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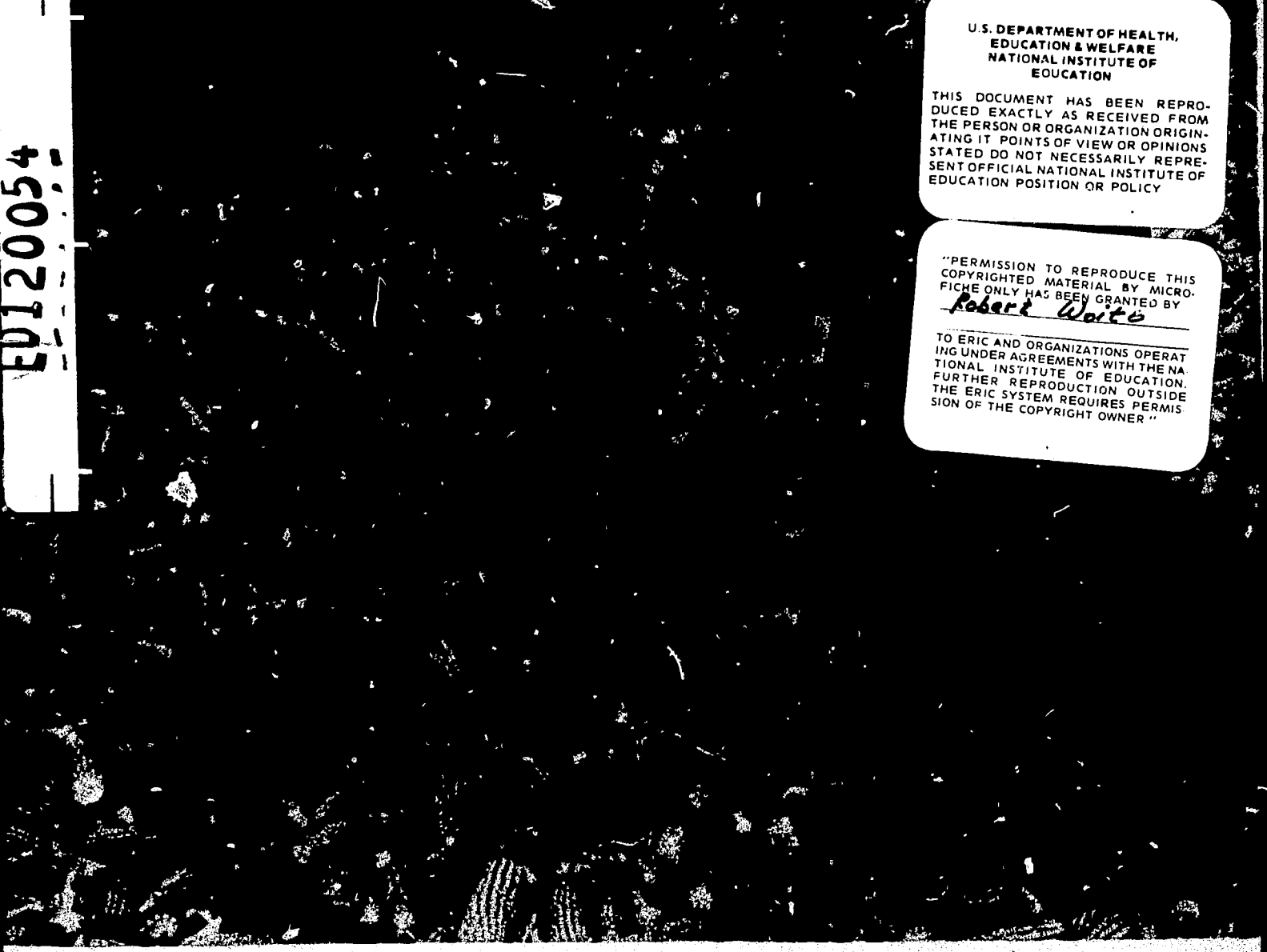
ABSTRACT

This booklet introduces the problem of world hunger and provides information, facts, and perspectives about the crisis. Section one presents the reader with the basic facts of the hunger crisis through a self-survey, a statistical study of the developed Oil Producing Export Countries (OPEC), and a one-page indication of what one would have to give up to move from an American suburb to the fourth world. Section two gives contending perspectives on the problem. These selections help the reader understand the current argument for and against action, while section four presents a wide range of substantive and specific legislative proposals now being considered as aids in resolving the crisis. The kit concludes with a number of resources which can help individuals, organizations, or classes become more aware of this global problem. (Author/DE)



WORLD HUNGER CRISIS KIT:

hope for the hungry

WORLD WITHOUT WAR COUNCIL

CREDITS

The cover photo is by Marc & Evelyn Bernehim for the Rockefeller Foundation.

Some facts about World Hunger was written by Tim Zimmer.

Robert Heilbroner's The Great Ascent provides the basis for "How To Live on a Hundred Dollars a Year in Twelve Easy Stages".

The statistical study first appeared in Agenda for Action, 1975 and is based on the sources indicated.

Strategies for the "Time When There is Not Enough" was prepared by Scott I. Paradise for presentation to Church Women United.

D. Gale Johnson's two selections were presented in a speech before Church Women United, Chicago, Illinois.

World Hunger and World Order was originally written by Tim Zimmer and was revised by Bill Rose.

Other sources are indicated on the essay.

Typed by Karen Minnice

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

This kit of materials is an edited and updated edition of kits compiled by Tim Zimmer, World Without War Council of Northern California and Bill Rose, World Without War Council of Greater Seattle.

Section I is designed to introduce the reader to the basic facts of the hunger crisis through a self-survey, a statistical study of the developed, OPEC countries, third and fourth worlds and a one page indication of what you would have to give up to get from an American suburb to the fourth world.

Section II presents contending perspectives on the problem. These selections will help the reader understand the current argument for and against a significant effort to eliminate the world hunger crisis and gain a sense of world community.

Section III states the major arguments against action while section IV presents a wide range of substantive and specific legislative proposals now being considered as aids in resolving the crisis. The kit concludes with a number of resources which can aid an individual or organization act effectively and intelligently on this war/peace issue.

The inclusion of legislative or other proposals does not constitute endorsement by the World Without War Council.

A response sheet is provided at the end of the kit. Your suggestions for improving this kit or assistance in distributing it are needed. Send your response sheet to the World Without War Council office nearest you.

Robert Woito
Editor

A. A Self-Survey: Basic Factual and Value Choices

The world hunger crisis is both easy to understand and complex.

Put simply, someone will starve to death today and we have the resources to do something about it. Nearly everyone agrees with these two factual claims.

Complexity and disagreement arise about whether we should act and if so, what we should do.

Should we be proud of our own food reserves and wonder why others are incapable of feeding themselves? Should we blame ourselves or American foreign policy and call for an American disengagement from world-mindedness? Should we rush emergency food? Do we need a long-term program? Do we know how to overcome the obstacles which have caused many previous aid programs to fail? What are the related goals which must be achieved to obtain security against famine and hunger for the first time in history?

This self-survey highlights basic factual questions and introduces different attitudinal and value choices. It is designed to help you understand the problem, different attitudes toward it and alternative policies being considered.

I. Basic Factual Judgments

Different views of the facts concerning the current hunger crisis help explain why some people favor a short-term emergency program, while others favor no program at all and still others believe only a long-term reordering of the international economic order will suffice. Oddly enough, the belief that there is no problem and that it is overwhelmingly large, often leads to the same lack of a response. In addition, the numbers opposed to a response are increased by those who recognize a problem, but deny that we can or should do anything about it. What is your judgment?

Is there a problem? Should we Respond? How?

1. How many people are in danger of starving to death this year?

   a. no one
   b. less than 1 million
   c. 1 million to 100 million
   d. 100 million to 500 million or more

2. How many people in Asia and the ten drought-stricken countries of sub-Saharan Africa died during 1974 from starvation and malnutrition and related diseases?

   a. none
   b. less than 10,000
   c. 10,000 to 300,000
   d. more than 300,000

3. The average per capita wealth (Gross National Product)

A.	in the United States is about:	a. $2,000	b.	$3,000	c. $5,000	d.	$6,000
B.	in other developed countries:	a. $3,000	b.	$4,000	c. $5,000	d.	$6,000
C.	in the 40 poorest countries:	a. $100	b.	$200	c. $300	d.	$400
D.	in other developing countries:	a. $100	b.	$200	c. $300	d.	$400

4. The difference between average life expectancy in the developed countries and in the developing countries is:

a. 5 years
b. 10 years
c. 20 years
d. 30 years

5. U. S. per capita grain consumption when compared to the 40 least developed countries is:

a. about the same per person
b. about twice as much
c. about 5 times as much
d. about 10 times as much

6. Americans consume 90% of their grain indirectly as meat, milk and eggs. If Americans were to reduce their beef consumption by one-third or were to switch from grain-fed to grass fed beef, enough grain would be freed for export which would feed how many people for one year:

a. 1 million
b. 10 million
c. 100 million
d. 250 million

7. How many countries export significantly more food than they import?

a. 1
b. 3
c. 25
d. 60

8. In 1960 world reserve stocks of grain were sufficient to feed the world's population for 90 days. Today those stocks are sufficient for about:

a. 10 days
b. 30 days
c. 90 days
d. 100 days

9. At present growth rates, the world's population will double in about:

a. 10 years
b. 20 years
c. 30 years
d. 50 years

10. Historically which comes first

a. population control precedes the possibility of the capital accumulation needed for development
b. economic development provides some assurance of survival which decreases the need for large families.

Answers: 1. c; 2. d; 3.a) c; b) a; c) a; d) d; 4. c; 5. c; 6. c; 7. b; 8. b; 9. c; 10. b.

II. Attitudes and Values

If there is a world hunger crisis, what caused it? What values guide your response? What goals should this country seek?

There are no right or wrong answers to these questions. The choices given below express viewpoints presented in the current debate. Select the answer which comes closest to expressing your view.

11. How do you explain the existence of poverty and hunger on a massive global scale?

a. Some cultures or economic systems are inherently incapable of promoting adequate production of food and other resources for their people.
b. The rich capitalist countries exploit the poorer developing nations and thus inhibit their ability to provide for their own people.
c. There simply aren't enough resources to provide adequately for all the world's people and the uneven distribution of what we have is nature's fault, not ours.
d. The resources exist, but the world community lacks the sense of commitment and the structures which would enable us to provide adequately for all the world's people.
e. Other:

12. What basic values do you consider in deciding your response to the world hunger crisis:

a. the religious obligation to help the poor
b. the well-being of the United States
c. The correction of past injustices
d. a sense of world community.
e. other:

13. If forced by population growth, the finiteness of the earth's resources, and in recognition that man does not live by bread alone, what policies would you advocate in a time when there is not enough:

a. Help no one, our own survival is at stake and the natural population stabilization forces of the earth's environment are at work.
b. Help those who are politically or strategically essential to our survival and who can benefit from such help.
c. Help everyone in danger of starvation.
d. We must do everything in our power to avoid such a terrible situation while there is still time.
e. Other:

14. In the effort to overcome world hunger and poverty, what do you believe is a worthwhile and attainable goal by the year 2000?

    a. Equal distribution of wealth and resources among the world's people.
    b. Achieving minimum standards of nutrition and livelihood necessary to assure a tolerable existence for all the world's people.
    c. Continue to stave off massive starvation through emergency food aid programs, but don't expect to "solve" the problem of world hunger.
    d. Do as much as we reasonably can, but expect that many millions of people will die of starvation in the foreseeable future.
    e. Other:

15. What do you think will be required to solve the problem of world hunger and poverty?

    a. The elimination of exploitation of the poor by the rich and redistribution of the world's wealth.
    b. An increased commitment by the rich nations to aid the poor nations in both emergency assistance and the achievement of economic development.
    c. Development of new technology to increase food production.
    d. The creation of international structures and processes capable of planning rationally to meet common global problems.
    e. Reducing the rate of population growth in the poor countries.
    f. Placing constraints on the level of food, energy and other resource consumption of the developed nations.
    g. Other:

16. What do you think this country should be willing to do to help solve the problem of world hunger and poverty?

    a. Increase agricultural production and food aid, but not at the expense of the American diet.
    b. Increase food aid even though it would mean a reduction in American consumption.
    c. Encourage and help subsidize increased food production capabilities in the poor countries.
    d. Take initiatives designed to build the international structures needed to deal multilaterally with the hunger crisis.
    e. Other:

III. Actors and Policies

Who are the major individuals or organizations and political structures which must act to resolve the world hunger crisis? What are the policy areas in which change is needed?

17. Which of the following do you believe are important actors in eliminating world hunger?

    a. the individual
    b. non-governmental organizations (churches, labor unions, private relief organizations, business organizations, political parties, educational associations, etc.)

(continued)

c. multi-national enterprises
d. the United States
e. every industrialized country
f. the Oil Producing Countries
g. every country in the world
h. international organizations
i. transnational organizations
j. all of the above
k. other:

18. Which of the following subjects should be studied to determine wise policies of aid in resolving the world hunger crisis:

a. the law of the sea, particularly the utilization of fish resources, mining of the sea bed resources and off-shore minerals
b. the global and regional arms races currently consuming over $200 billion dollars per year
c. how to create a sense of community between hostile even belligerent people and nations
d. the utilization of the OPEC (Oil Producing Export Countries) new economic wealth
e. the functioning of the International Monetary Fund
f. the patterns and rules of world trade
g. the strains on the earth's environment
h. different religious and ethical teachings concerning the obligations of the rich and the poor to each other
i. the degree of transnational cooperation likely and how it can be increased
j. paths to peace in the Middle East
k. the role of multi-national corporations and state enterprises involved in world financial transactions
l. population growth
m. the role of women in developing countries in improving nutritional content of food
n. labor intensive agricultural techniques
o. technology applicable to developing countries
p. decreasing erosion, increasing land under cultivation
q. improving crop yields through new high yield seeds, better fertilizers and new farming techniques
r. the impact of pesticides on the environment and the possibilities of organic or natural pest control methods
s. converting sewage in the U. S. to safe, effective fertilizers
t. overcoming domestic hunger
u. decreasing grain feed for cattle, increasing grazing
v. land reform in developing countries
w. artificial foods and new energy sources
x. the formation of new raw material cartels, like OPEC
y. feasible changes in diet and life-styles to consume less
z. all of the above

B. The Facts About World Hunger

In Africa's Sahel region (the band of nations just south of the Sahara), about 100,000 people have died of starvation in six years of drought. Another 200,000 are in mortal danger. Growing numbers of children are dying of diseases compounded by malnutrition, and many more are suffering irreparable brain damage due to a lack of protein in their diet. Prospects for their future are grim as the desert continues to advance southward at a rate of three to 30 miles a year.

In Central America, the incidence of severe malnutrition has risen for the first time in years. And in India, perennially hard-hit by food shortages, the rising costs of oil (essential to fertilizer production) have added to the burden. World stocks of grain are at their lowest level since World War II (about one month's supply).

Prospects for this year's harvest are at the mercy of the weather: too little rain, or too much, and even the production of the "bread basket" nations - the United States, Canada, Argentina, the Soviet Union - may fall far short of the global need.

At a time when it is most needed, concern for the well-being of people in other countries is waning. The rising costs of oil and other raw materials exported by some developing nations have intensified inflation in the industrialized world, causing governments of the developed nations to focus more exclusively on their own domestic economic problems. The real losers in this game of economic leverage are the poorest and most populous countries which have few resources to pay for food and fuel. The cost of food grain imports to developing countries this year is expected to top $8 billion, four times the total just three years ago.

World food supply and demand are now in precarious balance and the major reserves of the U. S. and other nations have been substantially depleted. This not only raises the threat of mass starvation in the event of a crop failure, but it means that food prices are likely to ride a roller coaster with each marginal rise or drop in supply.

Without emergency aid, the world's poorest countries, "the fourth world", would have run out of reserves this year, possibly setting in motion by their bankruptcies a downward spiral of collapsing markets like that of 1929.

The price of oil has tripled in the past year and fertilizer prices have soared as a result. Non-oil producing developing nations will have to pay an exorbitant fuel bill which will essentially wipe out whatever they receive from foreign aid. The United States, on the other hand, comfortably covered the increase in its petroleum import costs with an increase of $9 billion in food exports, of which $2 billion came from the world's poorest countries.

Food grains are literally the staff of life for most of the world's people. In the United States, nearly 90% of the grain consumed is used to feed livestock. It takes seven pounds of grain to produce one pound of beef for the dinner table; five pounds of grain will produce one pound of pork; three pounds will produce a pound of broiler chicken. Americans customarily consume their grain (nearly a ton of it per person per year) in the form of beef, milk and eggs. Since 1950, U. S. per capita beef consumption has more than doubled (from 55 lbs. to 117 lbs.), and because beef is so inefficient a means of utilizing grain, it is estimated that if Americans would reduce their beef consumption by 1/3, enough grain would be saved to feed 100 million people. (Compared to the U. S. per capita average of one ton, the poorer countries consume about 400 lbs. per capita annually.)

C. Developing Empathy

HOW TO LIVE ON A HUNDRED DOLLARS A YEAR* IN TWELVE EASY STAGES

When we hear that most of the people in the "third world" enjoy a standard of living of less than $200 per year, it is not easy to visualize what that means. Here's a simple exercise in imagination designed to help us understand what it's like:

Start with a typical American family, your family - a small home, maybe in the suburbs; a car or two; public utilities, paved streets, schools and hospitals nearby; an annual income of $7,000 - $9,000, more it both parents have jobs.

1. Remove all furniture from the house, except for a few old blankets, a kitchen table and a wooden chair.

2. Get rid of all the extra clothing. This leaves each member of our family with one set of the oldest clothes they own; the head of our family may keep a pair of shoes.

3. Clear out the kitchen. Leave behind some matches, a bag of flour, some sugar and salt. Also, for tonight's meal, a few moldy potatoes, a handful of onions and a dish of dried beans.

4. Dismantle the plumbing, sewage system, electricity and telephone. Tear up the streets and sidewalks.

5. Remove the house itself and move our family into a toolshed.

6. The suburban neighborhood has now been transformed into a shanty-town, but our family is fortunate to have any shelter at all.

7. Cancel all subscriptions to newspapers, magazines, book clubs. It doesn't matter because our family is now illiterate.

8. Leave one radio for the entire shanty-town.

9. Move the nearest clinic or hospital 10 miles away and put a midwife in charge instead of a doctor. While you're at it, demolish the post office and fire station, and move the school into a two-room building three miles away.

10. Throw out the bank books, stock certificates, pension plans and social security cards. Our family now has a cash hoard of five dollars.

11. Give our family three acres of land to tend. They'll be able to raise up to $400 worth of crops per year. After the landlord and the money-lender get their shares, there'll be almost enough to feed our family.

12. Finally, count on an average life expectancy of about forty years.

That's what it would be like. That is the real meaning of the cold statistics summarized on the other side of this page.

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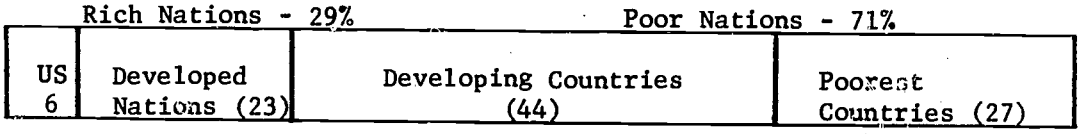
*Based on The Great Ascent by Robert Heilbroner (Harper & Row, 1963).

THE WORLD AS A VILLAGE

It's not easy to grasp the meaning of "life on a hundred dollars a year". It is just as hard to comprehend the problem of poverty and hunger in global perspective. The numbers involved are too enormous, the degree of deprivation too unfamiliar, to make sense to most of us. It may help to simplify the dimensions of the problem.

