and non-governmental food aid programs.

The resolution on follow-up action discussed and adopted by the Second Committee, creating a World Food Council, is given below under Structures and Machinery.

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7. INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND ADJUSTMENT.

The Third Committee got off to a slow start, since some States felt that its subject-matter could be dealt with better in other forums. Several draft resolutions were submitted, including one from Mexico in behalf of the Group of 77. The Socialist states introduced an amendment to this draft. The Committee decided to set up an informal Contact Group to agree upon a single document. The 14 members included Algeria, China, India, Japan, U.S.S.R., and U.S.A., with other states allowed to participate if they wished. Mr. A. Ismet Hakim of Indonesia was Chairman. Later, a Drafting Committee was formed composed of Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Sweden, France, India, Poland, and the U.S.A.

The discussion noted the close inter-relationship between the world food situation and international trade in food and production requisites. Trading conditions exerted a strong influence on incentives to production. While the Conference could not become a negotiating forum for the problems of trade in agricultural products, it should provide policy guidelines. Then the ongoing work of GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), UNCTAD, and FAO would be more fruitful. The extreme instability of world commodity markets in recent years was a grave problem for all countries. Improved access to markets was a fundamental prerequisite for trade. A certain degree of self-sufficiency in food production was a legitimate policy objective for security and accordingly some degree of protection might continue to be necessary.

The resolution called upon "all governments to cooperate in promote a steady and increasing expansion and liberalization of world trade with special reference to food products." It called for "the progressive reduction or abolition of obstacles to trade and all discriminatory practices taking into account the principle of most-favored nation treatment." The resolution further asked all governments to take measures "to prevent speculative practices aimed at destabilization of markets and attaining extra profits." Finally, it asked highest possible priority and the most favorable terms to the "least developed, landlocked and island developing countries and to developing countries most seriously affected by economic crisis."

A high degree of compromise was necessary to reach the resolution as approved. If a confrontation would have developed at the Conference -- and some, even during the Conference, felt it might -- it would have been probably in this area of trade. Most of the non-socialist developed states still smarted from the conclusions and resolutions of the Sixth Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly in the spring of 1974. Indeed, whenever a resolution at the Conference contained even in its preambular paragraph reference to the two resolutions of the Special Session (3201 and 3202 (S-VI)) or the subsequent ECOSOC resolution 1911 (LVII) on its implementation, some western states successfully inserted the phrase, "as adopted." This was a code phrase to indicate that, although the resolution was adopted by the Special Assembly, the recorded reservations of some states still persisted. Given this continued sensitivity by the Western European and Other States on these matters of trade, it was remarkable that a unanimous resolution emerged on this subject.

8. THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION.

During the preparatory period, Peru suggested that the Conference adopt a Universal Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger. However, some member states were opposed -- or at least to the Peruvian draft -- and Peru was unable to get the proposal discussed. The third session of the Preparatory Committee did ask the Secretariat to prepare its own Draft Declaration and this appeared in the annex to the report of the third session. Both drafts were thus before the Conference.

The First Committee was asked to deal with this item. Early the Chairman appointed some "Friends of the Rapporteur" to negotiate an acceptable draft. This group consisted of three representatives from each of the five geographical regions plus China and Peru. (A representative from the NGOs sat in the group initially, but appeared to be unwelcome.)

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The group began with a document prepared by the Rapporteur, Mr. Ulf. Hjertonsen of Sweden, which compared both drafts. After many meetings the group was prepared to propose a new draft Declaration to the full Committee. This was an agreed text except for three paragraphs. The most controversial was the one on the savings from disarmament. Four alternative texts were presented, including a compromise draft made by the Rapporteur. After considerable discussion in the final meeting of the First Committee, the compromise text was adopted. Then the full Declaration was approved without vote by the Committee and later by the plenary.

This Declaration is sufficiently important that it is given in full in the Appendix of this Memorandum.

9. STRUCTURES AND MACHINERY.

The World Food Conference realized that existing structures were not doing the needed tasks of insuring a world free from hunger and malnutrition. New machinery was needed or at least existing structures had to be substantially strengthened.

After much discussion, certain new structures were proposed and other existing structures were strengthened. The more important are listed below, as they emerged from the committees:

1. World Food Council. The Secretary-General inserted at the conclusion of his document on proposals for national and international action a plan for the creation of a World Food Authority. The recommendation read: "The creation of a new intergovernmental body called the World Food Authority to implement or coordinate the implementation of appropriate recommendations and decisions of the Conference, through a Permanent Council, an Agricultural Development Fund, a Committee on Food Security, and a Committee on Food Aid." He urged that details of these new structures be worked out by the Conference.

By the end of the final session of the Preparatory Committee, there was a feeling that the creation of a World Food Authority was no longer a live option. There was much opposition. Some felt it would bypass FAO. Others thought no new expensive machinery was needed.

On the eve of the convening of the Conference, the informal Rome Forum on World Food Problems emphasized the importance of new machinery: "Possibly a Food Security Council could provide this leadership, comparable in composition and responsibility to the U.N. Security Council and, like it, countering the risk of violent death engulfing the human family. Megadeaths from famine are no less terrible than the slaughter of war. They require the same political effort and authority to hold them at bay."

During the opening days of the Conference, some delegates indicated in the general debate that they had an open mind about new machinery. The problem of finding follow-up machinery was given primarily to the Second Committee. It discussed the matter and then put the problem into the hands of a drafting group. After much negotiation, it was finally agreed to recommend the establishment of a World Food Council "at the ministerial or plenipotentiary level to function as an organ of the U.N., reporting to the General Assembly through ECOSOC, to serve as a coordinating mechanism to provide overall integrated and continuing attention for the successful coordination and follow-up of policies concerning food production, nutrition, food security and food trade, and food aid as well as other related matters by all the agencies of the U.N. system."

Since the Conference itself had no legal authority to establish new bodies, the recommendation would go to the ECOSOC which would recommend to the 29th General Assembly the establishment of the World Food Council. This could still be done during 1974.

It was further suggested that the Council consist of from 20-25 members, elected by the General Assembly on the basis of geographical representation. It would be serviced

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within the "framework of FAO" and have headquarters at Rome.

There was no opposition to this relatively last-minute proposal.

2. Subsidiary bodies to the World Food Council. In addition to the World Food Council itself, the Conference recommended several new or modified subsidiary bodies as follows:

a. Committee on World Food Security. This would be established as a standing committee of the FAO Council. It would submit periodic reports to the Council. It would keep the current and future demand, supply, and stock position for basic foodstuffs under continuous review.

b. Committee on Food Aid Policies and Program. This would be a reconstituted Intergovernmental Committee of the World Food Program. It would evolve and coordinate short- and longer-term food aid policies. It would also provide a forum for intergovernmental consultations on national and international food aid programs and policies and improve coordination between bilateral and multilateral food aid.

c. The World Food Council would also receive periodic information from at least the following institutions: 1-the new International Fund for Agricultural Development (see below), 2-UNCTAD on the world food trade situation, and 3-GATT.