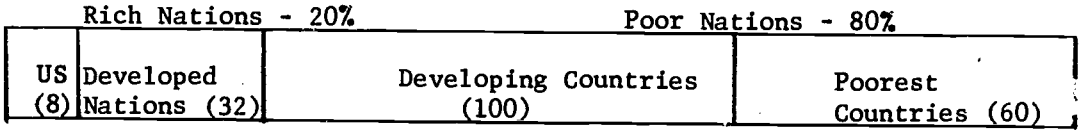
Imagine the world as a village of 100 people. Of these, 29 are from the rich developed countries (including six from the United States); the other 71 are from the poor developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Population



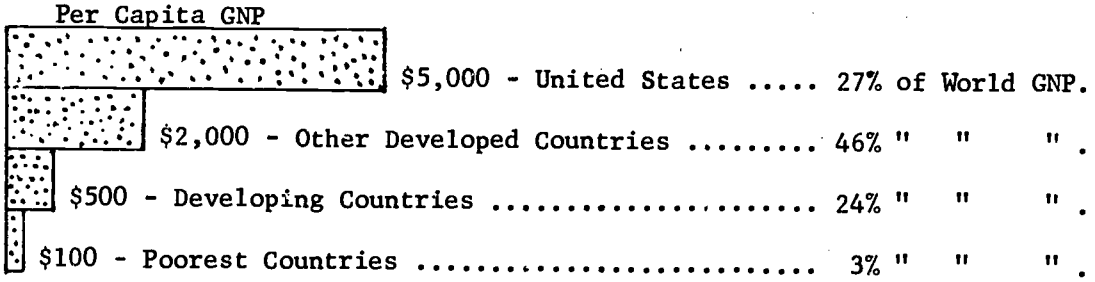
But our village's population is not static; it will double in little more than a generation. By the year 2000, our village will have almost 200 people and they will be distributed something like this:

Population: Projected to the Year 2000



Our village has a combined wealth of a little more than $100,000. The six very rich Americans own about $5,000 each; the other 23 rich people have about $2,000 each; and two of our poorer villagers are lucky enough to have oil on their property bring them wealth of about $1,300 each. The rest of our villagers are poor (37 have about $500 each) or very poor (27 have about $100 each).

Wealth (Gross National Product)



The village produces enough grain to give each resident about 700 lbs. a year if it were divided equally. But only seven of our villagers produce more grain than they need. The 29 rich and very rich people consume about 1300 lbs. of grain each a year; that leaves an average of about 400 lbs. for each of the poor and very poor people. Most of the grain used by the rich is consumed indirectly as meat, milk and eggs. Their diet gives them about 3000 calories and 20-60 grams of meat protein daily; the poor manage on about 2000 calories and 8-30 grams of meat protein. The poor have to spend 80% of their income for food alone; the rich spend a fraction of that percentage.

In the best of years, 10 of our villagers, most of them very poor, suffer serious malnutrition, and when drought or flooding causes crop failure, as many as 20 of them may be near starvation. Half of them are children.

If things were like this in your neighborhood, would you do nothing about it? Well, things are like this in your neighborhood if you see the community of man as your community.

D. Selected Social and Economic Indicators of Development, by Groups of Countries

Fourth World Countries

	Population, mid-1975 (mil.)	Per Capita GNP, 1972 ($)	Per Capita GNP Growth Rate, 1965-72 (%)	Life Expectancy at Birth, 1970-75 Average (yrs.)	Birth Rate per 1,000, 1970-75 Average	Death Rate per 1,000, 1970-75 Average	Infant Mortality per 1,000 Live Births	Literacy (%)	Per Capita Energy Consumption, 1971 (kg. coal equiv.)	Total Exports, f.o.b., 1973 ($ mil.)	Total Imports, c.i.f., 1973 ($ mil.)
Afghanistan	19.3	80[a]	0.8[a]	40	49.2	23.8	182	8	27	90[bc]	181[bc]
Bangladesh	73.7	70	-1.6	36	49.5	28.1	132	22[d]	n.a.	357	874
Bhutan	1.2	80[a]	0.4[a]	44	43.6	20.5	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Botswana	0.7	240[a]	10.0[a]	44	45.6	23.0	97	20	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Burundi	3.8	70[a]	1.1[a]	39	48.0	24.7	150	10	11	30[c]	31[c]
Cameroon	6.4	200	3.8	41	40.4	22.0	137	10-15	97	353	334
Central African Rep.	1.8	160	2.3	41	43.4	22.5	190	5-10	60	39[bc]	34[bc]
Chad	4.0	80	1.6	38	44.0	24.0	160	5-10	27	38[c]	82[c]
Dahomey	3.1	110	1.7	41	49.9	23.0	185	20	38	47[bc]	94[bc]
El Salvador	4.1	340	1.2	58	42.2	11.1	58	49	223	352	373
Ethiopia	28.0	80	1.2	38	49.4	25.8	181	5	32	240	215
Ghana	9.9	300	1.0	44	48.8	21.9	156	25	192	619	450
Guinea	4.4	90	-0.3	41	46.6	22.9	216	5-10	108	n.a.	n.a.
Guyana	0.8	400	1.3	68	32.4	5.9	40	76	996	135	164
Haiti	4.6	130	1.3	50	35.8	16.5	150	10	29	52	74
Honduras	3.0	320	1.7	54	49.3	14.6	115	45	234	237	262
India	613.2	110	1.4	5[f]	39.9	15.7	139	28	186	2,958	3,236
Ivory Coast	4.9	340	4.1	44	45.6	20.6	164	20	265	858	710
Kenya	13.3	170	4.1	50	48.7	16.0	135	20-25	171	461	615
Khmer Rep.(Cambodia)	8.1	120[a]	-3.8[a]	45	46.7	19.0	127	41	24	7[b]	80[b]
Laos	3.3	130[a]	3.1[a]	40	44.6	22.8	123	15	91	3[b]	44[b]
Lesotho	1.1	90[a]	1.1[a]	46	39.0	19.7	181	59	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Malagasy Republic	8.0	140	1.4	44	50.2	21.1	170	39	71	203	203
Malawi	4.9	100	2.9	41	47.7	23.7	148	15	49	99	142
Maldives	0.1	100[a]	0.6[a]	n.a.	46.0	23.0	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Mali	5.7	80	1.3	38	50.1	25.9	188	5	25	54[c]	115[c]
Mauritania	1.2	180	2.0	38	44.8	24.9	187	1-5	133	100[b]	69[b]
Nepal	12.6	80	0.1	44	42.9	20.3	169	9	9	n.a.	n.a.
Niger	4.6	90	-5.1	38	52.2	25.5	200	5	22	56[c]	68[c]
Pakistan	70.6	130	1.7	50	47.4	16.5	132	16[d]	n.a.	961	981
Rwanda	4.2	60[a]	2.1[a]	41	50.0	23.6	133	10	10	31[c]	28[c]
Senegal	4.4	260	-0.7	40	47.6	23.9	159	5-10	129	195	361
Sierra Leone	3.0	190	1.8	44	44.7	20.7	136	10	109	132	158
Somalia	3.2	80[a]	1.1[a]	41	47.2	21.7	177	5	31	57	112
Sri Lanka	14.0	110	2.0	68	28.6	6.4	45	70-80	163	388	421
Sudan	18.3	120[a]	-1.1[a]	49	47.8	17.5	141	10-15	119	434	436
Tanzania	15.4	120	2.9	44	50.2	20.1	162	15-20	70	368	488
Uganda	11.4	150	2.0	50	45.2	15.9	160	20	72	326	163
Upper Volta	6.0	70	0.6	38	48.5	25.8	182	5-10	13	24[c]	63[c]
Western Samoa	0.2[acl]	150[a]	0.4[a]	63[bd]	42.0[bd]	8.0[bd]	57[dm]	97	112	6	19
Yemen, Arab Rep.	6.7	90[a]	2.4[a]	45	49.6	20.6	152	10	14	8[c]	125[c]
Yemen, People's Rep.	1.7	100[a]	-7.2[a]	45	49.6	20.6	152	10	639	121	170

[a]Tentative estimate.
[b]1972 figure.
[c]United Nations, *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, Vol. 29, No. 1, January 1975.
[d]U.S. Agency for International Development, Bureau for Population and Humanitarian Assistance, *Population Program Assistance: Annual Report, FY 1973* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973).
[e]August 1974 figure.
[f]October 1974 figure.
[g]March 1974 figure.
[h]...er 1974 figure.
[i]...r 1974 figure.
[j]September 1974 figure.
[k]June 1971 figure.
[l]Mid-1973 figure.
[m]1966 figure.
[n]1971 figure.
[o]December 1973 figure.
[p]f.o.b.
[q]June 1974 figure.
[r]Associate Member of OPEC.
[s]Belgium-Luxembourg.
[t]See Belgium.
[u]Includes Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland.

SOURCES: Unless otherwise indicated, figures for population, life expectancy, birth rate, death rate, and infant mortality are from Population Reference Bureau, "1975 World Population Data Sheet;" per capita GNP and per capita GNP growth rates are from *World Bank Atlas, 1974: Population, Per Capita Product, and Growth Rates* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank Group, 1974); figures for literacy and per capita energy consumption are from United Nations, *Handbook of International Trade and Development Statistics: Supplement 1973*, Publication Sales No. E/F.74.II.D.7, pp. 102-115; exports, imports, and international reserves are from International Monetary Fund, *International Financial Statistics*, Vol. 28, No. 3, March 1975; and figures for net flow of bilateral ODA and multilateral concessional flows are from Report by the Chairman of the Development Assistance Committee, *Development Co-operation, 1974 Review* (Paris: OECO, 1974), pp. 266-267.

Third World Countries

	Population, mid-1975	Per Capita GNP, 1972	Per Capita GNP Growth Rate, 1965-72	Life Expectancy at Birth, 1970-75 Average	Birth Rate per 1,000, 1970-75 Average	Death Rate per 1,000, 1970-75 Average	Infant Mortality per 1,000 Live Births	Literacy	Per Capita Energy Consumption, 1971	Total Exports, f.o.b., 1973	Total Imports, c.i.f., 1973
	(*mil.*)	($)	(%)	(*yrs.*)				(%)	(*kg. coal equiv.*)	($ *mil.*)	($ *mil.*)
Angola	6.4	390	5.5	38	47.3	24.5	203	10-15		728	529
Argentina	25.4	1,290	2.8	68	21.8	8.8	60	91	1,773	3,269	2,241
Bahamas	0.2	2,240[a]	0.6[a]	n.a.	23.8	5.7	33	85	5,600	531	757
Bahrain	0.3	670	6.0	47	49.6	18.7	138	29	7,186	246[n]	280[b]
Barbados	0.2	800	6.2	69	21.6	8.9	31	91	1,238	54	170
Bolivia	5.4	200	1.4	47	43.7	18.0	108	32	224	280	256
Brazil	109.7	530	5.6	61	37.1	8.8	94	61	500	6,199	6,999
Burma	31.2	90	1.0	50	39.5	15.8	126	60	68	128	102
Chile	10.3	800	2.2	63	27.9	9.2	71	84	1,516	1,231	941[b]
China, People's Rep.	822.8	170[a]	2.6[a]	62	26.9	10.3	55	25[d]	561	n.a.	n.a.
Colombia	25.9	400	2.4	61	40.6	8.8	76	73	638	1,084	876
Congo, People's Rep.	1.3	300	1.4	44	45.1	20.8	180	20	250	125[c]	134[c]
Costa Rica	2.0	630	4.1	68	33.4	5.9	54	84	446	339	451
Cuba	9.5	450[a]	-1.0[a]	70	29.1	6.6	25	78	1,152	803[bc]	1,292[bc]
Cyprus	0.7	1,180	6.4	71	22.2	6.8	33	76	1,451	179	447
Dominican Rep.	5.1	480	5.0	58	45.8	11.0	98	65	264	442	486
Egypt	37.5	240	0.6	52	37.8	14.0	103	30	282	1,119	905
Equatorial Guinea	0.3	240	-1.5	44	36.8	19.7	165	20[d]	183	n.a.	n.a.
Gambia, The	0.5	140	1.4	40	43.3	24.1	165	10	68	25[c]	31[c]
Grenada	0.1	420[a]	5.0[a]	69	27.9	7.8	34	76[d]	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Guadeloupe	0.4	910[a]	5.0[a]	69	29.3	6.4	46	83	452	64	201
Guatemala	6.1	420	2.2	53	42.8	13.7	79	38	250	442	431
Guinea-Bissau	0.5	230	3.4	38	40.1	25.1	208	n.a.	103	n.a.	n.a.
Hong Kong	4.2	980	5.7	70	19.4	5.5	17	71	1,040	5,051	5,637
Jamaica	2.0	810	3.9	70	33.2	7.1	26	82	1,338	392	668
Jordan	2.7	270	-2.8	53	47.6	14.7	99	35-40	318	58	335
Korea, Dem. Rep.	15.9	320[a]	4.0[a]	61	35.7	9.4	n.a.	n.a.	2,294	n.a.	n.a.
Korea, Republic of	33.9	310	8.5	61	28.7	8.8	60	71	860	3,220	4,219
Lebanon	2.9	700	1.4	63	39.8	9.9	54	86	841	573	1,184
Liberia	1.7	250	4.0	44	43.6	20.7	159	9	368	324	193
Malaysia	12.1	430	2.9	59	38.7	9.9	75	43[d]	n.a.	2,950	2,402
Martinique	0.4	1,050[a]	4.6[a]	69	29.7	6.7	32	85	660	55[c]	244[c]
Mauritius	0.9	300	0.0	66	24.4	6.8	65	61	183	132	171
Mexico	59.2	750	2.8	63	42.0	8.6	61	78	1,270	2,631	4,146
Mongolia	1.4	380[a]	0.6[a]	61	38.8	9.4	n.a.	95[d]	945	n.a.	n.a.
Morocco	17.5	270	3.0	53	46.2	15.7	149	14	205	872	1,099
Mozambique	9.2	300	5.6	44	43.1	20.1	165	7	178	304[c]	478[c]
Netherlands Antilles	0.2	1,500[a]	0.6[a]	74	19.7	4.7	25	n.a.	n.a.	950	1,250
Nicaragua	2.3	470	1.5	53	48.3	13.9	123	50	389	277	327
Oman	0.8	530	22.5	47	49.6	18.7	138	n.a.	62	260[b]	134[b]
Panama	1.7	880	4.5	66	36.2	7.2	47	78	2,121	133	489
Papua-New Guinea	2.7	290	7.5	48	40.6	17.1	159	29	133	511[c]	316[cp]
Paraguay	2.6	320	2.1	62	39.8	8.9	84	74	142	127	122
Peru	15.3	520	1.1	56	41.0	11.9	110	61	621	1,047	863
Philippines	44.4	220	2.4	58	43.8	10.5	78	72	298	1,788	1,773
Réunion	0.5	1,010[a]	4.6[a]	63	31.2	8.5	43[adn]	52	334	50[b]	196[b]
Rhodesia	6.3	340	2.9	52	47.9	14.4	122	25-30	618	499[bc]	417[bcp]
Singapore	2.2	1,300	10.3	70	21.2	5.2	20	75	851	3,605	5,063
Surinam	0.4	810	4.7	66	41.6	7.5	30	84	2,229	172[b]	144[b]
Swaziland	0.5	260[a]	5.3[a]	44	49.0	21.8	149	36	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Syrian Arab Rep.	7.3	320	3.8	54	45.4	15.4	93	35	485	339	595
Taiwan	16.0	490	6.9	69	24.0	5.0	28	85	n.a.	4,378	3,797
Thailand	42.1	220	4.2	58	43.4	10.8	65	68	296	1,584	2,057
Togo	2.2	160	3.3	41	50.6	23.5	179	5-10	73	61[c]	101[c]
Tonga	0.1[acl]	320[a]	2.0[a]	56[bd]	39.0[bd]	10.0[bd]	107[dm]	90-95[d]	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

Third World Countries (Continued)

	Population, mid-1975 (mil.)	Per Capita GNP, 1972 ($)	Per Capita GNP Growth Rate, 1965-72 (%)	Life Expectancy at Birth, 1970-75 Average (yrs.)	Birth Rate per 1,000, 1970-75 Average	Death Rate per 1,000, 1970-75 Average	Infant Mortality per 1,000 Live Births	Literacy (%)	Per Capita Energy Consumption, 1971 (kg. coal equiv.)	Total Exports, f.o.b., 1973 ($ mil.)	Total Imports, c.i.f., 1973 ($ mil.)
Trinidad and Tobago	1.0	970	3.6	70	25.3	5.9	35	89	3,962	658	776
Tunisia	5.7	380	3.7	54	40.0	13.8	128	30	255	386	608
Turkey	39.9	370	4.3	57	39.4	12.5	119	46	516	1,318	2,091
Uruguay	3.1	760	0.4	70	20.4	9.3	40	91	958	322	285
Vietnam, Dem. Rep.	23.8	110[a]	-0.1[a]	48	41.4	17.9	n.a.	65	165	n.a.	n.a.
Vietnam, Republic of	19.7	170	-0.7	40	41.7	23.6	n.a.	60	290	59	620
Zaire	24.5	100[a]	3.9[a]	44	45.2	20.5	160	35-40	77	691[b]	787[b]
Zambia	5.0	380	-0.1	44	51.5	20.5	157	15-20	458	1,142	604
OPEC Countries											
Algeria	16.8	430	3.5	53	48.7	15.4	128	25-30	492	1,802	2,338
Ecuador	7.1	360	3.8	60	41.8	9.5	78	68	315	561	532
Gabon	0.5	880	10.0	41	32.2	22.2	229	12	1,028	287	160
Indonesia	136.0	90	4.3	48	42.9	16.9	125	43	123	3,211	2,347
Iran	32.9	490	7.2	51	45.3	15.6	139	23	895	6,914	3,370
Iraq	11.1	370	1.8	53	48.1	14.6	99	20	650	2,292	899
Kuwait	1.1	4,090	-1.3	67	47.1	5.3	44	47	7,888	3,789	1,042
Libyan Arab Rep.	2.3	1,830	8.1	53	45.0	14.8	130	27	571	4,085	1,723
Nigeria	62.9	130	5.4	41	49.3	22.7	180	25	59	3,358	1,874
Qatar	0.1	2,530	6.1	47	49.6	18.7	138	10-15[d]	2,025	332[b]	128[b]
Saudi Arabia	9.0	550[a]	6.8[a]	45	49.5	20.2	152	5-15	988	8,638	1,993
United Arab Emirates	0.2	3,220	16.2	47	49.6	18.7	138	20[d]	802	1,510	800
Venezuela	12.2	1,240	1.1	65	36.1	7.1	50	76	2,518	4,727	2,813
Developed Countries											
Albania	2.5	530	5.7	69	33.4	6.5	87	70[d]	631	n.a.	n.a.
Australia	13.8	2,980	3.1	72	21.0	8.1	17	98[d]	5,359	9,517	7,658
Austria	7.5	2,410	5.0	71	14.7	12.2	24	98[d]	3,231	5,287	7,119
Belgium	9.8	3,210	4.6	73	14.8	11.2	17	97[d]	6,116[s]	22,488[s]	21,988[s]
Bulgaria	8.8	1,420	5.9	72	16.2	9.2	26	95[d]	4,029	3,301[c]	3,266[cp]
Canada	22.8	4,440	3.2	72	18.6	7.7	17	98	9,326	26,309	24,918
Czechoslovakia	14.8	2,180	4.5	69	17.0	11.2	21	100[d]	6,615	6,238[c]	6,137[cp]
Denmark	5.0	3,670	3.7	74	14.0	10.1	14	99[d]	5,327	6,248	7,802
Finland	4.7	2,810	4.9	70	13.2	9.3	10	99[d]	4,334	3,828	4,333
France	52.9	3,620	4.8	73	17.0	10.6	16	97[d]	3,928	36,659	37,727
Germany, Dem. Rep.	17.2	2,100	3.5	73	13.9	12.4	18	99[d]	6,308	7,521[c]	7,854[cp]
Germany, Fed. Rep.	61.9	3,390	4.1	71	12.0	12.1	20	99[d]	5,223	67,502	54,552
Greece	8.9	1,460	7.3	72	15.4	9.4	27	80[d]	1,470	1,440	3,456
Hungary	10.5	1,520	4.2	70	15.3	11.5	34	97[d]	3,291	4,433[c]	3,919[c]
Iceland	0.2	2,800	1.8	74	19.3	7.7	12	99[d]	4,311	291	359
Ireland	3.1	1,580	3.7	72	22.1	10.4	18	98[d]	3,285	2,135	2,794
Israel	3.4	2,610	7.1	71	26.5	6.7	21	84[d]	2,710	1,449	4,240
Italy	55.0	1,960	4.3	72	16.0	9.8	26	93-95[d]	2,682	22,224	27,796
Japan	111.1	2,320	9.7	73	19.2	6.6	12	98[d]	3,267	36,982	38,347
Luxembourg	0.3	3,190	3.0	71	13.5	11.7	16	98[d]	t	t	t
Malta	0.3	950	7.4	71	17.5	9.0	24	83	981	98	240
Netherlands	13.6	2,840	4.3	74	16.8	8.7	12	98[d]	5,069	24,071	24,735
New Zealand	3.0	2,560	1.8	72	22.3	8.3	16	98[d]	2,934	2,599	2,179
Norway	4.0	3,340	3.8	74	16.7	10.1	13	99[d]	5,189	4,692	6,245
Poland	33.8	1,500	4.0	70	16.8	8.6	28	98[d]	4,374	6,374[c]	7,814[cp]
Portugal	8.8	780	5.3	68	18.4	10.1	44	65[d]	805	1,836	3,007
Romania	21.2	810	6.7	67	19.3	10.3	40	98-99[d]	2,975	3,698[c]	3,468[cp]
South Africa	24.7	850	2.1	52	42.9	15.5	117	35[d]	2,895[u]	3,435[c]	5,020[c]
Spain	35.4	1,210	5.0	72	19.5	8.3	15	86[d]	1,614	5,164	9,522
Sweden	8.3	4,480	2.5	73	14.2	10.5	10	99[d]	6,089	12,201	10,628
Switzerland	6.5	3,940	2.9	72	14.7	10.0	13	98[d]	3,575	9,477	11,613
U.S.S.R.	255.0	1,530	5.9	70	17.8	7.9	26	99[d]	4,535	21,463[c]	21,108[cp]
United Kingdom	56.4	2,600	2.0	72	16.1	11.7	18	98-99[d]	5,507	30,535	38,847
United States	213.9	5,590	2.0	71	16.2	9.4	18	98[d]	11,244	71,339	73,575
Yugoslavia	21.3	810	5.5	68	18.2	9.2	43	80[d]	1,608	3,024	4,776