3. International Fund for Agricultural Development. While there was agreement that the flow of assistance to agriculture in developing countries must be substantially increased, there was hesitation about forming any new international organization for this purpose. Few states present wanted to point a finger at the new oil-producing states. One of the few to do so was Secretary Kissinger. He said: "The oil exporters have a special responsibility . . . Many of them have income far in excess of that to balance their international payments or to finance their economic development. The continuing massive transfer of wealth and the resulting impetus to worldwide inflation have shattered the ability of the developing countries to purchase food, fertilizer, and other goods . . ."

In the second week of the Conference, three oil-producing states -- Algeria, Iran, and Venezuela -- took the initiative to propose a fund for agricultural development which would operate through existing institutions. There was considerable discussion on whether or not it should be compulsory for rich states -- according to their gross national product -- or be voluntary. On November 12th the resolution was introduced by 20 states, including Algeria, Bahrain, Iran, Kuwait, Oman, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela. Netherlands was the only Western state among the original sponsors.

This resolution was somewhat revised and then adopted without vote by the First Committee and by the plenary. It indicates that the Fund should be established "immediately to finance agricultural development projects primarily for food production in the developing countries." Both developed countries and "those developing countries that are in a position to contribute" are requested to do so on a voluntary basis. The disbursements would be carried out through existing national and international institutions. The U.N. Secretary-General was asked to convene urgently a meeting of interested countries to work out details of the Fund. However, the Fund would not become operative until sufficient pledges showed that the Fund "holds promise of generating substantial additional resources for assistance to developing countries and that its operations have a reasonable prospect of continuity."

10. EMERGENCY FOOD AID.

Although the agenda of the Conference did not technically include an item on emergency food aid for 1974-75, it did include efforts to make emergency food aid programs more effective. Nevertheless, during the planning of the Conference in 1974, famine grew in certain

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areas of the world. When the Conference opened, there was a shortfall of an estimated eight to 12 million tons of grain which was needed especially in Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. In that same period, the emergency in the Sahel had apparently abated* as far as food aid was concerned.

While the U.S. has traditionally been the largest donor of emergency and long-term food aid, and had pledged several million tons for the current crisis, still more pledges were needed. Some felt that if Secretary Kissinger would have announced a grant of another million tons from the U.S. in his address to the Conference, this would have started an avalanche of pledges in food, or funds for food, that the total could have been reached. No such U.S. pledge was forthcoming. However, Canada did announce the availability of one million tons and Australia also made a generous announcement. The European Economic Community and the European Socialist States remained silent.

Sensing this emergency crisis, Dr. Addeke Boerma, Director-General of FAO, called a luncheon meeting of major producing and consuming states for an assessment of the emergency. Also congressional observers on the U.S. delegation forced the entire U.S. delegation to cable President Ford, under the signature of its leader, Secretary Butz, requesting another one million tons. The press reported this action and press conferences involving U.S. officials were full of questions about the U.S. response. Toward the end of the Conference, Secretary Butz was forced to announce that the President had turned down the request. Butz said that such an additional grant would have an inflationary impact on U.S. consumer food prices. Although Butz himself had signed the cable to President Ford, he lapsed into partisanship and blamed Senators Humphrey, Clark, and McGovern: "While the three U.S. Democratic Senators were making a lot of noise, we have been shipping a lot of grain to Bangladesh." He added that "it was unfortunate that the three members of Congress had escalated this issue to the point where the U.S. was placed on the defensive at this Conference." However he implied that the door was not entirely closed for an additional pledge in the future.

In the meantime, delegates had some difficulty in ascertaining even the approximate level of emergency food needs. The countries most affected hesitated to discuss their actual needs. It was for a former Minister of Food of Bangladesh, Mr. Amirul Islam, present as an NGO (from the World Association of United Nations Associations) who revealed that 100,000 persons in his country were dead from recent famine and that one million more could die unless sufficient food were made available still in 1974 or 1975. The official Bangladesh delegation gave more general figures. Also official delegates from India and Pakistan indicated that they needed huge amounts of grain soon, but their askings remained general at least in public.

The emergency needs sparked several unofficial actions at the Conference. U.S. comedian and activist, Dick Gregory, went on a 24-hour fast and vigil in front of the Palazzo and vowed that he would continue on a liquid diet until President Ford would make more food available. In Rome, priests at the North American College went on a one-day fast and conducted a kind of food teach-in. At the Conference itself, NGOs planned an Emergency Conference Fund and asked all levels of participants to donate the cost of three meals for the FAO Freedom from Hunger Campaign to be used in Bangladesh. Only a relatively small amount was raised, but obviously raised was the consciousness of participants to the emergency. In the meantime, U.S. Secretary Butz announced at the Conference that the U.S. was sending one quarter of a million tons of grain to Bangladesh, with an agreement for 100,000 tons signed three days after the Conference began.

Dr. Boerma held a second meeting of major donor and consumer states. He was able by the end of the Conference only to repeat his warning; "There is still a very grave problem affecting the food supply of millions of people over the next few months." He did announce that a third meeting would be held at Rome on November 29th.

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Perhaps the emergency occupied too many headlines and too greatly distracted the delegates. Yet if widespread famine occurs in Asia before the 1975 crop is harvested, the credibility of the whole action plan of the World Food Conference would be seriously reduced.

(The third meeting, held at Rome beginning November 29th, determined that 7.5 million tons, costing \$1.9 billion, were needed during the next eight months as follows: India - 2.2 to 3.7 million tons; Bangladesh - 1.8 million; Pakistan - .9 million; Sahelian Zone in Africa - .3 million; Tanzania - .265 million; Ivory Coast - .212 million; and Sri Lanka - .174 million. They "found the food" -- 5.5 million tons of wheat, 1.6 million tons of rice, and .5 million tons of corn. They did not immediately find the \$1.9 billion and hoped that the newly-rich oil producing countries would participate. The U.S. has 3.2 million tons in its current budget, with 700,000 not yet committed. Present at the meeting were the U.S.A., Canada, Australia, Argentina, France, Brazil, Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Tanzania, Thailand, Japan, Egypt, the European Economic Community, International Monetary Fund, World Bank, International Wheat Council, and the World Food Program. Notably absent were the Soviet Union and China, although both attended the earlier two meetings.)

11. SOME POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

The Rome Conference was meant to be a political, and not only a humanitarian, event. Thus there were many political dimensions to the Conference. Only a very few can be discussed here.

The 133 member states could be considered initially, as at all U.N.-related events, as coming from five geographical-cum-political groups: Asian (including China), African, Latin American, Eastern European, and Western European and Other (including Australia and the U.S.A.).

A second classification was between the developed and the developing states. The latter worked together as the Group of 77, now consisting of 104 States. They are all Asian, African, and Latin American, except for Yugoslavia. This group is not quite identical with the Non-aligned States. At Rome, the 77 label was displayed more than the non-aligned one.

The developed states were in two categories: the socialist group and Group B. The latter included the Western European and Other States and also Japan. Apparently the alphabetical classification used is as follows: Group A-Asia and Africa; Group B - Developed World; Group C - Latin America; and Group D - Socialist States.

A third classification was a listing of the most disadvantaged. The U.N. system has long made a list of the least-developed states. Growing out of the energy crisis, the U.N. has more recently made a list of the "most seriously affected" states. These are 32 states for which an emergency fund has been established to meet their increased energy costs and their decreased balance of payments. They are the following: Bangladesh, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Dahomey, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, India, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Lesotho, Laos, Malagasy, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Pakistan, Senegal, Sierre Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen Arab Republic, and the People's Republic of Yemen.

A. Role of the U.S.A. Delegation. Since the U.S.A. was one of the states which urged the convening of the World Food Conference, and it remains the prime producer of food grains, it is instructive to examine the political role of the U.S. delegation at Rome. The posture of this large delegation can only be described as insensitive-cum-arrogant. The hard line of the ex-Nixon team of Secretary of Agriculture Earl L. Butz and Mrs. Anne Armstrong ("the highest woman in the U.S. Government:") was not apparently softened either by Secretary of State Kissinger (who spent only a few hours at the Conference itself) or by a team of observers from the U.S. Congress (who were given the distinct feeling of

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being observers and also did not stay in Rome for the entire duration of the Conference).

Despite the basically positive speech by Kissinger and the pleas for more emergency food from many members of the Congress present, the U.S. delegation spoke too often and tried to counter criticisms by constantly reminding all who would listen how generous the U.S. has been with food aid since World War II ("25 billion dollars of food in 25 years.") Behind the scenes the U.S. delegation may have been more constructive and less abrasive. However, many non-official Americans present were constantly embarrassed at the deportment of some of the U.S. leaders, including the constant publicity releases of Anne Armstrong (acting like a movie star in search of a Nobel Prize) and the duplicity of U.S. Ambassador Edwin Martin at press conferences insisting that the Conference could not deal with emergency food needs. His repeated assertions were contradicted, in the end, by the Secretary-General of the Conference.

Even the opening speech by Secretary Kissinger (who was treated with far more deference than any of the other ministers present) lacked a generous tone. The informal newspaper, Pan, asserted that Kissinger's "speech, his arrival, his whole attitude reflected a peculiarly defensive paternalism, an almost neurotic desire to show that the U.S. is different, more concerned, more capable than anyone else." Then Pan added: "IF DR. K. HAD ONLY BEEN HUBERT . . . Mr. Humphrey, by contrast, re-stated the Jeffersonian ideals that have been America's claim to greatness . . . He talked of the absolute necessity for people and not politicians to dictate policies; of the core of simple humanity within the U.S. that requires only leadership to come up with the goods . . ."

The U.S. delegation, unlike that at most other recent U.N. conferences and at the U.N. General Assembly itself, isolated itself from the American NGOs and only allowed the World Hunger Action Coalition to funnel opinion to it at Rome. While broad-based, this Coalition lacked openness at least in Rome and this raised questions about its own independence from official U.S. policy. However, official U.S. policy revealed itself at the Conference to be so limited that the head of the Coalition, Herbert J. Waters, admitted publicly on the last day of the Conference: "The American delegation has not reflected the views of the people."

b. The Role of the Soviet Delegation. If the U.S. maintained a high profile at Rome and used it almost disastrously, the U.S.S.R. had a low profile at Rome but came off little better. The heart of the Soviet Union, for all its concern for the Third World, was obviously not in the World Food Conference. It is hard to estimate all the reasons for this lack of high interest in the problem. Perhaps the agricultural situation within the Soviet Union is still too confusing for clear action of any sort by the U.S.S.R. in any world food forum. Perhaps the Soviet Union is unable to promise any grain for the future, despite her huge agriculture. She also continues, despite her gross national product, to be unwilling or unable to furnish large funds, bilaterally or through multinational agencies, for agricultural development in the developing world. Also the Soviet Union never joined FAO, although some Eastern European states are now members.

One index of the lack of intent of the Soviet Union at the World Food Conference was the absence of many Soviet-related NGOs at the Conference. Usually they attend international conferences in numbers, to sustain Soviet foreign policy objectives. At Rome, they were absent for the most part, and the total NGO presence was more placid, and perhaps more effective, without them. However, their absence was not accidental. Indeed, many of these organizations sent representatives to India at about the same time protesting American naval intentions in the Indian Ocean -- currently a more rewarding issue politically than food.

Nevertheless, there was a large official Soviet delegation present at Rome. They participated at all levels, even criticizing the unofficial Conference newspaper, Pan. When Conference interpreters threatened to walk off their job after too long hours, a Soviet

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representative jokingly said that he also belonged to a labor union but hoped that the interpreters would stay a little longer. When they finally walked off, the Soviet delegates (and others) said they would make do with English -- which they did well and with continuing humor.

Other Delegations. China was well-represented at Rome, as a participating member of FAO. Its representatives defended Chinese interests and criticized the super-powers, but did not unduly boast about its obvious agricultural accomplishments. Chinese Vice-Minister for Agriculture and Industry admitted that China still imported wheat, but this was principally for obtaining new strains and these were roughly balanced in value by exports of grain. Food expert Lester Brown contradicted this assertion, saying that in 1973 China imported more U.S. wheat than India. He added that in the past three years China imported nine million tons of grains while they exported only 1.2 million tons of rice. He said that if developing countries were seeking a model, there were at least a dozen developing countries that in recent years have done a better job of becoming self-sufficient than China.

The members of the European Economic Community (Common Market) did not distinguish themselves at the Conference, at least not collectively. A few tried to take initiatives, especially the Netherlands which was the first European State to endorse the new International Fund for Agricultural Development. The Federal Republic of Germany, on the other hand, was one of the few delegations to indicate explicitly that it would not contribute to the new Fund.

12. THE ROLE OF NGOS.

The provisional rules of procedure for the Conference provided an observer role for NGOs. During the preparatory period, the role of NGOs was expanded as indeed the number of NGOs who demanded credentials also expanded.

from 160 organizations

In the end more than 420 NGOs attended the Conference. They consisted both of traditional NGOs in consultative status with ECOSOC or FAO and of the "newer" NGOs who had a special interest in the subject of the Conference.

A large number of religious NGOs -- 35 -- attended. They consisted of a number of Protestant and Catholic groups. (In addition, the Holy See was a member state of the Conference -- and of FAO.) Two Jewish groups and the Baha'i International Community were also accredited. Also the inter-religious World Conference on Religion and Peace and the International Association for Religious Freedom were present. Unfortunately, no Buddhist, Hindu, or Muslim group was in attendance.

One attempt was made to bring together all Christian NGOs. This was changed to all religious NGOs. Even so, they felt no special unity or thrust and never held a second meeting. As for the World Council of Churches and the Vatican, the former did better in its message to the Conference. General Secretary Philip Potter's message was superior to that of Pope Paul VI or the official representative of the Holy See. However, the large Holy See delegation did a far better job in the committees than the four-man World Council of Churches delegation.

Representation of NGOs from the Third World was minimal, although some international organizations were represented by citizens from the Third World who were officers or staff.

A Steering Committee of NGOs met during the third session of the Preparatory Committee and arranged an organizing meeting for NGOs the day before the Conference began. It was agreed to conduct daily morning briefings, by one or more Conference leaders, for the NGOs present, and to have frequent NGO plenary meetings. Also a Steering Committee of NGOs was elected.