II. Perspectives on World Hunger

A. Strategies for the Time When There is Not Enough
by Scott I. Paradise, 1/75

A consensus has developed that the world situation is indeed serious. With unexpected suddenness world grain reserves have suffered severe depletion. Most of them have been accumulated by the U. S. Experts claim that sufficient food does not exist (nor can it be produced) to feed the burgeoning human multitude. Famines in Africa and India threaten to claim hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of victims. But no consensus has emerged about what to do about it. In fact six strategies have been staked out reflecting different values and assumptions.

1. None of these positions, except perhaps the Market, emphasize increasing food supply. Rather, they assume population growth unless restrained, will outrun food supply even if it is increased. Three positions stand together representing the tough-minded realists. They assume that there is not enough food to go around and that large numbers will surely starve. The most hard-nosed of these strategies has been proposed by Garrett Hardin in his article advertised as the case against helping the poor. He describes the present situation as somewhat like a lifeboat with the Americans filling fifty of the sixty spaces on board. In the water swim hundreds of people who will die unless they are pulled aboard the boat. Any attempt to save all will swamp the boat and bring death to all. In fact, to fill the boat to capacity removes the margin for safety needed in case of a storm. Hardin argues that to help the poor will bring such an increase of population that they will consume all the food we have to share and the number of deaths by starvation at the end will be much greater than it would otherwise have been. Since we have control of most of the world's exportable food we have the power to deny help to starving nations and thereby diminish the size of the human calamity that Hardin believes must surely come. Such a policy, he argues, is both prudent and moral.

2. Paul and William Paddock, State Department agricultural experts, take a slightly different tack. Although they agree with Hardin that insufficient food exists for humankind's teeming billions and that the U. S. has the obligation as well as the power to determine who eats among the poorest nations, they believe we should help those we can. They compare the present situation to a battlefield first aid station where by the principle of TRIAGE the wounded are classified into three groups. Those who will survive without help and those who will die regardless are largely ignored. The medical staff concentrates on those who can be saved by immediate attention. In the same fashion the world's nations can be divided. And our food should go to those countries who will only survive and become self-sufficient because of it. In fact, our food aid has been distributed selectively in the recent past, but not strictly according to the Paddock proposal. South Viet Nam, for instance, for political reasons received far more aid than the TRIAGE principle warranted.

3. A similar position has been advanced by Dale Runge, an M. I. T. systems engineer. Runge agrees that we do not have the food to feed all the hungry. He also calls for a rational decision made by the U. S. government about who should eat and who should starve. He recognizes, however, that food aid alone can only breed growing dependence on the doner. And, he submits, to give aid to a nation involves us in a long-term responsible relationship with it. Runge accepts

the TRIAGE principle, but goes farther, claiming that the U. S. should select the countries it has the power to save and establish with them a covenant of mutual responsibility. The U. S. would grant the needy country development aid as well as food. The country would commit itself to population policies and wealth distribution policies which would improve its prognosis.

4. A more idealistic strategy has been advanced by a food expert formerly with the Overseas Development Council, Lester Brown. Unlike the three strategies mentioned above, Brown hints that enough food might exist if the rich countries reduce their consumption of meat and share the increment so saved and if population growth is arrested. But he challenges the view that Americans have a right to decide who will eat. We have no more right to eat than any other people. Accordingly, he proposes an international food and development agency which would determine how both food and development aid would be distributed. Such a dramatic affirmation of global brotherhood might give mankind a fighting chance to escape unprecedented disaster. While Brown's reputation as a humanitarian is assured, his claim to be a realist stands in jeopardy.

5. Another position entirely is occupied by the humanitarians whose traditional response to famine is to share with the hungry. As long as we have food, we should share it. If by eating less others may live, we should eat less. Tough-minded calculation is replaced by open-hearted generosity and obedience to the principle of brotherhood. While food lasts all eat. When it is gone all may starve. But these humanitarians do not expect exhaustion of world food supplies.

6. The final strategy is most optimistic of all. Earl Butz and his fellow free-traders contend that a shortage of food will drive up its price. This will encourage greater production and make it possible for more people to be fed. The market will stand as our bulwark against famine. To the charge that the market mechanism in a time of shortage can surfeit the rich while the poor starve, the apologist for this position responds that lowering prices will lower production and that given proper incentive, there is no limit to the productivity of agriculture.

At present the market distributes most of the food produced in America, but not consumed here. Our long tradition of humanitarian emergency relief leads us to offer token grants of aid where famine stalks. But when famines become more widespread and severe, pressure will increase to adopt some form of policy of TRIAGE. Humankind might, however, take more hope from a strategy more like Lester Brown's. For it refuses to place the United States in the role of God determining the fate of nations while its people feast. But rather, it recognizes the connections and interdependence of all. Dale Runge is right and wrong. Grants of food can foster dependence of the poor on the rich and saddle the rich with a responsibility for the poor. But this is not a future possibility, but a present reality which has resulted from a history of imperialism, exploitation, aid and trade. Generally these processes have favored industrialized nations of the West. And through them we have forged links of relationship and responsibility which cannot be dissolved. Chaos and famine in one country today can bring tomorrow disease and war whose devastation will respect no national borders.

B. The World Food Scare

WORLD FOOD PROBLEMS IN PERSPECTIVE
by D. Gale Johnson

It is not easy to achieve a perspective about the nature and extent of world food problems at a time when each of us is exposed at least weekly to headlines announcing crop failures, hunger or starvation, to pictures of starving women and children and to television news specials that emphasize the startling and the unusual. I do not oppose or criticize the revealing of the more horrible aspects of life in our world today. What I am critical of is an almost complete lack of perspective concerning the reasons for the world's current food difficulties and for creating the impression that the current situation is so disastrous that there is little hope of any improvement, either in the short run or longer run.

The oft-repeated statement that the developing world is inevitably headed toward starvation and famine may do far more damage than good. If a problem is insoluble, what reason is there for trying to solve it? If it is certain that there will be continuing food shortages and starvation in the low income countries, most people in the rich countries (as well as many policy makers in the developing countries) can justify both their ignoring the fate of the world's poorer people and their consequent inaction in making any real effort to do those things that are both possible and promising.

Let me be quite clear at the outset. There are not reasons in limitations of resources or in the technology and biology of food production why the population of the world cannot be more adequately fed a decade hence than it was in the years immediately before 1972. And I believe that the world's population will be better fed a decade hence, though I am less confident about the realization of the potential for food production than I am about the probability that the realizable potential would permit an improvement in the diets of poor people even if current population growth rates are maintained for that decade. In addition, I believe that the evidence supports the view that the prices of the food at the farm level need be no higher than during the early 1970s, after adjustment is made for inflation.

An Historical Perspective

The current world food scare is not the first nor likely to be the last, for reasons that I will mention later. Let me read you three fairly brief quotations and see if you can guess when they might have been written or spoken.

> Practically there remains no uncultivated prairie land in the United States suitable for wheat-growing. The virgin land has been rapidly absorbed, until at present there is no land left for wheat without reducing the area for maize, hay and other necessary crops. It is almost certain that within a generation the ever increasing population of the United States will consume all the wheat grown within its borders and will be driven to import, and, like ourselves, will scramble for a lion's share of the wheat crop of the world.[1]

> To increase our average crop production per acre 47% may sound easy, but when we remember that this is an average increase to be attained for all of the crop land of the United States, the magnitude of the task that must be accomplished (to provide food for a population of 150 million) in perhaps little more than three decades...appears stupendous. Moreover, it should be noted that our record thus far indicates a very slow rate of progress in...increased yield per acre, whereas, on the other hand, the increasing scarcity of grazing land has already resulted in a considerable decrease in number of livestock per capita.[2]
>
> ...one thing is evident. The less developed world is losing the capacity to feed itself. Stated otherwise, the less-developed world is no longer able to provide enough food for the large numbers of people being added each year. A growing part of the each year's population increase is being sustained by food shipments coming from the developed world, principally North America, and largely under concessional terms.[3]

The first - which I did not read exactly as it was typed in my text, but the changes were modest involving the substitution of "idle" for uncultivated prairie", "corn" for "maize" - was from the presidential address to the British Association for the Advancement of Science delivered by Sir William Crookes in September, 1898. Sir William was a chemist of note and thought the subject of the wheat or food problem important enough to use that auspicious occasion to obtain an audience for his views. Two other quotations may be of interest: "Are we going to go hungry, and to know the trial of scarcity? That is the poignant question."[4] "I have said that starvation may be averted through the laboratory. Before we are in the grip of actual dearth the Chemist will step in and postpone the day of famine to so distant a period that we, and our sons and grandsons, may legitimately live without undue solicitude for the future."[5]

The second quotation was from an exhaustive survey of the potential farm output of the United States made by outstanding scholars and scientists in the U. S. Department of Agriculture after World War I and published in 1924. It was difficult to find a satisfactory brief summary statement of conclusions, but the general view was that the United States could provide food for a population of 150 million (actually reached in 1950) only through a reduction in per capita consumption of livestock products from the 1920 level and by an expensive effort to increase crop yields. Crop yields actually increased by 47% but not until 1960. However, in the next 12 years crop yields increased a further 30%. And per capita meat consumption did not decline but increased significantly - by 28% between 1920 and 1971 for red meat and by 225% for poultry consumption. I should add that milk consumption did decline by about 25% per capita. The overestimate of the need for increased crop yields was due to a failure to anticipate the replacement of animal power by tractors, which was essentially completed by 1950.

The third quotation was from a paper written by Lester Brown in 1964. Lester Brown is making similar statements today and is quoted with favor in numerous places by those who may have forgotten that it was not so long ago that he found the food outlook for the developing countries to be quite satisfactory:[6]

> The thesis of this paper is that the world has recently entered a new agricultural era. It is difficult to date precisely this new era since many of the contributing factors have been years in the making. But in terms of measurable phenomena such as the sweeping advances in food production in several major developing countries, the old era ended in 1966 and the new era began in 1967

Famine is the most horrible of the manifestations of food insufficiency. It is sad if there is one death in a year anywhere in the world and it is sadder when thousands of such deaths occur. But it would be incorrect to deduce from the pictorial evidence of famine that we now see that the world is more prone to famine than in the past. Quite the contrary. Both the percentage of the population afflicted by famine and the absolute numbers involved during the past quarter century have been small compared to what has prevailed during the period of history for which we have reasonably reliable estimates of the number of famine deaths. There appears to have been a rather steady reduction in the incidence of famine in the last quarter of the 19th Century perhaps 20 to 25 million died from famine. Adjusting for population increase, a comparable figure for the third quarter century of this century would be at least 50 million and for the quarter century we are entering, at least 75 million. For the entire 20th Century to the present, famine deaths have probably been about 12 to 15 million and most were the result of deliberate governmental policy or due to war.

Those who believe that the food situation for the poorer people of the world has deteriorated during the past quarter century have no satisfactory explanation for a development unprecedented in recorded human history, namely the dramatic increase in life expectancy in the developing countries. During the 1950s there were many developing countries in which life expectancy increased at the rate of one year per year - something never achieved in Western Europe or North America. I do not say that improved per capita food supplies were primarily responsible for such a dramatic development; other factors such as DDT (the control of malaria) and improvements in sanitation (sewage and water supplies) were far more important. But the increase in life expectancy almost certainly could not have occurred if there had been a deterioration in the quantity and quality of food. The largest percent declines in death rates occurred among the young, who normally suffer first and most with a reduction in food availability. Those of us who decry the high rates of population growth in the developing countries should not forget that the increases in population growth rates have been due entirely to reductions in death rates and not at all to an increase in birth rates. There has been an enormous reduction in human suffering that has gone largely unrecognized - pain and grief of parents numbering in the hundreds of millions have been avoided by the reduction in infant and child mortality. True there have been costs imposed by the rapid growth of population, but the benefits should not be ignored.

Life expectancy in the developing world increased from 35-40 years in 1950 to 52 years in 1973. When was a level of life expectancy of 52 years achieved in the U. S.? in England? in France? in Italy?[7] I leave you to find out the answer for yourself if you are interested.

Just two other items for perspective. A friend of mine, a German food economist Adolph Weber, has compared per capita calories of the developing countries as of 1971 with the French per capita caloric consumption of 1780. In 1780 France was one of the leading world powers - economically, socially, culturally, militarily. All of the developing countries of the world had by 1971 surpassed the French per capita caloric consumption of 1780. It was not that the average for the world had reached the 1780 French level, but that the lowest average for any country exceeded that level.

Foreigners who visit the developing countries often report the very low yields of grain that are realized. But even here there has been significant progress and the lag of the developing countries behind North America or Western Europe is not so great as often believed. If the world is divided into two groups - the developing countries and the industrial countries - grain yields were almost identical in 1935-39 at about 1.15 metric tons per hectare. In the late 1960s, the average yields in the industrial countries was 2.14 tons or about double the yield 35 years earlier. In the developing countries yields had increased to 1.41 tons per hectare by 1969-70, which is above the average yield in the industrial countries as recently as 1952-56.

Throughout most of the recorded history of mankind most of the world's population has been but one poor crop away from disaster and suffering. The world now has the capacity in terms of intellectual and natural resources to prevent large scale suffering and to improve the per capita food supply of the world's poorer people.

In the remainder of my remarks (see section IV. d) I will comment briefly on the Green Revolution, summarize what I believe can be learned from recent efforts to increase food production and supplies in the developing countries and highlight several steps that can and should be taken to increase food production in the future.

The Right to Food

A Statement of Policy
(Provisional Draft)
by Bread for the World

The Board of Directors of Bread for the World offered this provisional draft to its membership in March 1975 for reflection and comment.

Our response to the hunger crisis springs from God's love for all people. By creating us and redeeming us through Jesus Christ, he has given us a love that will not turn aside from those who lack daily bread. Our own human wholeness no less than theirs is at stake.

As Christians we affirm the right to food: the right of every man, woman and child on earth to a nutritionally adequate diet. This right is grounded in the value God places on human life and in the belief that "the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof." Because other considerations flow from these, we cannot rest until the fruit of God's earth is shared in a way that befits his human family.

Today hundreds of millions suffer from acute hunger. Emergency food aid is imperative. For this reason Bread for the World supports the work of church and other agencies in alleviating hunger, and urges increased support for them. However, the problem is far too massive for private agencies alone. The resources that governments command must also be used if food is to reach people in most areas of famine.

But emergency aid is not enough. We need to think in terms of *long-range strategies* that deal with the *causes* of hunger. These causes include poverty, illiteracy, lack of health services, technical inadequacy, rapid growth of population, and unemployment, to name some of the more serious. Church relief agencies have increasingly sponsored development projects that address these problems. But again, although there are small models of excellence on the part of those agencies, the extent of hunger makes large-scale government assistance essential.

Hunger is also rooted in privileges that may, in securing wealth for some, perpetuate the poverty of others. Because they reflect sinful human nature and are usually sanctioned by custom and law, these privileges are often the most obstinate causes of hunger. The rich can resist taxes that could generate jobs for the poor. Landless peasants may be forced to work for a few pennies an hour. Tenant farmers are often kept in perpetual debt. The powerful, with privileges to protect can use repression to prevent change.

The problem of privileges for some at the cost of hunger for others applies not only to persons and groups within a country, but also to nations. Because the United States earns more than twice the income of the entire poor world, U.S. Christians need to be especially alert to the possibility that our privileges may come at high cost to others.

The policies of the U.S. government are especially crucial regarding world hunger. Our nation can lead countless persons out of hunger or lock them into despair and death. Citizen impact on U.S. policies is, therefore, our most important tool in the struggle against hunger.

In affirming the right to food, Bread for the World seeks:

1. *An end to hunger in the United States.* It supports:

A. a floor of economic decency under every U.S. citizen through measures such as a minimum income and guaranteed employment;

B. steps to improve existing programs, such as (1) food stamps; (2) school lunches; and (3) nutritional assistance for especially vulnerable persons, along with steps to enroll in these programs all who qualify; and

C. a national nutrition policy that enables every citizen to get an acceptably nutritious diet.

2. *A U.S. food policy committed to world food security and rural development, as proposed by the World Food Conference.*

The United States clearly shoulders a special responsibility regarding global food needs. Our country controls most of the world's grain exports. U.S. commercial farm export earnings *from poor countries alone* jumped from $1.6 billion in 1972 to $6.6 billion in 1974—an increase double the amount of our entire development assistance to those countries. While this happened, U.S. food assistance declined sharply. We now need to respond in a way that reflects the more generous U.S. tradition of two decades following World War II.