The activities of the NGOs present were primarily twofold: 1-to make an impact on the conclusions of the Conference, and 2-to gather information to bring back to their organizations to follow up the work of the Conference. Given these two main objectives, NGOs present accomplished individually or collectively the following tasks:

1. They sent official communications to the Preparatory Committee and the Conference itself. Twenty-five NGOs in consultative status with ECOSOC issued such a statement just before the second session of the Preparatory Committee. Similarly, 24 NGOs also in consultative status on October 24th sent an official statement to the Conference, emphasizing certain issues. Also a number of individual NGOs using their prerogatives issued statements to the Conference which were issued as official documents.
2. NGOs published the daily, professional if unofficial newspaper, Pan. This had a circulation of 6,000 daily and was widely read. Time magazine rightly commented: "a feisty, independent conference newspaper . . . directing its barbs impartially (which) tried to keep the delegates honest." The \$70,000 budget for this project was borne by several NGOs, notably the International Council of Voluntary Agencies and Oxfam.
3. They organized a World Food Conference Participants' Emergency Fund for FAO's Freedom from Hunger Campaign/Action for Development. This was earmarked for food for Bangladesh. Less than \$2,000 was raised in two days, but the campaign hopefully served as a pattern for all levels of participants.
4. They issued an interim statement on the progress of the Conference. This expressed regret on the lack of progress in certain specific areas. It regretted "no definite joint commitment to increase development assistance to agriculture to the necessary \$5 billion per annum." This regret continued. The statement also regretted "so far no definite joint commitment to provide 60-70 million tons of grain to rebuild adequate reserves." The delegates did adopt the Undertaking at the end, but without specific figures. The NGO statement regretted "so far no definite joint commitment to provide 10 million tons" of grain for immediate needs. This, too, was unfulfilled at the end of the Conference but was subsequently pledged. Thus the hopes of the NGOs were, roughly, 75 percent fulfilled. However, the statesmen did not "sink their political differences" as the NGOs had hoped. On the last day the NGOs issued a longer Declaration. (See Appendix.) This was submitted jointly to the Conference as an official document by 27 NGOs and subsequently signed by many more. It was also published unabridged in the final issue of Pan.
5. They monitored the work of the three Conference committees. This was an effort, not entirely successful, to keep track of the many substantive discussions during the complex meetings.
6. They lobbied on specific issues. It has been difficult to obtain an inventory of these efforts, partly because some organizations modestly refuse to disclose their accomplishments however great or small, intangible or specific. The "population control" lobby was open and omnipresent and did manage to induce a number of delegations to sponsor a resolution on food and population. This was probably considerably less than the initial hopes of the sponsors. Other special interest lobbies, such as those on environmental issues, were much less successful. A few NGOs managed to speak before one of the Committees, especially Church World Service and the International Organization of Consumers' Unions. In other special instances, NGOs were put on working parties, as the World Conference on Religion and Peace on the Peruvian resolution dealing with food and disarmament.
7. They lobbied selected delegations. NGOs from Canada worked closely on, or with, their delegation, to the point where they communicated by telex and telephone repeatedly from Rome to Canada and generated many cables to Rome. NGOs from the U.K. through the U.K. Standing Conference on the Second U.N. Development Decade did likewise. NGOs of the U.S. were much less successful in approaching the U.S. delegation, except through asking questions

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at press conferences or working through the World Hunger Action Coalition which did not include all U.S. NGOs.

8. They spoke in the general debate in the plenary. These included the World Council of Churches, Caritas Internationalis, and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Also Mr. Donald Tweddle of the U.K. Standing Conference spoke for all NGOs at the concluding plenary session.

9. Some informal caucuses emerged from the NGOs. One that held several meetings-cum-press conferences was that of the "radical economists" who felt most of the plans emerging from the Conference were palliatives and not radical enough. One leader of this bloc was Prof. Rene Dumont of France, a colorful individualist who made a well-publicized one-day fast and urged a moratorium on the external debts of the Third World and an agreement to pay higher prices for the commodities exported by the developing countries. Far from criticizing only the developed countries, he said that "most of the political elites (of the developing world) don't care a damn for agriculture" and "most developing countries have fudged the figures they have supplied to the U.N. Secretariat." One group in this Radical Caucus was the Transnational Institute of Amsterdam, associated with the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington.

A few members of agri-business groups were accredited separately, through their relation with FAO. They worked independently at the Conference, although a few attended NGO meetings.

Barbara Ward Jackson was asked by the Secretary-General of the Conference to invite eminent persons in the field of food and development -- including Lester Brown, Margaret Mead, Norman Borlaug, Jean Mayer, and August Vanistendael -- to attend what became known as the Rome Forum. The 26 leaders met two days before the opening of the Conference and issued a pre-conference statement. This was an outstanding document, although it seemed soon to have been lost in the accumulating Conference papers.

The final non-governmental dimension was both unofficial and spiritual. Jesus Freaks accosted participants whenever they left the Conference headquarters.

13. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

The World Food Conference was not unambiguously successful. Few international conferences are able to fulfill their objectives in these troubled times. Any evaluation of the Conference depends partly on one's initial expectations and also on the determination of U.N. authorities and member states to follow up promptly what was charted at Rome.

The accomplishments of the Conference were many. Some are listed below:

Perhaps the greatest accomplishment of the Conference was that, through its wide publicity, the world learned the dimensions of the world food crisis and the complexity of the answers. Famine in Bangladesh or the Sahel is projected on world TV and makes a vivid initial impression. But memories are short and even few statesmen and intellectuals have realized the chronic as well as the emergency nature of the food crisis throughout the world. Also few understood the many plans necessary to meet the crisis. This beginning of worldwide understanding and recognition was the principal accomplishment of the event.

A second accomplishment was the adoption of the Universal Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger and Malnutrition. This may become a historic document. It solemnly proclaims that "every man, woman, and child has the inalienable right to be free from hunger and malnutrition in order to develop fully and maintain their physical and mental faculties." The Declaration further asserts that "society today already possesses sufficient resources, organizational ability, and technology and hence the competence to achieve this

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objective." It is hoped that this Declaration will be widely reproduced and widely quoted.

Another accomplishment of Rome was the emergence, during the Conference, of some if not all of the required "political will" necessary to save the world from the scourge of hunger and malnutrition both immediately and over the next decade. The hope was that more of this political will would be evident, first through the presence of ministers of states who would be authorized to make solid pledges of food and funds, and second through the actual pledges themselves. Little food or funds materialized, but a political process may have been set in motion at Rome which will, within a few months, result in significant additional food and funds to implement the plans made in Rome.

A fourth accomplishment was the commitment to set up major food reserves to achieve world security and, as part of this, initially to donate food aid in a more regular manner and at a level of 10 million tons. This is a solid achievement of the Conference, doubly so since the commitment is expressed in tons of grain and not in dollars in a still-rising market. The U.S. and other major food-producing states are committed to contribute toward this goal, although it is expected that the oil-producing states will also give major funds to buy food for this purpose.

A fifth accomplishment is the agreement to establish the International Fund for Agricultural Development. Many international funds which can be used for this purpose are already in existence. But so far the oil-producing states have not pledged any significant share of their profits toward the necessary goal of at least \$5 billion annually to subsidize agricultural production in the developing world. While few promises of funds were made at Rome, the fact that some of the newly-rich states drafted the proposal for this Fund is a good omen. It should be noted that the Fund will not come into existence unless significant new money is raised.

Still another accomplishment was the establishment of the World Food Council. This could coordinate the many facets of the problem to the degree that FAO alone in the past has been unable to do.

Final accomplishments include the determination to establish an early warning system and new attention given to the production of fertilizers.

Yet there were many disappointments at Rome.

Perhaps the chief disappointment was the inability to find pledges for eight to 12 million tons of grain from now until the 1975 harvest for Bangladesh and other famine-prone areas on the Asian subcontinent. Despite active solicitations, and some pledges, 1.5 to 3.5 million tons were still unfound as the Conference adjourned. (Later, the grain was found.)

A second disappointment was the failure of the U.S.A. to give dynamic, sustained leadership to the Conference. Although the U.S. was one of the initiators of the event, and devoted so much preparation and talent to the Conference, in the end the delegation was unprepared and ungenerous.

A third disappointment was the role of the Soviet Union and its European allies. Their profile was very low and they offered neither food nor leadership. The U.S.S.R. did not announce that it would, however belatedly, become a member state of FAO.

Another disappointment was the newly-rich oil-producing states. They were often the focus of attention, but in the end they took few initiatives and made fewer pledges. They did help establish the International Fund for Agricultural Development, but no firm financial commitments were made by them or any other state.

Also a disappointment at this, as at most international conferences held on a technical

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as well as a political level, is that the human problem becomes masked in statistics and so-called objective language. Thus the poorest and most hungry nations are "the least developed." Those especially deprived because of the increase in fuel and transportation costs are the "most seriously affected." Even the extent of the current famine was not entirely clear at the Conference, partly because nations do not want to exhibit in detail their sufferings and partly because perhaps they do not completely know. Yet 100,000 lives lost from famine or 500,000 tons of food grains needed -- these are hard to picture in human terms. One delegate did estimate that, in the first week of the 12-day Conference, 10,000 lives were lost to famine while, in the same period, 1.4 million children were born into the world with nearly half a billion starving people. Emotion and drama cannot solve problems, but they can help engender the political will to implement proposals.

Still another disappointment was the effort of Pope Paul VI to cut any link between food and population. While perhaps some Western individuals and states emphasize the link too strongly, and some developing states dismiss the link altogether, for Pope Paul to do so was disappointing if not unexpected.

Also a disappointment was the failure of the Conference to establish firmly and enthusiastically a link between food and disarmament. While perhaps the Socialist bloc would establish such a link too strongly, and the Western states would deny any relationship whatsoever between the two, certainly to indicate that savings from disarmament could be used for necessary agricultural development is only reasonable. Pope Paul made this assertion and Senator George McGovern, an observer on the U.S. delegation, did so magnificently. The Conference in fact forged this relationship between food and disarmament, but only with overt dissent in an otherwise remarkably unanimous meeting.

It was disappointing, if understandable in context, that the Conference did not come to terms with reducing consumption standards of the affluent in all societies. Perhaps this is the task of the affluent themselves, especially the countries in the OECD. The Rome Forum gave one lead: "The next three years may mean some diminution in high consumption standards of affluent communities. Since, however, these standards are often themselves a cause of ill health, sane nutrition dictates more modest diets." While many individuals reflected this concern, and something of this was echoed in some conference rhetoric, no clear call for belt tightening was made. In fairness, however, other routes to obtain immediately more grain for the starving may be available.

The multiple disappointments adding up to partial failure cannot be laid at the door of any political bloc. While a spirit of confrontation was largely absent from the Conference -- certainly compared to recent sessions of the U.N. General Assembly -- several developing countries spoke more in anguish than anger at the final plenary session. Senegal spoke of the "haves who will not give way a single inch of their power to the weak." Its representative said that all delegates were "not leaving Rome with their heads held high." Mexico asserted that it joined Senegal in feeling that the number of reservations voiced by the delegates from the developed world (on anything relating to the new economic order) shows that "they are trying to hinder the irreversible changes necessary for a more just world economic order." He felt that "international selfishness prevailed" and thus "the results of the Conference were very poor."

Given this balance sheet, certainly the accomplishments outweigh the disappointments. If many of the plans made at Rome can indeed be implemented, the Pope's prediction, paraphrasing his earlier talk on war at U.N. Headquarters, can come true: "No more hunger. Hunger never again!"

14. WHAT RELIGIOUS GROUPS CAN DO.

There are many necessary follow-up activities to the Rome Conference which lie within the ken of non-governmental organizations, including religious groups. A few are listed below:

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1. Study the world food crisis. Ample materials are increasingly available on the assessment of the world food crisis and plans to lessen it. New materials will soon appear growing out of the deliberations of the World Food Conference. Food and famine are obviously not a simple issue. The solution to famine and malnutrition impinges on many disciplines. See brief bibliography in this Memorandum.

2. Join or organize a food coalition in your own country to put pressure on your national government for better food policies.

3. Organize or participate in dramatic people-to-people programs to transfer food (or money to buy food) to people in emergency need. The formula evolved by NGOs at the World Food Conference bears repetition: "Individuals can demonstrate their symbolic response to the urgency of the crisis and also encourage the political will of states to respond to famine . . . (Individuals) can easily lose sight, behind the huge if necessary documentation, of the tragic human dimension. A small expression of solidarity on a person-to-person level with hungry fellow human beings . . . (even) a small effort . . . is but a demonstration of the validation of this method of contributing modest individual funds and time as a symbol for much larger efforts. Realizing that the enormity of the human need can only be matched by enormously expanded governmental and voluntary programs, we urge other individuals and groups, notably the affluent wherever they live, and especially in the developed world, to consider duplicating this project soon in order to spur governmental action." Such funds can be channelled effectively through the Freedom From Hunger Campaign/Action for Development of FAO or through UNICEF or through selected non-governmental agencies. They should use funds promptly to buy food on the commercial market and ship it to areas of greatest need.

4. Keep in touch with the World Conference on Religion and Peace and let us know how your religious group is responding to this human need, both politically and with humanitarian aid. In June 1975 WCRP will issue a follow-up Memorandum indicating the initial implementation of the action plan adopted at Rome and further non-governmental response.

15. BRIEF BIBLIOGRAPHY AND U.N. DOCUMENTATION.

1. An excellent popular book covering many aspects of the food crisis is "By Bread Alone" by Lester R. Brown with Erik P. Eckholm. It is published by Praeger and available in paperback for \$3.95.

2. Preparatory documents for the World Food Conference, which may be obtained at U.N. depository libraries, include at least the following:

a. Proceedings of the three sessions of the Preparatory Committee. E/CONF.65/4, 5, and 6.

b. Assessment of the World Food Situation: Present and Future. 125 pp. E/CONF.65/4.

c. The World Food Problem: Proposals for National and International Action. 237 pp. E/CONF.65/4.