The World Food Conference charted the necessary path to world food security under a World Food Council that would coordinate both emergency relief efforts and long-range rural development. Bread for the World supports:

A. U.S. participation in a world food reserve program, with reserves under national control;

B. an increase in U.S. food assistance, especially the grant portion, to at least the level of a tithe (10 percent) of this country's food exports, as our share toward the establishment of a grain reserve with an initial world target of 10 million tons;

C. a substantial increase in the amount of food made available to the UN World Food Program and to voluntary agencies for distribution abroad;

D. humanitarian, not political use of food assistance, with assistance channeled through, or in cooperation with, international agencies;

E. a fair return to the U.S. farmer for his production, with curbs against windfall profits and special measures to assist family farmers; and

F. full U.S. participation in the International Fund for Agricultural Development, along with other steps that would promote rural development in the poor countries and, among other things, assure them adequate supplies of fertilizer and energy, and accelerate research relating to food production there.

3. *The reform and expansion of U.S. development assistance.*

The United States currently ranks near the bottom of Development Assistance Committee nations, when assistance is measured as a percentage of GNP. By official (and somewhat exaggerated) figures, U.S. development assistance to poor countries amounts to one-fifth of 1 percent of our GNP. We can do better than that. What is true for the United States is true for all countries: "To whom much has been given, of him will much be required." Further, the *quality* of assistance is crucial. Assistance should deliver self-help opportunities primarily to those living in hunger and poverty, especially the rural poor. It should be aimed at developing self-reliance, not dependency on the part of the recipient nations. And rather than imposing capital-intensive western technologies on those countries, assistance should make possible the development of locally appropriate technologies, usually geared to small-scale, labor-intensive methods. Bread for the World therefore supports:

A. a U.S. contribution, in proportion to our share of the world's income, to the International Fund for Agricultural Development as a major attempt to increase the food production capacity and living standards of impoverished rural families;

B. rapid movement toward the 1-per-cent-of-GNP assistance goal;

C. the "untying" of assistance. Economic strings that put burdens on recipient nations should be cut;

D. honest accounting of U.S. assistance. Loans are counted as grants in aid figures. Either repayments from previous aid loans should be subtracted; or only a percentage of the loans counted, because they are made on below-market terms.

E. channeling of development assistance through international and transnational agencies, where possible, without precluding the expansion of bilateral assistance; and

F. adoption, with other donor and recipient nations, of an internationally agreed set of standards on the basis of which the amount of development assistance would be determined. These standards should include (a) need; (b) evidence that development is occurring among the masses of poor people; (c) willingness of leaders to institute basic reforms, such as land reform, tax reform, and anti-corruption measures, in order to reduce the disparity between rich and poor within a country; (d) de-emphasis on military spending; and (e) efforts to secure human rights.

4. *The separation of development assistance from all forms of military assistance.*

Most U.S. aid is either military assistance or assistance in which U.S. political and military considerations are uppermost. This mixing of humanitarian assistance with military and political aid gives the public an exaggerated impression of real U.S. aid to hungry and poverty-ridden countries. Bread for the World therefore proposes legislation to sever completely the connection between humanitarian development assistance and military and political assistance.

5. *Trade preferences for the poorest countries.*

Trade is not perceived by the public as a "hunger" issue, but trade, even more than aid, vitally affects hungry people. In the past poor countries have been compelled to export their raw materials at bargain prices, and import high-priced manufactured products. The terms of such trade have progressively deteriorated over the past two decades. Recent food, fertilizer and oil price hikes have left the 40 poorest countries, representing a billion people, in a desperate position. For them in particular trade opportunities are more important than ever. Bread for the World therefore supports the following positions, which are partly embodied in the Trade Act of 1974:

A. the lowering of trade barriers such as tariffs and quotas, especially on semi-processed and finished products. It has been estimated that these barriers cost U.S. consumers $10 to $15 billion a year;

B. special trade preferences for the poorest countries. These countries need markets for their products, if they are to work their way out of hunger; and

C. greatly increased planning for economic adjustment, including assistance for adversely affected U.S. workers and industries. Without this, U.S. laborers are made to bear an unfair burden and are increasingly pitted against hungry people.

6. *Reduced military spending.* U.S. Defense spending alone exceeds the total annual income of the poorest billion people on earth, the truly hungry children of God. Our thinking begins with them. During his presidential years Dwight D. Eisenhower said, "Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed." Bread for the World supports:

A. greater U.S. initiative in pressing for arms limitation agreements and mutual cutbacks in existing arms as well as greater public access to information surrounding negotiations;

B. curtailment of the sale of arms, if possible by international agreement; and

C. adoption of a U.S. defense budget that would reduce military spending. For example, a 10 percent reduction could provide $9 billion for financing long-range measures against hunger.

7. *Study and appropriate control of multinational corporations, with particular attention to agribusiness.*

Multinationals are playing an increasingly influential global role. They transcend national boundaries and often bring jobs and needed development opportunities to poor countries. But they create empires that are not accountable to host countries and often impose a type of development that reinforces inequalities and, consequently, the problem of hunger, as well. Bread for the World therefore supports:

A. the principle that each country has the right to determine its own path to human and social development, including legitimate control over outside investments;

B. efforts to study and analyze the role of multinational corporations, especially as they relate positively or negatively to the problem of hunger;

C. national and international measures that seek fair means of accountability on the part of such companies; and

D. special examination of the role of corporate farming, with a view toward adequate safeguards for low-income consumers and small family farm holders.

8. *Efforts to deal with the population growth rate.*

Rapid population growth is putting great pressure on the world's food supply and on the capacity of countries to absorb the increase into their economies. Population growth will not be effectively curbed if it is dealt with in isolation, but only if placed in the context of total development needs. For example, hungry people usually have large families, in part because surviving sons provide security in old age. Only where social and economic gains include the poor, and where the rate of infant mortality begins to approximate that of the affluent nations, do people feel secure enough to limit family size. Bread for the World therefore supports:

A. greatly expanded U.S. efforts to enable the poor of the world to work their way out of hunger and poverty;

B. additional U.S. assistance for health programs abroad aimed at reducing infant mortality and increasing health security;

C. additional support for research to develop family planning methods that are dependable, inexpensive, simple, and morally acceptable to all; and

D. efforts to modify our own consumption, which strains the carrying capacity of the earth no less than population increases.

9. *Christian patterns of living.*

The growing scarcity of several key resources—grain, fuel and fertilizer in particular—that directly affect the food supply has prompted many to reassess their habits of consumption. This country, with 6 percent of the world's population, consumes one-third or more of the world's marketed resources. On the average each person in the United States buys about 4.5 times the amount of grain—most of it indirectly as meat and dairy products, along with alcohol and pet food—that persons in poor countries do. There is often no direct connection between our using less and others having more. Nevertheless there are important psychological, symbolic and spiritual values in re-examining our patterns of consumption. Bread for the World invites Christians to:

A. remember that along with changes in habits of consumption we have to change government policies, without which life-style modifications do little more than give us a misleading sense of accomplishment;

B. reconsider our personal spending and consuming, with a view toward living more simply and less materialistically;

C. reconsider a way of life in which billions of dollars are spent annually to make us crave, and in turn spend countless additional billions on products we do not need, and which in fact often harm us—all this while sisters and brothers perish for lack of bread.

These things we seek because we affirm for others a right that we enjoy: the right to food. We seek to extend to all this God-given right in obedience to Christ who has called us to follow him in loving our neighbor as ourselves.

D. World Hunger and World Order

A Discussion Guide on the Challenge of the Food Crisis

> "We are facing a threat to the very continuity and basic functioning of the international economic system. The emergence of scarcities, rampant inflation and the acute problems of the world food supply are grim reminders that failure to sustain international action and collective responsibility may easily put in question the actual survival of millions of people."
>
> - Secretary General Kurt Waldheim in his annual report to the U. N. General Assembly, September, 1974

There is widespread agreement that mass starvation is an intolerable evil. Yet we tolerate this evil, not because we are resigned to this catastrophe, but because we have no clear and shared understanding of what can and should be done about it.

The focus of this paper is on world hunger and its relationship to the larger problem of world peace and international order. It is written in the form of a series of questions and arguments and is intended to serve as a guide for group discussion. Its aim is not to indulge in the depressingly familiar facts and statistics of the hunger crisis, but to raise those central issues of value, attitude and policy which underlie our response to the problem.

The following discussion identifies those questions which we believe are essential to answer in forming an adequate perspective on the problem. This perspective views the hunger crisis as a basic symptom of the disorder of the present international system, and it recognizes that progress toward solving it is very much tied to progress toward a world where conflicts would be resolved without war or the threat of war.

I. Famine is obviously not a new problem, but is its character different in today's world than in the past?

Famine is among the most ancient of scourges that have afflicted the human condition, but the magnitude of the crisis is unprecedented: hundreds of millions of people lack enough food to meet minimum nutrition needs, and tens of millions are expected to die from malnutrition-related diseases within the next year.

This is the immediate future for the poorer countries unless we in the wealthy countries help those less fortunate. The technical resources exist to avoid such a disaster; can the moral resolve be mobilized in time?

What differentiates today's world from ages past is the vulnerability caused by global interdependence.

Interdependence has been celebrated by those committed to realizing the promise of an integrated world community. It is irreversible, and peoples on our "spaceship earth" would benefit if nations would realize this fact and cooperate more on common problems.

Yet interdependence has its darker sides:

- A mild recession in the industrialized nations has catastrophic effects on the poorer, less stable economies of the developing world. Not only do prices rise on essential imports, but the flow of aid and trade on concessional terms is restricted. Thus a country in the Sahel region of Africa, its own food production decimated by seven years of drought, heavily dependent on emergency American food aid, is extremely vulnerable to a mild summer drought in the American midwest.

- International conflict over scarce resources will continue or increase. These conflicts could be resolved peacefully. However, talk of armed action to acquire Arab oil, a battle between Chinese and South Vietnamese troups in early 1974 over the oil-rich Paracel Islands and mounting tensions over oil in the Agean Sea between Greece and Turkey reflect the dominance of the military alternative.

- The effect of mass communication must not be underestimated. Starvation is now brought into our living rooms by TV. And we can no longer expect people in the less developed countries - where for centuries poverty, hunger and an early death were accepted as inevitable - to accept their present condition when they have learned how much better life can be.

- Countries afflicted by famine are more likely to suffer internal mass violence, and they may, in desperation, export war and weapons of war. Will conditions of famine, poverty and exploitation lead to revolutions like the Russian and Chinese upheavals? Will starving masses try to find "greener pastures" by crossing borders? How would neighboring countries react? The costs - human, material, spiritual - of such turmoil are passed on to the survivors and their children; the painfully gained progress of decades of economic and social development can be severely set back by a violent revolution or civil war. And endemic local disorder, in a world armed to the teeth with nuclear and conventional weapons, always contains seeds of wider, more destructive conflict. Will India, in desperation to acquire foreign exchange to import food and oil, sell nuclear weapons to Libya?

If we do nothing to prevent impending starvation, our "security" will be jeopardized in a way no armies or weapons can overcome. In an increasingly interdependent world, "our" security is bound up with "their" security, and what really constitutes security for people in the less developed world is adequate human welfare, not the $240 billion nations spend yearly for armaments.

It is no longer possible to treat famine as an isolated phenomenon, unconnected to the entire fabric of world economic, political, security and communication relationships. Thus, while the fact of starvation is embedded in human history, the significance of that fact is very different in today's world.

II. Why is the world today facing a food crisis?

The major factors behind the present crisis are:

- World population is increasing faster than food production, especially in the less developed countries. Each year 75 million more people are added and the demand for food will increase even more sharply if consumption patterns of the poor begin to emulate more affluent societies.

- Food production capability is constrained in poor nations, many of which could significantly increase production. Deeply rooted cultural, political and social patterns (e. g. feudal, landlord-tenant relationships of farmers) are fundamental constraints, for neither technological advances nor increased capital will fully bear fruit while these attitudes dominate. Why should a landless farmer produce more when the landlord would absorb all productivity increases? And if a tenant farmer wanted to produce more, how could he if he was too far in debt to acquire more capital input on the land he tills?

- Consumption patterns in developed nations are inefficient and wasteful. Grain-fed meat and meat products, especially "choice" and "prime" beef, consume enormous quantities of grain. For example, U. S. beef cattle eat 40 million tons of grain - enough to feed 200 million people at the basic level of 400 pounds of grain per person per year. The extensive use of fertilizer for non-food production purposes (e. g. 1 million tons alone on U. S. lawns and flower gardens) has the effect of preventing production of enough grain to feed tens of millions of people. (One pound of fertilizer produces 5-10 additional pounds of grain.) Are these examples good models for world-wide consumption of food and fertilizer?

- Oil prices have tripled since 1972. The price that poor nations must pay to import fuel for essential uses - irrigation pumps, farm-to-market trucks, and heating and cooking oil - has risen from $3 to $12 billion per year. The increase alone is more than they received from all sources of foreign aid during 1973. Fertilizer, which is generally oil-based, has at least doubled in price as a direct result of the oil price hike. Thus the "green revolution" of highly productive strains of grain, which need large quantities of fertilizer and irrigation to grow, has been severely set back.

- Bad weather has severely hampered food production. Seven years of drought in the African Sahel made more than one-third of the region's 25 million people wholly dependent on external food aid. Floods in Bangladesh and India and drought in the American midwest decreased food production in those areas.

- World-wide inflation has struck hardest at nations whose bare margins of survival depend on imported food, fertilizer and fuel. The doubling in food costs since 1972 has been disastrous to people who were spending 50-80% of their incomes on food. And inflation tends to decrease the actual tonnage of food sent by donor nations.

- The dominance of national military power to defend values and process international conflicts detracts from the ability of the world to solve the problem of famine. This generates mistrust and fear that prevents a greater sense of mutual responsibility and cooperation and it stimulates a misallocation of resources away from food aid and development and toward weapons of war - "guns or butter" on an international scale. Needless to say, war itself - the ultimate in military spending - has always contributed its share to the starvation of its survivors as well as to the death of its victims.

This complex of factors underlying the problem of world hunger will not yield to any one simple prescription. The tensions between technological and political considerations, between competing ideologies, between commitments to national interest and international responsibility, between short term measures required to meet the immediate crisis and long term development goals - must all be given due attention.

III. What is the fundamental obstacle blocking progress toward elimination of mass starvation?

The basic obstacle is not just resource scarcity, inadequate technology, maldistribution of wealth or the weather. The root problem is the lack of a formed will which, given expression in the international community, could create a world order capable of dealing effectively with common global needs and problems.

Obviously, resource scarcity is part of the problem and part of what is needed lies in the area of technology: improved methods of production, distribution and utilization. But the problem is essentially political:

- Significant changes must occur in the attitudes and policies of all nations, rich and poor. The resources and technical capability for eliminating mass starvation exist; the will and agreement to accomplish that goal do not.

- It will require a fundamental reshaping of international behavior and the development of new patterns and structures of international cooperation to meet the challenge posed by the growing reality of global interdependence.

Current proposals for steps designed to meet the immediate crisis could become signposts along the road to an adequate international capability for dealing with the problem of hunger. But unless that is the goal, we can expect the present crisis to be only the latest, rather than the last, in the long history of hunger.

IV. What are the dominant approaches to the problem of world hunger?

In isolation, each of the following six approaches is an obstacle that blocks the realization of the vision of a better world order. But each raises important questions, the answers to which must be part of the response to the problem of world hunger.

(A good discussion technique is to ask the group to suggest major approaches, with the discussion leader writing these on a black board.)

The most important approaches can be characterized as follows:

1. FATALISM: Many people believe that famine, like war, is inevitable. Their reaction is, "Why bother?" Some see famine as God's will. Most fatalists, though, subscribe to a version of Malthus: a growing world population in the face of the earth's limited resources means famine is inevitable.

In the long term, obviously population growth must come under control. But this problem has two sides: What are the minimum conditions parents need fulfilled before they choose to have smaller families? And considering that a small minority of the earth's people consume most of the resources (for example, the U. S., with 6% of the world's population, consumes at least 35% of the world's resources), how can this waste and other over-consumption be reduced to minimize their environmental impact?

2. ISOLATIONISM (Feed yourselves!): This point of view resents the U. S. being asked to feed the world's hungry. There are several approaches within this viewpoint:

- The U. S. should not export grain aid if it raises costs or taxes for U. S. consumers.

- Mismanagement by recipient nations (grain rotting on docks, corruption, lack of rural reform, funds wasted on nuclear development) waste American resources.

- Lifeboat Ethics: "Lock our cupboards" - an opinion which stresses a policy of "non-sharing" (that is, allowing those now starving to die) so that more may live in the future - a decision of short-term inhumanity for long-term humanity.

- "Triage" - a method of allocating food aid to only those nations we decide should be aided.

In the long term the food-deficit nations must produce much more of their own food. Today they are short about 20 million tons of grain (enough to feed 100 million people for a year). Extending today's patterns of consumption and production to 1985, they would need 85 million tons - more than we could transport even if we wanted to. As the old proverb says, "Give me a fish and I'll eat for a day. Give me a fishing pole and teach me to use it and I'll feed myself." So how can we help their food production and populations come into balance?

Recipient nations are also part of the problem with their lack of social reforms to improve the lot of their own poor people. (e. g. land reform and an end to corruption.) How can the probability that these reforms will be instituted be increased?

And if we do "lock our cupboards", consider the alternatives: revolutions, fall of democracies, trade interruptions and instabilities, and wars over increasingly scarce resources in a world of spreading nuclear weapons. In our interdependent world, our security depends on their security. How can the security of both be enhanced?

3. ANTI-IMPERIALISM: The villains here are the wealthy and well-fed who are "responsible" for the poverty and hunger of the poor. Economic exploitation, political manipulation, "cultural imperialism", military intervention and population control are seen as tools of imperialism. This view calls for a radical redistribution of wealth on the planet. The variations:

- Violent revolution to end imperialism and capitalism. Proposed solutions such as land reform blunt the revolutionary impulse. The unrest caused by the hunger crisis is an opportunity to speed the ultimate revolution to achieve a world free of imperialism, and therefore, without conflict.

- International trade reform needed to stop discrimination against the developing nations.

- The U. S. should reduce overconsumption of the earth's resources.

- U. S. technology to aid development, but free of strings of politics and multinational corporations.

- The U. S., as the world's main food producer, should carry the burden of feeding the world's hungry.

What were basic grievances that led to previous revolutions? How could these grievances be satisfied nonviolently? How can the rich-poor gap be closed peacefully? How can multinational corporations be encouraged to promote food production in poor countries rather than cash crops for export? How can the U. S. help poor nations to develop? What should the U. S. do to help feed the world's hungry? How can our overconsumption and waste be cut without adversely affecting our nutritional intake or general health?

4. LET THE OIL-PRODUCERS PAY: This approach recognizes the terrible cost in human lives that the oil price has inflicted on the Fourth World - countries with few resources to generate foreign exchange. The import bill for these nations rose from $3 to 12 billion during 1974: more than all the foreign aid they received from all sources. Let the newly rich oil producers use some of their billions to compensate for the damage caused. Let them pay for the grain the U. S. could send.

The policies of the oil-producing countries are obviously part of the problem, along with the policies of the other rich nations and the internal policies of the recipient countries. Then how do we engage the oil-producers in the global effort needed to solve the problem of world famine?

5. TRADITIONAL DIPLOMACY: Bilateral and multilateral programs of emergency and long-term development aid are worked out through extensive and laborious negotiation.

It takes place in the context of nations relying primarily on military power and aid for security. This context leads to a misuse of foreign aid (for example, 45% of the 1972 U. S. Food for Peace shipments went to Indochina, where few were starving, and then was sold to secure money for arms; most Arab aid goes to countries bordering Israel; and almost all Soviet aid goes to her allies or to acquire diplomatic concessions). Mistrust abounds and prevents the global cooperation needed to reduce or eliminate famine, and the huge amounts spent on armaments also limit the extent of aid.

Traditional diplomacy has prevented some starvation and has aided development, yet millions died from malnutrition-related diseases during 1974, and more millions will perish during 1975 unless more aid is forthcoming. Is traditional diplomacy adequate to deal with the world food crisis? How can the trust be created which will enable more cooperation and a decrease in world military expenditures?