3. Key documents of the World Food Conference include:

a. Declaration of the Rome Forum on World Food Problems. 10 pp. E/CONF.65/14.

b. World Food Situation in Mid-October 1974. 7 pp. E/CONF.65/11.

c. Statements by Groups of NGOs. E/CONF.65/NGO 1(May), NGO 4 (2 Nov.), NGO 16 (13 Nov.) NGO 21 (14 Nov.).

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d. The final report of the World Food Conference as submitted to the resumed 57th session of ECOSOC consists of 106 pages and is E/5587 and Add. 1-4.

16. APPENDIX.

A. DECLARATION BY NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMMES OF ACTION

Associated Country Women of the World, Christian Aid, Church World Service, Inc., Comite catholique contre la faim et pour le developement, Comite francais pour la CMCF, Commonwealth Human Ecology Council, Community Development Foundation, Inc., Federation of Arab Economists, International Alliance of Women, International Council of Voluntary Agencies, International Council of Women, International Council on Social Welfare, International Federation of Catholic Men, International Federation of Home Economics, International Peace Academy, International Planned Parenthood Federation, Pax Romana, Save the Children Fund (U.K.), Soroptimist International, U.K. Standing Conference on the Second UN Development Decade, United Schools International, World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts, World Association of World Federalists, World Conference on Religion and Peace, World Federation of United Nations Associations, World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations and World Veterans Federation: joint statement.

The Secretary-General has received the following statement, dated 14 November 1974, which is circulated in accordance with paragraphs 23 and 24 of Economic and Social Council resolution 1296 (XLIV).

DECLARATION

by

Non-Governmental Organizations participating
in the World Food Conference at Rome in November 1974

Aware of the heavy responsibilities of their worldwide constituencies, shared with Governments and Inter-Governmental agencies, as they met on the most critical issues facing the welfare of the human race.

Endorse the positive actions undertaken during the Conference.

Pledge full and intensified support to the efforts of the United Nations and its agencies, especially FAO and UNICEF, and other Inter-Governmental organizations, as well as Governments, to improve food production, arrive at more equitable distribution and raise levels of living. In particular:

- (1) By using fully the powers and responsibilities derived from having consultative status with the United Nations and its agencies;
- (2) By influencing public opinion through information and educational services, at all levels, calling on the press and other mass media;
- (3) By interdisciplinary research, turning technological advance towards alleviating the scourge of hunger, from the field to the kitchen;
- (4) By intensifying their operational activities, including fund-raising, exploring new ways of being of assistance, both short-term and long-term;

- (5) By expressing human solidarity on a person-to-person basis, in mutual respect, in imaginative action to alleviate urgent needs for food.

Encourage all Non-Governmental Organizations and other voluntary bodies to assert their important catalytic and substantive role at local, national and international levels. This includes efforts to strengthen those organizations, in every part of the world, working on behalf of vulnerable and disadvantaged groups.

Appeal to Inter-Governmental agencies and Governments alike to make full use of the human and material resources available through Non-Governmental bodies, including agriculture and industry, on the basis of the following principles guiding their combined actions:

- (a) Every human being has the right to a regular supply of food, adequate for his or her total development. Basic nutritional needs in infancy must be met at whatever cost;
- (b) Human beings must not starve within a world where there is sufficient food for all, even if this means changes in the wasteful food habits of affluent people, wherever they live;
- (c) Hunger or food must not be used by any group, nation or group of nations as a political tool or weapon;
- (d) Food and other assistance must be made available as an expression of social justice and fundamental human right;
- (e) Food security and the maintenance of adequate, readily available reserves must have at least as high priority as military security;
- (f) Secrecies on trade, crop, food and nutritional situations must cease to be used in a world which requires openness for early warning systems against hunger;
- (g) Human development in rural family life must come from the combined efforts of men and women all around the world, living in dignity and with adequate and stable income, working together to increase production and reduce waste, while respecting the environment as a base for feeding future generations;
- (h) The ultimate success of technological improvement and Governmental and Inter-Governmental action depends upon the development and mobilization of the human race potential - including training for appropriate skills - of every country and community.

The NGOs assembled in Rome have identified a number of crucial areas for early action:

- I Immediate follow-up action is needed to ascertain necessary levels of emergency food aid, food security stocks, fertilizer supply and capital funds for agricultural development. NGOs will use their influence on legislative bodies to urge governments to reach the necessary goals, as established by the Conference.
- II The implementation of the recommendations and decisions of the World Food Conference requires the operation of an institutional framework to guide the activities of Inter-Governmental agencies, Governments and Non-Governmental bodies beyond the immediate future. NGOs offer their assistance in this concerted effort.
- III This World Food Conference, following closely the World Population Conference and the establishment of the U.N. Environmental Programme, must be seen as a component of integrated development, aimed at in the second half of the Second Development Decade,

and beyond.

- IV Problems of food and nutrition, energy, water, pollution, depletion of resources, population, status of women and trade relations are all aspects of a profound change in world society. The NGOs have a particular task, through analysis and educational and informational services, in making people the world over aware of this change and helping them to cope with it.
- V Last, but not least, all these efforts would come to naught in case of major war or violence. NGOs will actively strive to eliminate, wherever possible, the underlying causes of international conflict and urge a drastic reduction of the world's armament budgets, the savings to be allocated toward integrated socio-economic development, including food production and purchases.

APPENDIX B. UNIVERSAL DECLARATION ON THE ERADICATION OF HUNGER AND MALNUTRITION:

The World Food Conference,

convened by the General Assembly of the United Nations and entrusted with developing ways and means whereby the international community, as a whole, could take specific action to resolve the world food problem within the broader context of development and international economic cooperation,

adopts the following

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION ON THE ERADICATION OF HUNGER AND MALNUTRITION

Recognizing that:

- (i) The grave food crisis that is afflicting the peoples of the developing countries where most of the world's hungry and ill-nourished live and where more than two-thirds of the world's population produce about one-third of the world's food -- an imbalance which threatens to increase in the next ten years -- is not only fraught with grave economic and social implications, but also acutely jeopardizes the most fundamental principles and values associated with the right to life and human dignity as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
- (ii) The elimination of hunger and malnutrition, included as one of the objectives in the United Nations Declaration on Social Progress and Development, as well as the elimination of the causes that determine this situation are the common objectives of all nations;
- (iii) The situation of the peoples afflicted by hunger and malnutrition arises from their historical circumstances, including social inequalities, including in many cases alien and colonial domination, foreign occupation, racial discrimination, apartheid and neo-colonialism in all its forms, which continue to be among the greatest obstacles to the full emancipation and progress of the developing countries and all the peoples involved;
- (iv) This situation has been aggravated in recent years by a series of crises to which the world economy has been subjected, such as the deterioration in the international monetary system, inflationary increase in import costs, the heavy burdens imposed by external debt on the balance of payments of many developing countries, rising food demand partly due to demographic pressure, speculation, and a shortage of and increased costs of essential agricultural inputs;
- (v) These phenomena are considered within the framework of the on-going negotiations on the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, and urging the General Assembly of the United Nations unanimously to agree upon and to adopt a Charter that will be an effective instrument for the establishment of new international economic relations

based on principles of equity and justice;

(vi) All countries, big or small, rich or poor, are equal. All countries have the full right to participate in the decisions on the food problem;

(vii) The well-being of the peoples of the world largely depends on the adequate production and distribution of food as well as the establishment of a world food security system which would ensure adequate availability and reasonable prices of food at all times, irrespective of periodic fluctuations and vagaries of weather and free of political and economic pressures, and should thus facilitate, amongst other things, the development process of developing countries;

(viii) Peace and justice encompass an economic dimension helping the solution of the world economic problems, the liquidation of under-development, offering a lasting and definitive solution of the food problem for all peoples and guaranteeing to all countries the right to implement freely and effectively their development programmes. To this effect, it is necessary to eliminate threats and resort to force and to promote peaceful cooperation between States to the fullest extent possible, to apply the principles of non-interference in each others internal affairs, full equality of rights, respect of national independence and sovereignty as well as to encourage the peaceful cooperation between all States, irrespective of their political, social and economic systems. The further improvement of international relations will create better conditions for international co-operation in all fields which should make possible large financial and material resources to be used, inter alia, for developing agricultural production and substantially improving world food security'

(ix) For a lasting solution to the food problem all efforts should be made to eliminate the widening gaps which today separate developed and developing countries and to bring about a new international economic order. It should be possible for all countries to participate actively and effectively in the new international economic relations by the establishment of suitable international systems, where appropriate, capable of producing adequate action in order to establish just and equitable relations in international economic cooperation;

(x) Developing countries reaffirm their belief that the primary responsibility for ensuring their own rapid development rests with themselves. They declare, therefore, their readiness to continue to intensify their individual and collective efforts with the view to expanding their mutual cooperation in the field of agricultural development and food production including the eradication of hunger and malnutrition;

(xi) Since, for various reasons, many developing countries are not yet always able to meet their own food needs, urgent and effective international action should be taken to assist them, free of political pressures, consistent with the aims and objectives of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Programme of Action of the sixth special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The Conference consequently solemnly proclaims;

1. Every man, woman and child has the inalienable right to be free from hunger and malnutrition in order to develop fully and maintain their physical and mental faculties. Society today already possesses sufficient resources, organizational ability, and technology and hence the competence to achieve this objective. Accordingly, the eradication of hunger is a common objective of all the countries of the international community, especially of the developed countries and others in a position to help.

2. It is a fundamental responsibility of Governments to work together for higher food production and a more equitable and efficient distribution of food between countries and within countries. Governments should initiate immediately a greater concerted attack on chronic malnutrition and deficiency diseases among the vulnerable and lower income groups. In order to ensure adequate nutrition for all, Governments should formulate appropriate food and nutrition policies integrated in over-all socio-economic and agricultural development plans based on adequate knowledge of available as well as potential food resources. The importance of human milk in this connection should be stressed on nutritional grounds.
3. Food problems must be tackled during the preparation and implementation of national plans and programmes for economic and social development, with emphasis on their humanitarian aspects.
4. It is a responsibility of each State concerned, in accordance with its sovereign judgement and internal legislation, to remove the obstacles to food production and provide proper incentives to agricultural producers. Of prime importance for the attainment of these objectives are effective measures of socio-economic transformation by agrarian, tax, credit and investment policy reform and the reorganization of rural structures, such as the reform of the conditions of ownership, the encouragement of producer and consumer co-operatives, the mobilization of the full potential of human resources, both male and female, in the developing countries for an integrated rural development and the involvement of the small farmers, fishermen and the landless workers in attaining the required food production and employment targets. Moreover, it is necessary to recognize the key role of women in agricultural production and rural economy in many countries, and to ensure that appropriate education, extension programmes and financial facilities are made available to women on equal terms with men.
5. Marine and inland water resources are today becoming more important than ever as a source of food and economic prosperity. Accordingly, action should be taken to promote a rational exploitation of these resources, preferably for direct human consumption, in order to contribute to meeting the food requirements of all peoples.
6. The efforts to increase food production should be complemented by every endeavour to prevent wastage of food in all its forms.
7. To give impetus to food production in developing countries and in particular in the least developed and most seriously affected among them, urgent and effective international action should be taken, by the developed countries and other countries in a position to do so, to provide them with sustained additional technical and financial assistance on favourable terms and in a volume sufficient to their needs on the basis of bilateral and multilateral arrangements. This assistance must be free of conditions inconsistent with sovereignty of the receiving States.
8. All countries, and primarily the highly industrialized countries, should promote the advancement of food production technology and should make all efforts to promote the transfer, adaptation and dissemination of appropriate food production technology for the benefit of the developing countries and to that end they should inter alia make all efforts to disseminate the results of their research work to Governments and scientific institutions of developing countries in order to enable them to promote a sustained agricultural development.
9. To assure the proper conservation of natural resources being utilized or utilizable for food production, all countries must collaborate in order to facilitate the preservation of the environment, including the marine environment.
10. All developed countries and others able to do so should collaborate technically and financially with the developing countries in their efforts to expand land and water resources

for agricultural production and to assure a rapid increase in the availability, at fair costs, of agricultural inputs such as fertilizers and other chemicals, high-quality seeds, credit and technology. Cooperation among developing countries, in this connection, is also important.

11. All States should strive to the utmost to readjust, where appropriate, their agricultural policies to give priority to food production recognizing, in this connection, the interrelationship between the world food problem and international trade. In the determination of attitudes toward farm support programmes for domestic food production, developed countries should take into account, as far as possible, the interest of the food exporting developing countries, in order to avoid detrimental effects on their exports. Moreover, all countries should cooperate to devise effective steps to deal with the problem of stabilizing world markets and promoting equitable and remunerative prices, where appropriate through international arrangements, to improve access to markets through reduction or elimination of tariff and non-tariff barriers on the products of interest to the developing countries, to substantially increase the export earnings of these countries, to contribute to the diversification of their exports, and apply to them, in the multilateral trade negotiations, the principles as agreed upon in the Tokyo Declaration including the concept of non-reciprocity and more favourable treatment.

12. As it is the common responsibility of the entire international community to ensure the availability at all times of adequate world supplies of basic food-stuffs by way of appropriate reserves including emergency reserves, all countries should cooperate in the establishment of an effective system of world food security by:

- participating in and supporting the operation of the Global Information and Early Warning System on Food and Agriculture;
- adhering to the objectives, policies and guidelines of the proposed international Undertaking on World Food Security as endorsed by the World Food Conference;
- earmarking, where possible, stocks or funds for meeting international emergency food requirements as envisaged in the proposed International Undertaking on World Food Security and developing international guidelines to provide for the coordination and the utilization of such stocks;
- cooperating in the provision of food aid for meeting emergency and nutritional needs as well as for stimulating rural employment through development projects.

All donor countries should accept and implement the concept of forward planning of food aid and make all efforts to provide commodities and/or financial assistance that will ensure adequate quantities of grains and other food commodities. Time is short. Urgent and sustained action is vital. The Conference, therefore, calls upon all peoples expressing their will as individuals, and through their Governments and non-governmental organizations, to work together to bring about the end of the age-old scourge of hunger.

The Conference affirms:

The determination of the participating States to make full use of the United Nations system in the implementation of this Declaration and the other decisions adopted by the Conference.