6. FUNCTIONALISM: The focus is on specific goals through transnational functional cooperation in areas where common needs are so compelling that progress is thought to be possible without elaborate inter-governmental arrangements. Non-governmental organizations in this and other countries and the work of several international agencies related to the U. N. are cases in point.

The argument for this approach carries a great deal of weight - unless it focuses exclusively on functionalism as the only means to deal with the problem.

More than simple functional cooperation is needed. International (that is, inter-governmental structures and processes are essential for two reasons:

- It is only governments which have the power and control of sufficient recources to make the real difference, and
- a result of the earth's increasing interdependence is that conflicts over scarce resources are increasing, and therefore, international processes and institutions are needed to create a world order where these conflicts would be resolved without the mass violence of war. How can these alternatives to war be strengthened?

ANOTHER APPROACH attempts to synthesize the answers to the above questions into a comprehensive strategy of short and long term steps to create a viable world food security system.

It views the problem of world hunger as a symptom of a fundamental lack in the world community - a lack of common will and commitment which could sustain a world order capable of dealing with the problem. It recognizes that the changes needed must come in the attitudes and policies of all nations, rich and poor, because no nation or group of nations are not part of the problem. It regards traditional diplomatic efforts to negotiate agreement on common policy as valuable but inadequate, and it asserts that significantly greater progress will depend on the willingness of some nation to take limited but dramatic unilateral steps designed to move other nations toward agreement on an agenda for common action.

V. How can the United States help to resolve the problem of world hunger?

The United States, by virtue of its wealth, power and humanitarian traditions, has a particular opportunity and responsibility to lead in the global fight against famine. The U. S. could undertake initiatives: to engage other food producers in sending more food aid; to persuade other wealthy nations to help pay for the food and development aid, and to enable and encourage the poor nations to begin the rural reform and development they so vitally need to bring their food production and population into balance.

The enclosed proposals (section IV) outline short term steps to alleviate the present crisis and long term steps to help poorer nations increase their food security.

VI. What is the role of the individual citizen?

A. In general, the role of the citizen is to determine the context and direction of policy within which the experts operate. For example, it is not our responsibility to insure that grain sent to a port is not lost to rats or corruption - that is up to the experts. But it is our responsibility to say, "Yes, we should send grain to help feed starving people."

B. Citizens can do their part to help make more food available for aid and to turn their concerns and efforts into political action. (See "What Can I Do?")

C. Citizen support is needed for leadership offered.

We are faced with this situation: Some members of the U. S. government have proposed, during and after the World Food Conference, a number of steps which, if taken, could mean the difference between life and death for millions of human beings. There is disagreement within the Administration and Congress over how far to go. One thing that could make a crucial difference would be a show of significant public support for American policy initiatives. But it is unlikely that much will happen very fast. Why?

In this case, it will not be simply a failure of leadership, but also a failure of support for leadership offered. Most citizens are either not informed or are misinformed. Many will say that the whole problem is a hopeless mess - why invest energy and resources in trying to solve it? Others will find some evidence that it's all a hoax meant to put a facade of good intentions over the "real" problem of American imperialism. We'll hear again the argument that what is proposed is not nearly enough - hardly worth bothering with. Still others will argue that we've got enough economic problems of our own - why should we aggravate them in order to bail other nations out of their troubles?

A generalized current of cynicism, apathy, frustration and confusion accounts for the "undecided" votes. Some will reaffirm the possibility that something can be done - by becoming informed on the issues and acting to turn their concerns and efforts into political action.

VII. Will you be part of that reaffirmation?

III. Obstacles and Problems

Most of the preceding perspectives call for some level of contribution by the U. S. to overcome world hunger. There are, however, a number of obstacles to a successful contribution which those committed to action need to consider. The following summaries briefly state an obstacle or problem.

1. External aid inhibits internal reform. Internal reform in developing countries is the first prerequisite of a long term development program.

External aid can inhibit internal reform in several ways. It can do so by supporting corrupt governments which consume the indigenous resources which if properly managed would resolve the national food and development problem. It can also do so by decreasing the need to modernize traditional food production patterns to meet rising national population growth. For example, a pasture land could be converted to grain crops, thereby increasing greatly the food resource.

2. External aid damages the ecology and in the long run may kill larger numbers of people than is likely without outside intervention.

Projects which do not take account of the complex of environmental factors called the ecology often do do more harm than good. Herds of cattle introduced into hilly regions may cause erosion. Pesticides introduced into new areas may kill off natural parasites, thus creating an ecological imbalance. There are secondary and even tertiary effects to any change in a country's agricultural system.

3. Population control and reduction is the first prerequisite of any attack on world hunger.

The long term increase in the earth's population is clearly one of the factors putting pressure on the world's food resources. Given the lack of agreement at the World Population Conference, a U. S. commitment of aid, in effect, says that other nations can continue their rapid population growth.

4. People do not live by bread alone.

A decent life requires more than food. It requires space, decent housing, educational facilities, a modest standard of living - all of which require energy and energy utilization creates pollution. When the total requirements of a decent life are considered, and what is required to produce it, it is clear that few people in this country or elsewhere would be willing to make the necessary sacrifices.

5. For success, any program takes time. The international relations public is seldom attentive to any issue for more than six months. Then it is either forgotten or translated into domestic politics.

The dangers of postponing an attempt to deal with world hunger are real. Some of the grim choices forecast in the perspective section will have to be faced in worse circumstances if a modest program is successful now. So it is best to give lip service to the problem of world hunger now, but not to make a major effort. Any such effort will be undercut when public interest turns away, and keeping 250 million people alive for six months so they can become 300 million people and then starve is immoral.

6. Domestic poverty takes precedence.

Domestic poverty may be relative compared to the absolute poverty of developing nations, but it exists, is real and should be eliminated first. How can you advocate sending food abroad when people here are in need of food?

7. What right have we to play God?

Most measures of economic aid or even the export of grain, determine arbitrarily who shall pay for a program and who shall receive it. If we ship grain abroad, and are not prepared to ship it to everyone, we set ourselves up as the arbiter of other people's lives. If we send food only to the starving, then those who have food but little else are likely to be angry because we did not give them the same amount. It is, in fact, a thankless task in a situation in which no clear principles, other than the market, exist to decide who gets what.

8. We don't know how.

We have been trying for many years to sustain economic growth and have failed. We should learn from our failures that the problem is too complex to be resolved.

9. The pipeline is too long to be certain that what comes out at the other end resembles what we put in at this end.

We do not have administrative control over other countries distribution of aid and thus often end up, as one cynic put it, taxing poor people in rich countries to give to rich people in poor countries.

10. Non-interference in other cultures.

Every society has developed a culture adjusted to its environment and should not be interfered with. Every outside form of aid constitutes interference in the distribution of goods and services, in consumption patterns, in the distribution of status and so on. The attempt to make the world over in the United States' self-image is wrong. A short life expectancy is small enough price to pay for a rural, non-technological, poll tion-free existence.

11. Save yourself.

My contribution to the fight against world hunger is to take care of myself. When everyone else takes care of themselves the war will be over without even having to create an army.

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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Crisis in Food

The present world food crisis, originating from a combination of long-term problems and temporary setbacks, became critical with surprising suddenness in 1972. For the first time in more than 20 years, the output of food in the world declined. World production of cereals (wheat, coarse grains, and rice) fell by a staggering 33 million tons when an estimated annual increase of 25 million tons was needed to meet rising world demand.

Adverse weather was mainly to blame for lower production in the U.S.S.R., China, India, Australia, Sahelian Africa, and Southeast Asia. Many countries were forced to import food. The situation was such that the U.S.S.R. entered the world market for the first time to make major purchases of grain. Wheat reserves of the main exporting countries fell from 60 million tons in 1970 to 22 million tons in 1974, and stocks in many importing countries were also sharply reduced. Rice reserves were virtually exhausted.

One significant result was the skyrocketing of food prices. Consumers everywhere have been hit hard by the inflation of food prices, but none have been dealt a more devastating blow than the people in the developing countries. They, who are often poor to begin with, now must spend between 70 and 80 percent of their income on food.

While the precipitous turn in the world food situation was caused mainly by the disastrous weather in 1972, a most unusual coincidence of events compounded the effects on prices, trade, and payments. Through early 1974 the unprecedented economic boom in the developed countries led to a highly buoyant demand for commodities. Worldwide inflation, which has been a major economic problem in the industrial nations, continued to grow and brought with it increased monetary instability and speculative activities.

In 1973 two other elements in the present crisis—fertilizers and energy—burst onto the scene. A cyclical production shortfall has characterized the fertilizer market since the end of 1972. The quadrupling of petroleum prices in late 1973 added to the shortage as petroleum is an important base for chemical fertilizers. The high price of fuel affected the cost of running the farm machinery so important and necessary to modern agriculture. Again, the developing countries, which were making commendable progress in the expansion of fertilizer use, were faced with a most serious problem.

THE FOOD PROBLEM IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD

In spite of difficulties, developing countries had increased their agricultural output in the 1950's and 1960's at a slightly higher rate than the developed countries. In many of these countries this remarkable achievement reflected dramatic and effective application of technology. But the 3.5 percent rate of growth of food demand—primarily due to population increase—outstripped the growth of supply. In contrast food supply and demand in the developed countries have been relatively constant, both increasing at 2.5 percent per annum.

Agricultural production in many developing countries has not matched the growth in demand for many reasons. Some of them can be identified by comparing production performance with the Food and Agriculture Organization's (FAO) Indicative World Plan for Agricultural Development (IWP) objectives for 1970-85. For instance with

the exception of Africa, even though the amount of arable land has expanded faster than the 0.7 percent per annum IWP norm, improvement in land productivity has lagged. This is due to a variety of factors which include the slow expansion rate of land under irrigation, the poor use of available water, the failure to extend the area under high-yielding varieties of rice, the reduction of fertilizer use because of the worldwide shortage and high prices, and the lag in growth of meat and egg production due to the scarcity of feed grains.

Thus, for these and other reasons, the developing countries were unable to meet the rise in domestic food demand, and they had to turn to importing more food in spite of higher prices. For many developing countries the food problem became in addition a balance-of-payments problem.

Delays in agrarian reform still plague many countries. And even where action has been taken, frequently the administration of the reform and the follow-up measures fail to meet the needs. This is especially true for the smaller cultivators. In too many countries, agricultural credit and extension continue to be directed almost exclusively to the larger farmers, and insufficient attempts are made to help the small farmers organize themselves into cooperatives. Furthermore agricultural pricing policies have not always provided sufficient incentive to the farmers, and in some cases have proved detrimental.

There have been parallel disappointments in development assistance. Volume has fallen far short of the targets set up in several intergovernmental assemblies. Although in money terms the annual value of development assistance from developed countries increased significantly between 1961 and 1972, in real (purchasing power) terms the increase was negligible.

In addition to the accumulating food production and food assistance problems there is the equally vital issue of the nutritional adequacy of the food supplies within countries. In the developing countries malnutrition is estimated to affect some 400 million people; a less conservative definition might double that figure. This is not just a cold statistic. It describes the daily physical privation of fellow human beings—a privation that adversely affects health and physical growth and seriously reduces the capacity of children to learn and adults to work. Within families it is the children and women who suffer most because they receive the lesser share of the available food in order to maintain the wage earner's capacity to work.

THE WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE

Confirmed in office as Secretary of State only 2 days earlier, Henry Kissinger appeared before the U.N. General Assembly on September 24, 1973, to pledge our country's faith in fundamental human rights in a global community and to call for a World Food Conference to be held under U.N. auspices during 1974. He stated that the quality of life was taking on a more urgent significance as world food reserves were being reduced to dangerously low levels and that even bumper crops might not be able to rebuild them in this decade. He asked that all nations gather to harness their efforts to meet the hunger and malnutrition resulting from natural disasters, and he proposed that the nations in a position to do so offer technical assistance in the conservation of food.

The United Nations responded on December 17, 1973, by adopting a resolution to convene the first World Food Conference in history. Preceeded by three preparatory sessions in February, June, and September-October, the conference itself was held in Rome November 5-16, 1974. One hundred and thirty-three nations sent their representatives, as did six liberation movements, various offices of the United Nations, and other intergovernmental organizations. There were also 700 representatives of nongovernmental organizations, such as CARE, Church World Service, Catholic Relief Service, and the American Freedom from Hunger Foundation.

Although the preparations for the conference had stressed the necessity for long-term solutions to the food crisis, conditions in large areas of the world—India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Tanzania, and Sahelian Africa—had so deteriorated that considerable discussion was devoted to short-term problems. While they could not be solved by the conference, they served to point up the urgency of the crisis in food, the twin problems of hunger and malnutrition, and the interdependence of world consumers and producers.

The Challenge

U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim opened the conference, calling it the last of the great conferences and debates which made 1974 a year of unprecedented U.N. activity in the economic sphere. He stated that while food is not the only major economic and social problem in the

world today, it is without question the most immediately important.

The principal stress of the conference was directed to finding ways to prevent a global food crisis in the future. The current population increase is primarily taking place in the poorer countries and, unless they dramatically increase their own food production, they will face grain deficits which could be, according to FAO estimates, as high as 85 million tons within 10 years. Such quantities cannot be transported and distributed adequately and, even if they could, the cost to the importing nations would be between $16-20 billion a year.

Avoiding this crisis will require imaginative political leadership. All nations will have to make agriculture a major national priority: Money and attention will have to be given to expand credit facilities for small farmers, better marketing arrangements will have to be made, and policies that will provide greater incentives to food producers need to be devised and implemented. Speakers addressing the conference called upon all nations to formulate medium- and long-term strategies in order to increase substantially food production with emphasis placed on the developing countries. To prevent drift in the future, international monitoring procedures will have to be established.

The untapped potential of world agriculture could prevent the present crisis from recurring, but only if a sustained effort is made to answer the world food problems of the future—10 or 20 or 50 years from now—through years of plenty as well as in years of tight supply. It was impressed on the delegates that they could no longer let concern over hunger wax and wane with the rise and fall in world production.

U.S. Proposals

In addressing the delegates at the World Food Conference Secretary of State Kissinger pointed out that during the last 3 years, world cereal production had fallen and world food reserves had dropped to a point where significant crop failure could spell a major disaster. Hundreds of millions of people do not get enough to eat for decent and productive lives, he added, and, with world population projected to double by the end of the century, it is clear that although we must meet this food need, the population growth cannot continue indefinitely. The conference, according to the Secretary, was facing problems in three major areas—increasing production to keep pace with population trends, improving distribution from countries with a surplus to countries with a shortage, and raising the level of food reserves.

The U.S. plan of action called for a comprehensive program on five fronts to deal with these problems.

Increased Production by Food Exporters. Exporting countries must begin by adjusting their agricultural policies to the concept that there is no surplus so long as there is an unmet need. The major exporting countries must rapidly expand their production potential and seek to insure the dependable long-term growth of their supplies.

Accelerated Production in Developing Countries. Fortunately the nations with the most rapidly growing food deficits also possess the greatest capacity for increased production. They have the largest amounts of unused land and water and more under-utilized land. For example, while they now have 35 percent more of their land in grain production than the developed countries, they produce 20 percent less from this land. To increase their production, major emphasis needs to be placed in two key areas—new research and new investment. Yields must be increased and losses reduced. As much as 15 percent of a country's production is sometimes lost after harvesting due to rodents, insects, and fungi. The use of pesticides and proper storage could substantially reduce these losses.

Improving Food Distribution and Financing. The food import requirements of the developing countries are rising steadily. As they rise the foreign exchange required to pay for them increases correspondingly. How can the cost of imports be met? The principal source, of course, is from their earnings, but obviously that is not enough. The industrialized nations can help by improving access to their markets through generalized tariff reductions. But, in addition, continued food aid will clearly be necessary.

Enhancing Food Quality. In developed countries serious health problems are caused by the wrong kinds and amounts of foods. In developing countries the problem is magnified. Even if massive gains in production were made they could not erase the scourge of malnutrition. Our knowledge of global nutrition is appalling. A global nutrition surveillance system and new methods for combating malnutrition need particular attention.

Insuring Against Food Emergencies. The present food crisis has brought home the grave vulner-

ability 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, particularly the United States, to maintain the necessary reserves. But these reserves no longer exist, and it will be hard to build them up despite an all-out effort by U.S. farmers and the removal of virtually all of our restrictions on production. A worldwide reserve of as much as 60 million tons of food above present carryover levels may be needed to assure adequate food security.

Secretary Kissinger concluded his address to the conference with a solemn plea to the delegates:

> "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."

World Food Conference Resolutions

Focusing its efforts on the long-term picture, the conference adopted a total of 20 resolutions and ended its deliberations with a Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger and Malnutrition, which stated in part 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. . . . 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."*

The resolutions, while not all of equal importance, covered all possible aspects of the world food problem. In addition to the major areas of concentration discussed in the following section, they included: A call for a world soil charter and land capability assessment; scientific management of irrigation, drainage, and flood control; the achievement of a desirable balance between population and food supply by improving food production and distribution and supporting rational population policies in accordance with national needs; greater production of pesticides for use in developing countries, as well as continuing research into their uses; increased control of the tsetse fly in Africa; and a call upon all Governments to cooperate in promoting a steady and increasing expansion and liberalization of world trade with special reference to food products.

The conference recognized the important role that women in the world must play if the present tragedy of starvation and malnutrition for uncounted millions is not to continue. Rural women in the developing world account for at least 50 percent of food production, and it is obvious that mothers are responsible for the health of future generations. With this in mind the conference called on all Governments to involve women in decisions on food production, nutrition policies, social services, agricultural technology, marketing, and distribution.

MAJOR AREAS OF CONCENTRATION

The major resolutions, and those on which primary action has been concentrated since the conference, could be divided into seven categories.

The World Food Council

One of the central problems in developing a coherent and cohesive worldwide food program concerns the coordination of follow-up activities and institutional responsibilities. The conference, in recommending the establishment of a World Food Council, stated that improved institutional arrangements were needed to increase world food production, to safeguard world food security, to improve world food trade, and to insure that timely action is taken to meet the threat of acute food shortages or famines in the different developing regions. It called on the U.N. General Assembly to create the council from member Governments. Before the General Assembly concluded its 1974 session in mid-December, it had approved the formation of the council, 36 countries had been elected as members, and John Hannah (Deputy Secretary General of the World Food Conference and former Administrator of the Agency for International Development) had been named Executive Director of its staff. The council's principal function will be to focus high-level attention on the world food problem and to review and coordinate action in all food policy areas. It will hold its inaugural session in late June 1975.

Food Production

The conference placed its strongest emphasis on the acceleration of food production in both developed and developing countries. This will necessitate a drastic change in present farm policy. World agriculture will have to be given priority access to scarce resources, and farmers will have to

be given adequate incentives to produce. In far too many countries the incentives do not exist, because prices are set at unremunerative levels, credit is unavailable, and transportation and distribution facilities are inadequate. Significant amounts of money also will have to be allocated for agricultural research and for fertilizer and machinery.

The developed countries and other food-exporting nations will have to increase their efforts to produce more and, where possible, to put more land into cultivation. The United States, as the major grain producing and exporting country, has taken sweeping steps to expand its output to the maximum and already has 167 million acres under grain production alone—an increase of 23 million acres from 2 years ago. We are ready to join with other exporters in a common commitment to raise production and make necessary investments.

The Consultative Group on Food Production and Investment

To accelerate food production in the developing world the conference adopted the U.S. proposal to establish a Consultative Group on Food Production and Investment under the auspices of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), FAO, and the U.N. Development Program (UNDP). The U.N. Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and the General Assembly approved the consultative group and Ambassador Edwin M. Martin, the Vice Chairman of the U.S. Delegation to the World Food Conference, was selected as chairman.

The consultative group will lay out a detailed strategy to encourage larger investments in food production, coordinate the activities of various donors, and insure more effective use of available resources. Consultations with prospective members of the group are underway; the initial response of both the traditional donor countries of North America, Western Europe, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand and the new potential donors from among the oil-exporting countries has been positive. The recipient developing countries are in the process of selecting their representation, and a first meeting of the group is being planned for July 1975.

The United States believes that outside investment should be concentrated in certain strategic areas. In many instances the application of existing, and in some cases very simple, technologies should suffice. This is particularly true in the process of food production, fertilizers, and pesticides and in providing for better storage facilities.

The conference recognized that modern fertilizers were one of the most important single factors in increasing production. In Resolution III, it requested the FAO Commission on Fertilizers, in collaboration with the U.N. member states and other international organizations, to undertake urgently a study of long-term fertilizer supply and demand. The objective will be to avoid cyclical imbalances, to help insure that prices are stabilized at reasonable levels, and to enable developing countries to obtain the fertilizers needed for their food and agricultural production.

Fertilizer production is an ideal area for collaboration between wealthier and poorer nations. Here the technology of the developed countries, the capital and raw materials of the oil producers, and the growing needs of the least-developed countries can be readily combined. New fertilizer industries, especially in the developing countries, will help meet long-term local and regional needs.

The United States in its investment and assistance programs will strongly support regional fertilizer policies geared to encourage additional production. Furthermore we offer to share our advanced technology with the rest of the world. We are already working jointly with Canada at the newly opened Fertilizer Development Center in Muscle Shoals, Alabama.

A resolution calling for the establishment of a Global Information and Early Warning System on Food and Agriculture was passed. All nations were invited to participate in the program due to begin in 1975. In the beginning the system will concentrate on providing crop reports on basic foods, particularly grains. Later a wider range of commodities may be covered.

The conference recommended the strengthening of international assistance to the FAO Seed Industry Development Program in order to increase national seed production and utilization. The Governments of developing countries were also urged to make resource and educational commitments to include the use of quality seeds in their national agricultural development plans.

International Fund for Agricultural Development

A new International Fund for Agricultural Development, which would receive voluntary contributions and disburse loans through existing international or regional lending institutions, was

another recommendation of the conference. Proposed by the oil-producing nations, the fund is designed to bring together all nations which are prepared to contribute additional resources, over some agreed base year, to agricultural developments.

U.N. Secretary General Waldheim met with interested Governments in Geneva May 5-6, 1975, to discuss the fund, and it was decided that an ad hoc working group will meet in the summer of 1975 to examine the practical details involved.

The United States supports the fund and will participate in creating it. We believe that its resources should total at least $1 billion a year.

Food and Agricultural Research

The conference placed a high priority on increased agricultural and fisheries production through research. The Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research, whose resources will be substantially enlarged, will follow up on this effort.

The United States pledged to triple—from $33.5 million in fiscal year 1974 to $100 million in 1980—its financial support for domestic and international agricultural research programs. This will benefit primarily the small-scale and inexperienced farmers of the developing countries, for it is on their plots that the greatest percentage of yield increase is possible.

The United States has also promised to share with developing countries the results of its advanced research into the following areas—increasing the protein content of common cereals, fortifying staple foods with inexpensive nutrients, improving plant fixation of atmospheric nitrogen to reduce the need for costly fertilizers, and developing new, lower-cost tools and machines scaled for the world's millions of small farmers.

A new dimension in predicting food supplies and threatened shortages by satellite is being tried this year by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) and the Departments of Agriculture and Commerce. The project is called the Large Area Crop Inventory Experiment (LACIE) and in the beginning will concentrate on wheat growing in North America.

Data received from the satellites will be analyzed with the assistance of computers to identify the crops and integrate the sample areas into an overall acreage estimate. If the program is successful during the first year, the plan is to extend it to other regions and ultimately to other crops.

Food Security

The conference endorsed the FAO draft resolution for an International Undertaking on World Food Security to study the problem of grain reserves. It also recommended that FAO establish a Committee on World Food Security—which the United States has agreed to join—to review supply, demand, and food stock information and to recommend short-term policy actions to be taken by individual Governments.

The United States proposed that a group composed of the principal grain importing and exporting nations negotiate a detailed agreement on an international system of nationally held grain reserves. At our invitation a group of 10 other major grain importing and exporting countries met in February 1975 in London to discuss the possible elements of an agreement. These included commodity coverage, the size of the total reserve, criteria for distribution of stockholding responsibility among participants, and the rights and obligations of participants. Discussions are continuing in a Preparatory Group of the International Wheat Council [IWC] which will make its progress report to the full IWC in late June.

It is natural that the United States should take the lead in discussing a grain reserves agreement. Since 1972 the United States has provided about 40 percent of world exports of food grains and about 60 percent of feed grains and oil seeds. But after 3 years of worldwide shortages and emergencies, adequate reserves no longer exist. The removal by the United States of all governmental restraints on production will help. Nevertheless the reserve problem requires international cooperation if the world is to avoid future food crises. The responsibility for holding reserve stocks must be spread among all participants. Rules for the accumulation and release of stocks which would prevent sudden price drops must be adopted.

The United States is prepared now to begin negotiations immediately on an agreement to achieve an international system of nationally held reserves based on eight principles.

- First, total world reserves must be large enough to meet potential shortfalls in food grains production.
- Second, grain exporters and importers should

agree on a fair allocation of reserve holdings, taking into account wealth, productive capacity, and volume of trade.

- Third, there should be agreed international rules or guidelines to encourage members to build up reserves in times of good harvest.
- Fourth, each participating country should be free to determine how its reserves will be maintained and what incentives will be provided for their buildup and maintenance.
- Fifth, rules or guidelines should be agreed for the drawdown of reserves, triggered by shortfalls in world production. There must be a clear presumption that all members will make reserves available when needed and, conversely, that reserves will not be released prematurely or excessively, thereby depressing market prices.
- Sixth, in times of shortage the system must assure access to supplies for participating countries.
- Seventh, there must be special provisions to meet the needs of the poorer countries.
- Finally, the system must encourage expanded and liberalized trade in grains.

The United States is prepared to hold an important part of an agreed level of these world reserves. If the other exporters and importers join us in negotiating such a system, the outline of the international reserves agreement could be completed before the end of 1975.

But supplies alone do not guarantee man's food requirements. The resolution on improving global nutrition was based on the conference's determination to accept the goal that within a decade no human being's physical and mental capacities should be stunted by malnutrition. It asked ECOSOC to make recommendations as to whether rearrangements in the U.N. system, or new institutions, might be needed to survey the food and nutrition conditions of disadvantaged groups. ECOSOC was also asked to examine current nutritional activities in the United Nations, FAO, the World Health Organization (WHO), and the U.N. International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF).

To fight malnutrition the United States invited FAO, WHO, and UNICEF to arrange an internationally coordinated program in applied nutritional research. The program would set priorities, identify the best centers for research, and generate the necessary funding. The United States has pledged funds for this and also to fight two of the most prevalent and blighting effects of malnutrition—Vitamin A blindness and iron-deficiency anemia. We have also announced a substantial increase in the U.S. contribution to food programs designed to eliminate malnutrition.

Food Aid

The conference recognized that, while the ultimate solution to food shortages in developing countries lies only in increased production, during the interim food aid will continue to be needed for meeting emergency and nutritional needs and for stimulating rural employment through development projects. It therefore adopted an annual global food aid target of 10 million tons to meet minimum needs. This is about double the present level of international commitments of food grains; often, however, these levels are exceeded, as they are certain to be during 1975. Consultations among food aid donors to determine how this target will be met are expected to begin shortly. Positive action was taken in March on the conference recommendation to improve the coordination of food aid programs by reconstituting the governing body of the U.N./FAO World Food program as the Committee on Food Aid Policies and Programs. The newly reconstituted committee has the responsibility of reviewing and recommending improved coordination between bilateral and multilateral food aid programs, in addition to continuing to guide operations of the World Food Program.

For much of this decade, while the recommendations of the World Food Conference are being implemented, the two traditional aid programs of the United States will be essential in covering the gap in the food needs of the developing countries.

The U.S. economic assistance program is aimed at providing developing countries with the technical and financial capacity to expand per capita production. Since the unrealized productive capacity of small farmers offers the best opportunity the Agency for International Development (AID) is focusing its efforts on the small farmer and the rural poor. Congress has appropriated $300 million in fiscal year 1975 for economic assistance in the areas of food production, rural development, and nutrition.

The other pillar of our food policy is the food aid program. In support of the World Food Conference target of 10 million tons of food aid annually President Ford announced in February that the

United States was increasing its fiscal year 1975 food aid program by 60 percent. The budget for commodity purchases is $1.5 billion. This represents over 5 million tons of food. In fiscal year 1976 we expect to program about 6 million tons.

CONCLUSION

Perhaps the greatest contribution made by the World Food Conference was in identifying food as a problem which cannot be resolved either by the United States alone, or by the developed countries in combination. It pointed up once again the interdependence of the world and the need for continuing global action in the interest of survival.

World reaction to the conference was mixed. But in general, the consensus was that the delegates had achieved considerable success in working together on the long-term solutions to the food crisis. The United States is lending full support to the follow-up activities. We consider the consultative groups and the grain reserve negotiations to be of central importance if we are to resolve the food crisis.

The United States is at the center of action to meet the world food problems. This is as it should be. We have the most advanced agricultural technology; we are the world's leading exporter of basic foodstuffs; and we are the principal supplier of food aid.

Experts are optimistic about man's ability to improve the rate of increase in food output in developing countries. But success won't be achieved overnight. The transformations required in habits of work, in technology, and in the economic and social institutions of many hundreds of millions of people will inevitably take many years. Meanwhile the United States has an obligation to do what it can to enable these developing countries to raise their nutrition levels.

It is possible to produce enough food, but distributing it fairly among people with widely differing needs and incomes will be another matter. This may make difficult the redemption of Secretary Kissinger's bold pledge that by 1985 no child will go to bed hungry or malnourished. It will require, in addition to our concentration on food needs, starting now to slow the growth in the number of people dependent on each acre of arable land and each ton of fresh water and fuel.

The effort must be global. It will involve the other exporting countries and traditional food donors with whom we have a broad policy consensus; the developing countries with whom we must establish an improved framework for cooperation; and the oil-exporting countries with whom we must build recognition that sufficient food is equal in importance to sufficient energy. Only a sustained effort reflecting the realities of interdependence is likely to succeed. It is a worthy and necessary challenge that must be met.

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B. Resolutions Adopted by the World Food Conference

The World Food Conference adopted twenty-two resolutions covering a wide range of programs and policies. The following list summarizes these resolutions. A brief indication of the major points is also included.

I. Objectives and Strategies of Food Production. The food conference set a minimum of 4% per annum as a reasonable target for the increase of agricultural production.

II. Asks countries to give Priority to Agricultural and Rural Development. The conference recognized a variety of models for agricultural and rural development and indicated that no single model is transferable to all regions.

III. Fertilizers. The conference proposed establishing an International Fertilizer Supply Scheme.

IV. Food and Agricultural Research, Extension and Training. Proposes a transfer of agricultural technology to developing countries consistent with problems of ecological damage and existing land tenure problems.

V. Improve Nutrition. This resolution calls for a global nutrition surveillance system established under the U. N. Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), World Health Organization (WHO) and UNICEF and asks for supplemental funds to aid in feeding malnourished children now.

VI. World Soil Charter and Land Capability Assessment. Urges study of the problem of putting more land to cultivation, mindful of the potential soil erosion and other soil degradation factors and calls for the FAO to establish a World Soil Charter.

VII. Scientific Water Management. Calls for a variety of measures for the controlled use and management of water resources as in irrigation, drainage and flood control projects.

VIII. Women and Food. The resolution calls for the full participation of women in planning national food policies and for training in nutritious preparation of food. It calls for equal rights and responsibilities of men and women in the battle against world hunger.

IX. Achievement of a Desirable Balance between Population and Food. The proposal calls for "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"

X. Pesticides. This resolution calls for developing countries to be facilitated in acquiring pesticides and equipment and advice on their efficient and safe use and also asks for a study of cultural and biological controls of pests and residual effects of pesticides.

XI. African Animal Trypanosomiasis. This calls for an immediate FAO unit to establish pilot projects and for a long term program to control Trypanosomiasis - which, if successful, would significantly increase the size of livestock herds in much of Africa.

XII. Seed Industry Development. Urges increased utilization of high quality seed and the education of farmers in their use and asks for safeguards against diseases and the establishment of reserve stocks.

XIII. International Fund for Agricultural Development. This resolution calls for a voluntary fund designed to increase international and regional agencies' ability to improve production and to facilitate distribution of foods and to coordinate urgent measures.

XIV. Reduction of Military Expenditures for Increasing Food Production. It calls for a reduction of military expenditures on behalf of development.

XV. Food Aid to Victims of Colonial Wars in Africa. Requests that the FAO intensify food aid to Portugal's previous colonies in compensation for Portugal's depriving these areas of past assistance and to "compensate for the manifold damage arising out of the struggles for national liberation".

XVI. Global Information and Early-Warning System on Food and Agriculture. Requests that all governments participate in a system to provide current information and forecasts on crop conditions to anticipate food needs and resources available to meet them.

XVII. International Undertaking on World Food Security. Calls for maintaining adequate grain reserves under FAO auspices.

XVIII. An Improved Policy for Food Aid. Calls for an increased interim World Food Program to meet the immediate crisis.

XIX. International Trade, Stabilization and Agricultural Adjustment. This calls for the "progressive reeducation or abolition of obstacles to trade".

XX. Payment of Travel Costs and Other Related Expenses to Representatives of National Liberation Movements. Asks the General Assembly to pay these bills.

XXI. Expresses thanks to the hosts and recognizes the gravity of the world food situation.

XXII. Follow-up Action:

1. Calls upon the General Assembly to establish a World Food Council
2. Calls upon the FAO to establish a Committee on World Food Security
3. Recommends the restructuring of the World Food Programme to enable it to evolve and coordinate short-term and longer-term food aid policies.
4. Recommends an International Fund for Agricultural Development Governing Board to submit information to the World Food Council.
5. Asks the FAO Commission on Fertilizers to carry-out the World Food Conferences resolution on Fertilizer.
6. Requests the FAO to follow-up on the Global Information System and Early Warning System on Food and Agriculture.
7. Requests other specified U. N. and specialized agencies to act on other recommendations.

This is a summary of the "Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger and Malnutrition" adopted by the World Food Conference, November 16, 1974. The full text is reprinted in Hunger and Diplomacy: A Perspective on the U. S. Role at the World Food Conference, U. S. Senate Committee on Agriculture and Foresty, Subcommittee on Foreign Agricultural Policy, U. S. Government Printing Office, $1.80, pp. 58-94.

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, 345 East 46th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017

FACT SHEET

ENOUGH FOR ALL: THE WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE

FACT SHEET 15 **March 1975**

The idea of convening an international meeting on food was first suggested in 1972 at the Third UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), endorsed in September 1973 at the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Algiers, and formally proposed again by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in his address to the 28th General Assembly. By the time the World Food Conference convened in Rome in November 1974, the global food situation had become the worst in history. The Conference, attended by 130 nations, was in the words of Sayed A. Marei, the Secretary-General of the Conference, "an historic advance toward political solutions of the world food problem." It is generally agreed, however, that the Conference is only a beginning in the long and expensive process of insuring adequate food supplies for all.

THE DIMENSIONS OF THE CRISIS

By 1974, following bad harvests in China and the Soviet Union and a series of natural disasters in Africa and the subcontinent of Asia, world food reserves had reached their lowest point in 20 years. Food production had decreased by 2%, while total demand was increasing by 30 million tons a year. A report by the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) predicted that at present rates of population growth and food production the developing countries — two-thirds of the world's population — would face a "cereal gap" of 85 million tons by 1985; bad harvests or crop failures in major producing areas could increase this gap to over 100 million tons.

Major contributing factors in the crisis are the population problem, with its steadily increasing pressures on food supplies, and the twin problems of malnutrition and maldistribution of foodstuffs. UN statistics show that despite increases, food production has failed to keep pace with population growth in 54 of the 85 countries for which figures are available, 34 of them developing countries. Paradoxically, more food and better nutrition increase the population and add even greater pressures on food supplies, at least in the short run.

The statistics on malnutrition and consumption patterns are familiar: the US citizen, with his acquired taste for high-priced foods, consumes almost one ton of grain a year, all but 150 pounds consumed in the form of meat, eggs and milk. In the developing countries, per capita grain consumption averages only 400 pounds a year, virtually all of it consumed in cereal form. It takes seven pounds of feed grain to produce one pound of beef; in other words, a steer in a US feed lot eats more grain in three weeks than a person in India eats in a year. Ironically, the "Green Revolution", while increasing production, has tended to discourage cultivation of the lower-yield, high-protein crops necessary for good nutrition. High protein grains have been developed, but are still in the pilot stage.

The effects of the world economic crisis in the wake of the Arab oil embargo have added still further to the food problem. Shortages of fuel and fertilizer and skyrocketing prices of raw materials forced the developing countries to pay approximately $15 billion more for their imports in 1974 than in 1973. The outlook for food supplies is better for 1975, but imports of food will have to be bought with funds which would normally go for fertilizer and other supplies, thus negating efforts to increase food production in just those areas which need it most. Rising world food prices create still more problems: in industrialized countries, the lowest income groups use an average of 30% of their budgets for food; in the developing countries where the percentage can be as high as 80%, even a moderate rise in the price of food may mean no food at all.

With the United States and other major food exporters at the limit of their production capabilities, it is now those countries most in need of food which have the greatest potential for increasing food production. As Mr. Marei observed at the close of the Conference, the primary responsibility for increasing their food supply lies with the developing countries themselves; in many cases this may involve some reordering of national priorities away from industry to the agricultural sector. Estimates indicate that by 1985 the world could be producing 500 million tons more food than it did in 1970, but the problems to be overcome are enormous, ranging from population pressures to inequitable and inefficient use of land to lack of foreign exchange for credit or capital investment. In the Sudan, for example, only 5% of arable land is in use; if only 50% more were utilized, the country could provide up to 30% of the world's wheat requirements. However, this would mean an initial investment of at least $1 billion. Lack of storage and transportation facilities mean that 25% of all food supplies are lost because of spoilage or other damage, while inadequate pest control accounts for an estimated 35% loss of potential crops.

THE RESPONSE IN ROME: HIGHLIGHTS OF THE CONFERENCE

The World Food Council: In its key political action, the World Food Conference recommended the establishment of a World Food Council to supervise and coordinate the work of all international agencies in the field. It cannot authorize any program or policy, but is charged with reporting and making recommendations for action; its two main subcommittees will deal with problems of emergency food aid and maintaining world food reserves. The Council's 36 member states include producer and consumer countries, importers and exporters, developed and developing nations. It includes four of the five permanent members of the Security Council; China, in a potentially severe blow to its future effectiveness, withdrew its name from nomination. The Council was established under a General Assembly resolution, with the first meeting scheduled no later than July 1, 1975. In January 1975 an American, John Hannah, former head of AID and Deputy Secretary-General of the Conference, was named Executive Director of the Council.

Emergency Food Aid: The Conference appeared to be dominated by a dispute over whether long or short-term food needs should take priority. The Conference ultimately approved a three-year plan for increasing food aid to 10 million tons of grain a year, but took no action on the immediate question of the seven to eight million tons needed within nine months of the Conference. The much-publicized meetings on emergency food aid held in Rome at the time were, according to the US delegation, separate from the Conference proceedings. Unofficial sources report that the food gap since then has been cut somewhat, but at great cost: India, for example, with the greatest total need, was forced to use two-thirds of its currency reserves for purchases of food and fertilizer.