[The New York Times, December 19, 1974]

HATFIELD BIDS U.S. NAME A FOOD-AID ADMINISTRATOR

By William Robbins

WASHINGTON, Dec. 18—Senator Mark O. Hatfield, assailing what he called a lack of leadership in the Administration, called today for an effort on the scale of that led by Herbert Hoover during and after World War I to feed the hungry and starving in nations threatened by famine. The Senator, backed by two other liberal Republicans as well as Democrats at an ad hoc Senate hearing on the world food situation, called for appointment of a food administrator with responsibilities comparable to the wartime role that Hoover played to lead governmental and private efforts and motivate people to make necessary sacrifices.

"I suggest that our failure to act is simply a lack of political will and courage," said Senator Hatfield, who is from Oregon. He added that his mail, reflecting widespread compassion, showed that the American people were ahead of their leaders.

A FORD REJECTION CITED

Among other witnesses at the hearing, headed by Senator George S. McGovern Democrat of South Dakota, was Edwin M. Martin, who was deputy chairman of the United States delegation to the United Nations World Food Conference in Rome this fall.

Mr. Martin, who retired last week as an assistant to Secretary of State Kissinger, disclosed that at the Rome conference, he supported a call from several Senators for an increased food-aid commitment by the United States. The request, he said, was rejected by President Ford. Mr. Martin said he had thought that "it would be helpful to the United States position in the world if we could announce a minimum commitment," and added:

"I did think it would be useful for the United States to get the credit for what I was sure it would do in the end."

But, noting that the United States was already providing more such aid than any other country, Mr. Martin said he thought it was "unfair to ask the United States to take a second step before others take their first."

HATFIELD IS APPLAUDED

After Senator Hatfield read his statement, the Senate hearing was interrupted by extended applause from an audience of about 300.

Mr. Hatfield recalled that large contributions had helped the American relief effort during and after World War I, and that "20 million Americans signed up" to help produce and conserve food. He went on:

"The success of the European relief program is for the most part attributable to the willingness of the American people to voluntarily respond to the initiatives of their leaders—when their leaders are willing to lead."

RHETORIC AND INACTION

"Despite high-minded rhetoric and admirable intentions, our Government has sat on its bureaucratic hands while millions eke out a malnourished existence or starve. Interagency squabbles have stymied action on high, middle and low options for assistance."

He was referring to disagreements, primarily between the State Department and the Office of Management and Budget, over proposed levels of food aid for this fiscal year, ranging from \$1-billion to more than \$1.4-billion, with the State Department supporting the high figure.

President Ford was asked by the agencies early last week to give them a decision. Food program officials say that continued delay would make it difficult to reach even a middle option—about \$1.2-billion—before the fiscal year ends next June 30.

In response to a question, the White House issued a statement tonight saying: The President has the matter under consideration. He is aware of the importance of the problem and we expect a decision shortly."

White House aides said that they hoped for a decision before President Ford leaves for Vail, Colo., this weekend.

At the Senate hearing Mr. Hatfield said that his office has been "flooded with mail from constituents voicing their concern and pledging their support of private and public programs to feed the world's hungry people."

IN CHILDREN'S EYES

He quoted from several letters by school children who had seen pictures of starving children. From Yanhill, Ore.:

"The little boy was eating a piece of bean and they should have more in their mouth don't you think I do. They are starving to death. If we was them they would send food to us. Why don't you do something."

Senator Hatfield then said an informal survey by his office showed increasing individual contributions to private food relief agencies.

"President Ford," he said, "has the authority to take a humanitarian initiative of dimensions similar to those taken by Presidents Wilson and Truman. If he would do so, he could give meaning to the resolutions of the World Food Conference and a sense of leadership to the American people. I urge him to take that initiative."

[The Washington Star-News, December 19, 1974]

HATFIELD HITS FORD ON FOOD POLICY IN GLOBAL CRISIS

By Judith Randal

The Ford administration has shown a lack of leadership in failing to respond "to what is recognized the world over as a global food crisis," a Republican senator has charged.

"Despite high-minded rhetoric and admirable intentions, our government has sat on its bureaucratic hands while millions eke out a malnourished existence or starve," Oregon's Mark O. Hatfield told the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition yesterday as it held a follow-up hearing on last month's United Nations World Food Conference in Rome.

Said Hatfield: "A simple request for an additional 1 million tons in immediate food aid has been denied; interagency squabbles have stymied action . . . (and) shipments continue to be used as political tools rather than as humanitarian aids.

Hatfield, who wants the President to appoint a federal food administrator comparable to the federal energy administrator, noted that the post has a historical precedent. President Woodrow Wilson named Herbert Hoover to just such a job during World War I, a period like the present one when there were no agricultural surpluses.

Yet in the face of this and other difficulties, said Hatfield, Hoover's American Relief Administration managed to increase food production, stabilize domestic food prices and "still export nearly eight times as much food between 1917 and 1920 as in the three year period before the war."

In fact, Hatfield, reported, Hoover's 10-year operation of the program—which enlisted both industry and the public, was accomplished for only \$7.3 million. This, he said, was less than half a percent of the cost of the aid provided to Western Europe and Russia and in the end netted \$50 million for the U.S. Treasury.

Hatfield, who drew repeated applause at the hearing, also argued that food aid to the millions in danger of starvation in Asia and Africa is needed on national defense grounds.

"The trouble is," he told committee Chairman Sen. George McGovern, D-S.D., "that we have assumed that national security is achieved solely by military hardware." Comparing this to the foolhardy reliance of the French on the Maginot Line to protect them against the Germans in World War II, Hatfield said that it is his view and that of others that "hungry starving people are the most destabilizing force in the world. This is particularly true, he added, now that some needy nations like India have access to nuclear power.

Another witness who felt that 'a Fortress America' will not secure the U.S. was Averill Harriman, secretary of commerce during the Truman administration and a former governor of New York.

Harriman said that when he had been secretary of commerce President Truman had, in 1946, called on the American people to tighten their belts in order to share their food supply with the hungry in Europe at the close of World War II.

Even before the Marshall Plan was enacted in 1947, said Harriman, Truman ordered the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce and State to organize a food relief program. As a result of that program, the public and industry made sacrifices.

At a post-U.N. conference meeting in Rome on November 29, the food exporting countries agreed that about 7.5 million tons of grain needs to be made available within the next 6 months or so if millions in hungry nations are to escape death.

The Ford administration, however, has made no commitment either to pledge the purchasing power for even 2 million more tons of grain immediately—as has been suggested—or to consider further investments in food aid later this fiscal year.

Meanwhile, Ambassador Edward M. Martin, who was the policy coordinator for the U.S. delegation at the U.N. conference, revealed at yesterday's hearing that he had been in favor of having the White House announce during the meeting that it would step up American efforts to meet the emergency. Martin retired from government service last Friday and indicated yesterday that he had not felt free to make his position public until now.

McGovern noted that both he and the Soviet delegate had proposed, while in Rome, that needy nations be helped toward food self-sufficiency by a 10 percent cut in the arms budget of industrialized countries and comparable contributions from the nations newly made rich by oil.