Other actions taken by the Conference were intended to place food aid programs on a more solid footing. The UN/FAO World Food Program, established in 1961, was originally designed to channel unwanted surpluses, particularly from the United States, to countries in need. Since the beginning of the economic crisis, however, the sources of both food and funds have become severely limited, slashing the resources of the Program almost in half. As a result, the Conference restructured and strengthened the World Food Program in an effort to improve coordination between bilateral and multilateral food aid programs. Its reorganized Committee on Food Aid Policies and Programs is authorized to report on general trends, requirements and availabilities of food supplies, and to make recommendations on priority allocations.

World Food Security: The concept of food grain stocks held in reserve for use in emergencies was first proposed in early 1973 by A.H. Boerma, head of FAO. Under this system, governments would be asked to maintain stocks as part of an international network of food reserves for both humanitarian purposes and to help prevent unstable economic conditions which further aggravate emergency situations. For example, in 1972, the USSR purchased one fifth of the US wheat supplies following a bad harvest; the result was severe dislocation in world grain markets and further pressure on already diminishing food reserves. The Conference endorsed the concept of world food security and recommended the establishment of "grain reserves to be located at strategic points". As agreed at the Conference, these will be *nationally* held reserves. (In the United States a major point of debate has been whether these reserves should be kept in the hands of the US government or held by commercial grain dealers.) In February 1975, at a meeting called by the United States, representatives of the major importing and exporting countries discussed plans for a 60-million ton, $6 billion emergency grain reserve. Final agreement was deferred, but even the most optimistic predictions indicate that it will take several years to settle the practical details of the system and to build up the projected reserve stocks. Among the major problems will be the absence of China as an active participant in the network and the logistics of obtaining enough ships to carry the grain in emergencies.

Global Food Information and Early Warning System: Termed a "landmark" by Conference Secretary-General Marei, this international clearinghouse will be an essential support mechanism for the food reserve system. It will make periodic reports on projected food and weather conditions in time to take effective action. The focus will be on wheat, rice, coarse grains and soybeans, but also on other food products wherever possible. The system had been intended to include for the first time crop information on all major producing areas, including China and the Soviet Union. China's refusal to participate in the World Food Council, however, puts the effectiveness of the system in some doubt. China still imports two to five million tons of grain per year and would need much more in the event of a poor harvest. The US position has been that countries which do not participate in the system cannot expect to have equal rights to purchase reserves in times of need.

The first report under the early warning system was issued in December 1974, one month after the Conference. The most serious food shortages were found in India, Bangladesh and three countries in sub-Saharan Africa: Mali, Mauritania and Niger. Although the drought there has been broken, these countries are now suffering crop damage from locusts and grasshoppers; ironically, part of Niger's crops were lost because of excessive rain. Predictions of food shortages or bad harvests were also made for 12 other countries.

Weather prediction will be a crucial factor in the success of the system. In spite of improvements in weather satellites, long-range forecasts and reliable and safe weather modification are still in the development stages. Experts believe global climatic conditions are changing and fear serious effects on agriculture but are unsure of how to deal with the problems at this time.

International Fund for Agricultural Development: The major financial achievement of the Conference, the Fund will be the primary mechanism for channeling investment to the developing countries to help increase their financial commitments to food production, storage and distribution and to nutritional and agricultural research. The Conference set a target of $5 billion by 1980 for all agricultural development, but it is not yet certain to what extent the Fund will contribute toward this goal. It will disburse funds through already existing international and regional institutions and report to the World Food Council. During the course of the debate it was made clear that donors to the Fund should include the oil-producing states.

Fertilizers: Shortages of petroleum-based fertilizers, compounded by a price increase of 300% to 400% in the last four years, are viewed as the greatest current obstacles to increasing food production in the developing countries. Although there are fertilizer plants now under construction, they are not expected to be able to meet anticipated requirements for several years. As a result the Conference requested the FAO Commission on Fertilizers to analyze long-term supply and demand trends as well as environmental factors and to develop the "elements of a world fertilizer policy".

Several months prior to the Conference FAO had established a "fertilizer pool", the International Fertilizer Scheme (IFS), to act as an intermediary between countries in need and sources of fertilizer and funds to finance purchases and to increase production facilities in the developing countries. In only three months after it was established the system was operational, and by November 1974 had issued its first report. By then more than 200,000 tons had been earmarked for its use, and a total of $7.2 million in both cash and kind had been contributed. Despite these efforts, however, some countries had been unable to import any fertilizers at all in 1974, and by February 1975, FAO reported a shortage in 33 countries of 337,000 tons of fertilizers worth $184 million, a cost far beyond their means.

Nutrition: Over half the world's population suffers from protein deficiency, including two-thirds of the children in the developing countries. The problem has been a major concern of the international community since 1967, when a UN report urged concerted international action in the field. Since then, virtually all agencies in the UN system have been engaged in some aspect of expanding production and consumption of edible proteins. In an effort to place these activities into a more unified framework, the Conference called for an internationally coordinated program of nutritional research to help speed the closing of the so-called "protein gap".

A major problem has been the difficulty of increasing the supply of animal protein. Careful management of fisheries resources and development of new techniques of "fish farming" are major components in the solution. Increasing cattle production in inland or arid areas is another. For example, in a special program proposed by the Conference, FAO and a consortium of private firms will spend $2 billion in the next 40 years to rid Africa of the tsetse fly, the bearer of *trypanosomiasis*, animal sleeping sickness. This will mean additional production of 1.5 million tons of meat per year.

The most practical substitute for animal protein is vegetable protein, with soybeans considered the best known source. In both the developed and developing countries, however, the main problem has been the inability of agronomists to increase soybean production without increasing acreage. The soybean is not affected by the nitrogenous fertilizers which have resulted in higher yields for other crops.

Other Conference Resolutions: The Conference recommended action on management of water resources, soil conservation, and greater involvement of women in decision making on food and nutritional problems. Resolutions on trade issues were limited in scope; the developing countries had originally wanted more stress placed on trade stabilization and adjustment agreements, but the United States and other developed countries felt that extended discussion of broad trade issues would duplicate efforts and negotiations more appropriate to other forums.

Finally, the Conference adopted a *Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger and Malnutrition,* defining freedom from hunger as an "inalienable right" of all people, and an international responsibility. The Declaration also stated that it is "a fundamental responsibility of governments to work together for higher food production", and stressed the need for "more equitable and efficient distribution of food between countries and within countries".

THE RESPONSE IN WASHINGTON: DELAYED REACTION

Because of its overwhelming predominance as an exporter, the United States holds the key to the ultimate effectiveness of the Conference. So far, concerted US follow-up action has been slow. At the time of the Conference, a request for a US commitment of one million tons in additional food aid was refused by the Administration. Subsequently the US did commit 5.5 million tons of grain, an increase of *two* million tons, but according to some experts, the action came too late to arrange for shipping and distribution before the Congressional authorization runs out at the end of the fiscal year. Part of the delay was caused by debate over an amendment to the foreign aid bill specifying that no more than 30% of food aid be permitted to go to political or non-humanitarian aid. Action was further delayed by a dispute over interpretation of this provision.

In an earlier but related action, US Ambassador John Scali had announced in July 1974 that although US fertilizer plants were operating at or near capacity, the US "will be prepared to increase its concessionary financing of fertilizer purchases in appropriate cases where [the developing country] has been able to find a supplier". This commitment is included in the foreign aid bill for FY 1976 which begins on July 1, 1975, along with requests for increased assistance to agricultural research.

With 5% of the world's population and only 1% of its agricultural force, the United States supplies 44% of all wheat exports, 50% of all feed grains, and produces 15% of the total value of all the world's food. Since 1963, the US has contributed 46% of all food aid and held 85% of the world's grain reserves.

Since 1954, when the tremendous productivity of American agriculture had created burdensome surpluses, US food aid policy has been based on Public Law 480, the "Food for Peace" Act passed to combat hunger and malnutrition and "to promote the foreign policy of the United States". After all domestic needs and commercial export commitments have been filled, PL 480 permits the US, through purchases by the Commodity Credit Corporation, to sell some surpluses at concessionary prices to countries with food shortages (Title I) and to give some food away as grants (Title II). Because of balance of payments problems, inflation and domestic political pressures, US food aid under PL 480 dropped from 18 million tons in 1965 to 4 million tons in 1973. Twenty million people who had previously received aid received none at all in 1974. At the same time, food *sales* reached $18 billion, $7 billion to the developing countries, with total profits estimated at $5 billion.

D. A Five Point Program
by D. Gale Johnson

Only a few years ago there were those who thought that the rapid spread of the new high yielding varieties of rice and wheat and some other food grains would provide at least a breathing spell within which efforts to reduce population growth might have some effect. Various glowing terms, such as miracle seeds or the Green Revolution, were associated with the introduction of these varieties. Now a short six or seven years later a disappointing harvest in South Asia has caused disillusionment among many who were so optimistic a little while ago. It was not that the new high yielding varieties have failed to live up to their true promise or that farmers have not adopted these varieties where it was profitable to do so. In India in 1972-73 it is estimated that 20% of the total grain area was devoted to the new varieties and 42% of the total grain output was their contribution to production. In 1972 the high yielding varieties of wheat were sown on 55% of the total wheat area in Pakistan and per capita food production was 20% above 1961-65. What has happened is that unreasonable expectations implicit in such words as miracle seeds or Green Revolution have not been and could not have been realized.

What Have We Learned?

If we make the effort, I think that there is a great deal that we can learn from the efforts of the past few years to improve the food production capabilities of the developing countries. The lessons are there if we only have the wit and wisdom to find them.

The first lesson is that if the effort is made, agricultural research can have a high pay off for the developing countries just as it has had in the industrial countries. It should be noted that the increase in yields of grain crops in the industrial countries is a relatively recent phenomenon. The yields of two major grains in the U. S. - corn and wheat - were the same during the 1920s as during the 1870s. Grain yields in England in the early part of the 20th century were no greater than in the mid-19th century. Only Japan achieved significant yield increases in the 19th century. It may surprise you to learn that grain yields in the industrial countries - primarily Europe and North America - and in the developing countries were the same in 1935-39 though now yields in the industrial countries are 50% greater than in the developing countries.

While there has been some form of agricultural research for centuries, publicly supported research is little more than a century old and it was not until well into the third decade of this century that public expenditures on agricultural research in the U. S. reached $25 million. Hybrid corn, the first major high yielding grain variety, became commercially available only four decades ago. Hybrid sorghum, the second of the major high yielding grains, has been available for less than two decades. Until fairly recently almost all investment in agricultural research was done in North America, Japan and Northern Eurpoe. Significant investment in agricultural research in the developing countries is only a post World War II phenomenon and in only a few countries. The highly successful cooperative effort between the Rockefeller Foundation and the Mexican government was started in 1943. It was out of this program that the dwarf wheats emerged in 1963. Dwarf wheats are now seeded on about a third of the total wheat area in nine developing countries and are responsible for at least half of the total wheat output in those countries. Included in the nine countries are India, Pakistan, Turkey and Mexico.

While some scientific achievements do have universal relevance for agriculture, much agricultural research is required to solve problems that are location specific. Thus while the achievement of hybridization has universal application and significance, to obtain the best results it is necessary to carry out research on plants for rather restricted geographic areas. Differences in rainfall, altitude, length of day, length of the growing season, temperature ranges and variations are more important to the optimum development of plants than to man. A significant research effort is required in virtually all agricultural areas to carry on a battle with nature - to find and maintain plant varieties that are resistant to locally prevalent diseases and insects. One of the major risks that was accepted in the rapid adoption of the new high yielding varieties of rice and wheat was that these varieties, while relatively resistant to the major diseases and insects where the varieties were developed, might be susceptible to heavy losses in the areas to which they were transplanted. Fortunately for millions of people catastrophe did not occur. Most of the world's publicly supported agricultural research is still undertaken in the industrial countries and not in the developing countries. According to estimates made by Robert Evenson and Yoav Kislev, only 15% of the world's public expenditures on agricultural research in 1970 was spent in Africa, Latin America and Asia (China excluded). These areas have 75% of the world's population (China exluded). The enormous disparity in annual research investment is indicated by public research expenditures per farm in 1965; $93 in North America, $32 in Northern Europe, $0.43 in South Asia and $1.50 in South America. The cost of research is somewhat less in the developing countries than in the industrial countries, but if research input is measured in scientific man-years the discrepancy on a per farm basis between North America and South Asia only narrows to 72 to 1. It has not only been that relatively little public funds have been spent on agricultural research in the developing nations, it is fairly generally agreed that the effectiveness of even the modest expenditures has been very poor. There have been some notable exceptions - the joint Rockefeller-Mexican program and research on grains in India.

If the developing countries are to approach the grain yield levels of the industrial countries, the agricultural research effort in these countries must increase many times from the present level. More research effort is not all that is required, but such research seems to be a necessary condition for successful and relatively low cost expansion of the food supply.

A second lesson that we have learned from the past few years, though the evidence was there long before, is that poor farmers, even those tens of millions who are either illiterate or barely literate, do respond to new and profitable opportunities and that they can quickly adopt highly complicated production technologies with which they have had no prior experience. Such farmers have disposed, hopefully once and for all, the derogatory and negative stereotypes held by many planners, governmental officials and those whom I have on occasion referred to as urban intellectuals.

Hopefully, we have also learned a third lesson - there is no such thing as a free lunch or a really low cost lunch when it comes to increasing food production. Research developments almost never stand by themselves. If we tried to grow the existing hybrid varieties of corn that now yield 100 bushels per acre or more throughout most of the American Corn Belt with the same complementary inputs actually used 40 years ago, yields would be little higher than then - about 40 bushels. Much research, especially that dealing with plant varieties, act primarily to increase the potential yield horizon. And this potential can be realized

only as other inputs are made available. The process of achieving higher yields per unit of land and greater total food output in the developing countries depends on many things besides more research, essential as research is.

A fourth lesson is that governments do have the capacity to react to new opportunities that can lead to an improvement in their food situation. Admittedly their responses have not been as rapid or as purposeful as those of governments who have made available, either by local production or importation, diesel fuel, pumps and pipe for tube wells. I am not implying that in all countries and in all cases that the policy responses have been all that could be hoped for, but on balance major accommodations have been made. Some governments still interfere with prices and incentives to produce in an effort to maintain a cheap food policy. But even here it appears that recent actions have been less adverse to food production than those engaged in a decade ago.

A fifth lesson that I hope we have learned is that large scale food aid, such as the P. L. 480 program during the latter half of the 1950s and the first half of the 1960s, contributes very little to the food supply of the developing countries. The lower prices that result from the food aid has some disincentive effect for farmers in the developing countries, but perhaps more important the existence of such food aid affected governmental policies in a way that was adverse to the increase of domestic production. I support food aid to meet emergencies due to adverse weather or other natural disasters, but except for such emergency food aid there are few real long term benefits to the recipient countries.

To Increase Food Production in the Developing Countries

There are several important measures that can be taken to increase food production in the developing countries and to achieve a rate of growth of production in excess of the population growth rate. Time permits only very brief development of each.

1. Agricultural Research

Earlier I noted how unevenly agricultural research resources are distributed in the world. It is possible and only moderately expensive to develop significant agricultural research institutions in all of the important agro-climatic zones of the developing world within two decades. I have estimated that if the industrial countries financed such an effort that the cost might be approximately a billion dollars annually for the first decade and half that annually for the second decade. The higher cost during the first decade would be due to the education of additional scientists and capital expenditures. One of the requirements for successful agricultural research is patience. Unfortunately in our own technical assistance efforts, except those financed by private foundations, we have exhibited very little patience and this explains in large part why our governmental efforts to promote research in the developing countries have yielded so little.

2. Supply of Modern Farm Inputs

The substantially higher yields of grain per hectare in the industrial countries than in the developing world are not due to the greater intelligence of our farmers, to the better quality of our land or to a more satisfactory climate. The higher yields are explained primarily by the availability of modern farm inputs such as

fertilizer, advanced seed varieties adapted to climatic and soil conditions, pesticides, herbicides, more adequate water control where irrigation is used and, to a much smaller degree, the replacement of animal and human power by mechanical power.

The availability of modern farm inputs is dependent on agricultural research, but not solely. Governments must provide a political and economic setting in which such inputs will be available if there is a demand for them and at prices that are related to the costs of obtaining such inputs through international trade. All too many of the developing countries protect industries that produce fertilizer or farm machines and impose high costs upon farmers and thus upon consumers.

It is often argued that because of the current world energy situation that it would be a mistake to transfer to the developing countries the energy intensive agricultural technology of North America or Western Europe. Based on the knowledge we have now, for at least the next two decades there is no other way to achieve substantial increases in food production in the developing countries. There must be large increases in fertilizer use - at least a doubling of use in the developing countries in the next decade. Energy is required for increasing irrigation water and obtaining better control of existing water. It is unlikely that in most of the developing countries that tractors will replace a significant fraction of animal and human power within the next two decades, but more energy is used to produce fertilizer in the U. S. than is required for the operation of all the tractors and trucks on farms.

And if energy saving is required, there are almost certainly ways to achieve it while providing sufficient supplies to agriculture. It has been estimated that in the U. S. more energy is consumed by the housewife in shopping for food than is used in farms in producing the food!

3. Peace in the Middle East

A stable and durable peace in the Middle East could contribute significantly to the availability of nitrogen fertilizer at relatively low cost. As noted above increasing food production will require very large increases in the use of fertilizer. The lowest cost area in the world for producing nitrogen fertilizer is in the Middle East. The Middle East has enormous reserves of natural gas that could serve as the base for a large fraction of the world's output of nitrogen fertilizer. More natural gas is flared (wasted) in the Middle East than is consumed by the entire petrochemical industry in the U. S. The production of nitrogen fertilizer is included in the output of the petrochemical industry and we now produce about a quarter of the world's nitrogen fertilizer.

While there has been an increase in nitrogen fertilizer production in the Middle East over the past decade, the unstable political situation has been a barrier to the making of the required large capital investments. But if there were a durable peace, there is no reason why such investments would not be made and a very large supply of relatively low cost nitrogen fertilizer made available.

4. Agricultural and Food Policies in the Developing Countries

Earlier I noted that the governments of the developing countries have shown some capacity to react to changing opportunities for increasing food production. But much, much more is required if food production is to increase at a more rapid rate than population over the next two decades. Many developing countries exploit farmers for the benefit of urban consumers or the treasury by holding down domestic prices by one device or another. Many countries heavily tax their major agricultural export. India has held the price of rice below world market levels for the past decade and has then expressed concern that rice production has been lagging. Domestic fertilizer production is often protected, sometimes by as much as 100%.

But perhaps the major defect in the policies and programs of the developing countries with respect to expanding food production is the inability to undertake a long run effort and maintain it consistently. When the food situation eases, attention is diverted to other things. Attention returns only when an actual or impending crisis occurs. There is little doubt that the success of the high yielding varieties in South Asia gave governments an unwarranted sense of euphoria. As a result, efforts to expand food production slackened and the momentum gained was largely lost.

But what I have said about policies of the developing countries applies equally to the industrial countries in their efforts to assist the developing countries. I know of no new initiatives that were taken by the industrial countries after 1967 except the creation of a number of regional agricultural research centers, largely as the result of private initiative but involving funding assistance by international agencies and some governments and the creation by Canada of a unique institution, the International Development Research Centre, which may now be the most effective single institution in the world for assisting the developing countries in expanding food production. Our own foreign aid program remains in complete disarray and the United Nations organizations, except perhaps for the World Bank, have not achieved a leadership role.

Reducing Population Growth Rates

Population growth rates in the developing countries have been exceedingly high by any comparison with the past. In spite of population growth rates of about 2.5% annually, a 3% growth in food production would increase per capita food supplies by only 12% in a quarter of a century or by the year 2000. And there is no certainty that a 3% rate of growth of food production could be maintained indefintely.

As important and desirable as it is to achieve a reduction in birth rates, I believe that the U. S. and other industrial countries can have but a very limited role in either inducing or aiding in efforts to reduce birth rates. As our own experience shows, there is strong opposition to a government taking an active role in reducing birth rates. And the opposition becomes solidified if a case can be made that outsiders are making an effort to induce or force a country to engage in a positive program.

Concluding Comments

There are other topics that should be included in a discussion of world food programs - the role and contribution of food reserves, the effects of trade restrictions and national policies on the international markets for grains and other farm products, the need for trade liberalization to permit developing countries to more readily export labor intensive products to the industrial countries, food aid, special nutrition programs and the relationships between affluence and the world's food supply. But time and your patience do not permit.

While I am cautiously optimistic that the world has the capacity to provide more and better food for an increasing population, the next twelve months are not going to be pleasant ones for millions of the world's poor people. Almost certainly there is hunger, malnutrition and starvation now and the situation may become worse before the 1975 crops are harvested. There is little point in belaboring now the reasons why several parts of the world have such critical food problems. Hopefully, when the food situation eases as I believe it will within a year or, at most, two years the governments of the world will take the time to determine how the situation that now exists was permitted to arise and how similar situations can be prevented from occurring again.

World food problems are continuing ones, at least until the per capita incomes in the developing countries increase substantially from their present levels. Somehow it must be recognized that efforts to solve such problems must be long run in nature. It should be accepted that programs or measures started now will need to continue until at least the end of this century. Somehow we must be able to maintain our attention and efforts during periods of relative abundance, recognizing that if we do not such relative abundance probably will be followed by relative scarcity and much human suffering. While it will be possible to produce more food per capita in 1985 than ever before, it will not be easy to do so.

A few years ago Norman Borlaug told us that the new high yielding varieties of grain would not solve the food problems of the developing countries but the new varieties could buy time for those problems to be solved if the time were used effectively. It cannot be said that the world has used the time since 1967 at all effectively. The same mistake should not be made again. The stakes are too high.

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1 Sir William Crookes, The Wheat Problem, New York and London, 1900, pp. 17-18

2 L. C. Gray, et. al., "The Utilization of Our Lands for Crops, Pasture and Forests", U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Agriculture Yearbook, 1923, p. 489.

3 Lester R. Brown, "World Population Growth, Food Needs and Production Problems", paper presented at American Society of Agronomy annual meeting, 1964, p. 5.

4 Crookes, op cit., p. 32.

5 Ibid., p. 34.

6 Lester R. Brown, "A New Era in World Agriculture", paper published at Symposium on World Population and Food Supply, 1968, p. 1 (USDA3773-68).

7 United States, 1900; England, 1905; France, 1910; Italy, 1921. Some of the dates are midpoints of ranges. Sources: Population Council, Reports on Population/Family Planning, No. 15, 1974, p. 7 and Donald J. Bogue, Principles of Demography, New York, 1969, Table 16-7.

THE CHANGING FACE OF FOOD SCARCITY

by
Lester R. Brown

The world food situation has been dramatized this year by some unusual factors—including the poor rice harvest in Asia, the shortfall in the Soviet wheat crop, and the disappearance of the anchoveta off the coast of Peru. But today's shortages and sharp price increases are not merely temporary phenomena. They reflect certain long-term trends and augur a global shift from an era of commercial surpluses to one of frequently tight global supplies of essential foodstuffs. Rising affluence has now joined population growth as a major factor behind the burgeoning global demand for food.

These trends present a strong case for stepping up international cooperation in building up world food reserves, managing oceanic fisheries, and stabilizing population growth. Most important, they demonstrate the urgency of assisting the agricultural development of the poor countries for our mutual benefit. With appropriate organization and inputs, many of these countries can achieve dramatic increases in food production—at far less additional cost than in the advanced producer nations—to help meet the permanent, long-term increase in demand.

Population and Affluence

During the 1960s, the world food problem was perceived as a food/population problem—as a race between food and people. At the global level, population growth remains the dominant cause of increasing demand for food. Expanding at nearly 2 per cent per year, world population will double in little more than a generation. Merely maintaining current per capita consumption levels will require nearly a doubling of food production over the next generation. But beyond this pressure of population on supply, rising affluence is also emerging as a major new claimant on world food resources.

This impact of rising affluence on demand for food can best be illustrated by its effect on consumption of cereals, which dominate the world food economy. In the poor countries, annual consumption of grain averages about 400 pounds per person. Virtually all of this small amount must be consumed directly to meet minimum energy needs. In the United States and Canada, by contrast, per capita grain use is approaching one ton per year. All but 150 pounds of this per capita total is consumed indirectly in the form of meat, milk, and eggs. In the case of beef alone, annual per capita consumption in the United States has grown from 55 pounds in 1940 to 117 pounds in 1972. During the same period, the American population has expanded by 57 per cent. Altogether, national beef consumption has tripled, making the United States a leading beef importer.

In the northern tier of industrial countries, stretching from Western Europe through the Soviet Union to Japan, dietary habits now more or less approximate those of the United States in 1940. As incomes continue to rise in this group of countries (which total some two thirds of a billion people), a sizable share of the additional income is being converted into demand for livestock products, particularly beef. Many of these countries lack the capacity to satisfy the growth in demand for livestock products entirely from indigenous resources. As a result, they are importing increasing amounts of livestock products, or of feedgrains and soybeans with which to expand their livestock production. Thus, for example, Japan alone imported 17 million tons in grains this past year—compared to India's imports of just under 10 million tons during the drought crisis of 1966-67.

Constraints on Expanding the World Food Supply

As the world demand for food climbs due to both population growth and rising affluence, several important constraints on the further expansion of global food production become increasingly apparent. The traditional approach to increasing production—expanding the area under cultivation—has only limited scope for the future. Some more densely populated countries, such as Japan and several Western European countries, have been experiencing a reduction in the land used for crop production, while other parts of the world have been losing disturbingly large acreages of cropland each year because of severe soil erosion.

An even more important constraint in the future may be the shortage of water for agricultural purposes. In many regions of the world, fertile agricultural land is available if water can be found to make it productive. Yet most of the rivers that lend themselves to damming and to irrigation have already been developed. Future efforts to expand fresh water supplies for agricultural purposes will increasingly focus on such techniques as the diversion of rivers (as in the Soviet Union), desalting sea water, and the manipulation of rainfall patterns.

One of the key questions concerning future gains in agricultural production is: can the more advanced countries sustain the trend of rising per acre yields of cereals without major cost increases? In some agricul-

turally advanced countries—such as Japan and the Western European countries—the cost per increment of yield per acre for some crops already is rising. What impact the energy crisis will have on food production costs and trends also remains to be seen. Rising energy costs may cause farmers engaged in high-energy agriculture, as in the United States, to increase production less than they would otherwise.

In looking ahead, there is reason for particular concern about the difficulties of expanding the world protein supply to meet the rapid growth in demand. Two major constraints are operative in the case of beef. Agricultural scientists have not been able to devise any commercially viable means of getting more than one calf per cow per year. For every animal that goes into the beef production process, one adult animal must be fed and otherwise maintained for a full year. The other constraint on beef production is that the grazing capacity of much of the world's pasture land is now almost fully utilized. This is true, for example, in most of the U.S. Great Plains area, in East Africa, and in parts of Australia.

A further potentially serious constraint on efforts to expand supplies of high-quality protein is the inability of scientists to achieve a breakthrough in per acre yields of soybeans. Soybeans are a major source of high-quality protein for livestock and poultry throughout much of the world and are consumed directly as food by more than a billion people throughout densely populated East Asia. In the United States, which now produces two thirds of the world's soybean crop and supplies about 90 per cent of all soybeans entering the world market, soybean yields per acre have increased by about 1 per cent per year since 1950; corn yields, on the other hand, have increased by nearly 4 per cent per year. One reason why soybean yields have not climbed very rapidly is that the soybean, being a legume with a built-in nitrogen supply, is not very responsive to nitrogen fertilizer. Close to 85 per cent of the dramatic fourfold increase in the U.S. soybean crop since 1950 has come from expanding the area devoted to it—a process which cannot continue indefinitely.

The oceans are a third major source of protein. In 1969, twenty years of sustained growth in the world fish catch were interrupted by a sudden decline. The catch has since been fluctuating rather unpredictably, while the amounts of time and money expended to bring it in continue to rise every year. Many marine biologists now feel that the global catch of table-grade fish is at or near the maximum sustainable level. If, as currently seems probable, the global fish catch does not continue rising in the next decades as it did during the last two, the pressures on land-based protein sources can be expected to increase substantially.

Although there are substantial opportunities for expanding the world's protein supply, it now seems likely that the supply of animal protein will lag behind growth in demand for some time to come, resulting in significantly higher prices for livestock products during the 1970s than prevailed during the 1960s. We may be witnessing the transformation of the world protein market from a buyer's market to a seller's market, much as the world energy market has been transformed over the past few years.

The Depletion of Global Reserves

Since World War II, the world has been fortunate to have, in effect, two major food reserves. One was in the form of grain reserves in the principal exporting countries and the other in the form of reserve cropland idled under farm programs in the United States. As world consumption expands by some 2.5 per cent annually, so should the size of global grain reserves, but over the past decade reserves have dwindled while consumption has climbed by one third.

One seventh of U.S. cropland, or roughly 50 million acres out of 350 million acres, has been idled under farm programs for more than a decade. Though this idle acreage is not as quickly available as grain reserves, it has been possible to bring it back into production within 12 to 18 months once the decision was made to do so.

In recent years, the need to draw down grain reserves and to utilize the reserve of idled cropland has occurred with increasing frequency. This first happened during the food crisis years of 1966 and 1967, and again in 1971 as a result of the corn blight in the United States. In 1973, in response to growing food scarcities, world grain reserves once more declined, and the United States again resorted to cultivating its idled cropland, but to a much greater degree than on either of the two previous occasions. Government decisions in early 1973 permitted at least two thirds of the idled cropland to come back into production, and the government announced plans to eliminate all payments for idled cropland in the 1973/74 crop year. In the years ahead, world food reserves may become chronically low and the idled crop acreage in the United States may decline sharply or even disappear entirely. Consequently there is the prospect of very volatile world prices for the important food commodities.

Policy Implications

The current international scarcity of major agricultural commodities reflects important long-term trends. This changing situation calls for several important policy emphases:

1. *Population stabilization.* The possibility of a chronic global scarcity of food resulting from growing pressures on available food resources underlines the urgency of halting population growth as soon as possible. Current demographic trends suggest that this could occur in many industrial countries within the

not too distant future. In the poor countries, however, it will be much more difficult to achieve; the historical record indicates that birth rates do not usually decline unless certain basic social needs are satisfied—an assured food supply, a reduced infant mortality rate, and the availability of appropriate health and educational services. Population-induced pressures on the global food supply will continue to increase dramatically if substantial economic and social progress is not made. Populations that double every 24 years—as many are doing in poor nations—multiply 16-fold in scarcely three generations! It may well be in the self-interest of affluent societies such as the United States to launch an attack on global poverty not only to narrow the economic gap between rich and poor nations, but also to meet the basic social needs of people throughout the world in an effort to provide incentives for lowering birth rates.

2. *A World Food Reserve.* These population trends, together with the emerging constraints on food production, call for serious consideration of the creation of an internationally managed world food reserve. Just as the U.S. dollar can no longer serve as the foundation of the international monetary system, so U.S. agriculture may no longer have sufficient excess capacity to ensure reasonable stability in the world food economy.

A world reserve could be built up in times of relative abundance and drawn down in times of acute scarcity, thereby helping to stabilize prices to the consumer. In effect, the cushion that surplus American agricultural capacity has provided for a generation would be provided at least partially by a world food reserve system. A system of global food reserves would provide a measure of price stability in the world food economy that would be in the self-interest of all nations. The world community of course also has a basic humanitarian interest in ensuring that famine does not occur in the densely populated low-income countries following a poor crop year—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.

An important first step would be international adoption of the concept of "minimum world food security" proposed in early 1973 by Dr. A. H. Boerma of the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization. Under the FAO plan, all governments—exporters and importers—would be asked to hold certain minimum levels of food stocks to meet international emergencies. The governments of participating countries would consult regularly to review the food situation, judge the adequacy of existing stocks, and recommend necessary actions. International agencies such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the FAO would help poor countries to establish and maintain the reserve stocks necessary for self-protection against crop failures.

Any system of global food reserves, whether a single, centrally managed food bank, or the proposed FAO plan of coordinated national reserve policies, would provide a measure of stability in the world food economy that would be in the self-interest of all nations.

3. *International management of oceanic fisheries.* A close examination of the extent of over-fishing and stock depletion in many of the world's fisheries also underlines the urgency of evolving a cooperative global approach to the management of oceanic fisheries. Failure to do this may result in soaring seafood prices that will make those of the early 1970s seem modest by comparison. It is in this context that all nations have a direct interest in the success of the upcoming U.N. Law of the Sea Conference.

4. *Increased support for agricultural development of poor countries.* One of the most immediate means of expanding the food supply clearly is the return of idled U.S. cropland to production. Over the longer run, however, the greatest opportunities for increased production are in the developing countries, the world's greatest reservoir of untapped food-production potential.

The changing nature of global food scarcity and the diminishing capacity of the international community to respond to food emergencies make it all the more urgent to strengthen support for the agricultural development of such populous, food-short countries as Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, and Nigeria. Such support should give special attention to the role of *small farms* in the production effort. There is growing evidence that in many developing countries, small farmers—provided they have been given effective access to needed agricultural inputs as well as health and educational services—engage in more intensive cultivation and generally average considerably higher yields per acre than do large farmers. As suggested earlier, by improving the access of the poorest majority to both income and services, this approach to rural development also greatly increases the motivation for limiting family size.

One important step in the right direction is a bipartisan legislative proposal introduced in the U.S. Congress in 1973 that would restructure the U.S. Agency for International Development and increase by 50 per cent the support it provides for agricultural and rural development in the years immediately ahead. This proposal seeks to capitalize on the unique capacity of the United States to lead an enlarged effort to expand the world's food supply.

In those countries having the appropriate organization, economic incentives, fertilizer, water, and other necessary agricultural inputs, the introduction of new wheat and rice varieties has increased production substantially. The jump in per acre yields in several developing countries appears dramatic largely because their yields traditionally have been so low relative to the potential. But today rice yields per acre in India

and Nigeria still are only one third those of Japan, and corn yields in Thailand and Brazil are less than one third those of the United States. Large increases in food production are possible in these countries at far less cost than in agriculturally advanced nations if farmers are given the necessary economic incentives and the requisite inputs.

India and the United States, for example, have about the same crop area, with many similar characteristics. If Indian yield levels equalled those of the United States, its current annual cereal production would be 230 million metric tons rather than the present total of approximately 100 million tons. If rice farmers in Bangladesh attained Japanese yield levels, rice production would jump fourfold from 10 million to 40 million tons. Brazil, by doubling its present cultivated area, could produce an additional 22 million tons of grain even if its currently low yield levels were not improved.

Concentrating efforts on expanding food production in the poor countries could reduce upward pressure on world food prices, create additional employment in countries where continuously rising unemployment poses a serious threat to political stability, and raise income and improve nutrition for the poorest portion of humanity—the people living in the rural areas of developing countries.

August 1973

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LEGISLATIVE MEMORANDUM...

U.S. ROLE IN THE WORLD FOOD CRISIS

"Much will be demanded from anyone to whom much has been given; yea, people will demand much more from anyone to whom they have entrusted much."

— (Luke 12:48; Williams Translation)

This paper consists of four parts:

* *Bills listed below are those appearing to be of the greatest general interest and importance. Their inclusion does not constitute FCNL endorsement unless specifically noted. Comments and advice on the bills and goals listed are welcomed, as are also suggestions as to how the listing of groups and resources might be expanded or improved.*

For information on the current status of legislation as it moves through the Congressional process, write or call

Friends Committee on National Legislation 245 Second Street NE Washington D.C. 20002

Part I — SOME LEGISLATIVE GOALS

The legislative goals outlined here are not necessarily listed in order of importance. All of them are important. And they are clearly inter-related, since all aim to construct new food and agricultural policies which are unified, just, and compassionate.

Some of these goals will be more easily achievable through legislation than others, and some undoubtedly will prove to be long-range. Education, consciousness-raising, and local organizing are all essential in order to bring them into law.

I. **Increase U.S. food aid (concessional sales and grants) to a minimum level of 8 to 10 million tons of food each year. (This could cost $3 billion and would approximate the level of food aid in the late 60's and early 70's.)** *This may become part of Senator Hatfield's proposed legislation to overhaul P.L. 480. The Administration has requested only $1.3 billion in P.L. 480 food aid in FY 1976.*

a. Stabilize Food for Peace shipments so that agencies involved in food distribution can maintain a steady level of operations, rather than having to deal with extreme fluctuations in supply availabilities.

b. Provide advance notice of U.S. allocations, for the same reasons as listed in the preceding section, and so that Congress can evaluate where P.L. 480 will be going on a country by country basis. *Section 8 of S. 513* (Humphrey) and Section 3 of S. 883* (Humphrey).*

c. Give the Food for Peace program and other forms of food and development aid much higher priority than at present. *S. 881* (Hatfield)/ H.R. 4010* (Schroeder).*

d. Increase allocations for emergency food distribution. *S. 562* (Kennedy); H.R. 2492* (Zablocki); H.Res. 38* (Metcalfe); S.J.Res. 28* (McGovern); H.R. 48* (Melcher)/ S. 549* (McGovern).*

e. Provide for continual Congressional oversight to assure that the Food for Peace program and AID development programs do not interfere with either food price structures or the development process in the developing countries. Without this assurance U.S. aid may be worse than none at all.

II. **Make U.S. food aid programs 100% humanitarian. Eliminate "food for politics" and "food for war" practices. Use international channels more.**

a. Send 100% of Food for Peace to countries on the United Nations list of "most seriously affected" (MSA) nations. *Senator Hatfield proposed this at Feb. 18, 1975, hearings on the Food for Peace program, and plans to introduce legislation this year to try to accomplish this.*

b. Repeal the sections of P.L. 480 that make development of overseas markets for U.S. goods a goal of the Food for Peace program. *Senator Hatfield is expected to offer legislation to try to accomplish this.*

c. Remove cotton and tobacco shipments from the Food for Peace program. *Senator Hatfield is expected to introduce legislation on this.*

d. Repeal Section 104(c) of P.L. 480, which permits local currencies acquired from the sales of Title I commodities to be used for "common defense purposes." (Although Section 40 of the 1973 Foreign Aid Authorization Act limits the use of Section 104(c), this section can still be used.) *Legislation supported by FCNL to accomplish this was introduced in the 93rd Congress by Rep. George Brown (Calif.).*

e. Repeal sanctions (in the P.L. 480 statutes) against countries trading with North Vietnam and Cuba, and the Title I prohibition on P.L. 480 to Communist nations. (In the recent past, Bangladesh has been forced to stop its exports to Cuba in order to receive U.S. aid.)

f. Improve oversight and administration of Food for Peace. *S. 881* (Hatfield)/ H.R. 4010* (Schroeder).*

III. **Develop both domestic and world food price systems which both encourage farmers to produce and are fair to consumers. Help build economic bases for the accumulation of development capital in the developing nations.** *Price support proposals include: S. 513* (Humphrey); S. 549* (McGovern); H.R. 4296* (Foley).*

a. Domestically, this could include action on grading, packaging, processing, and distribution practices, reducing the role of "middle men." *H.R. 2458* (Mezvinsky).*

b. Internationally, terms of trade with the developing nations should be improved so as to provide fairer prices for their exports and to offer them as imports such U.S. products as they perceive as helpful at fair prices. The GATT (General Agreements on Trade and Tariff) talks this year and UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) next year may come up with proposals relevant to this. *A good source of information on trade issues is GATT-Fly (600 Jarvis St., Toronto, Ontario, Canada M4Y 2J6).*

IV. **Establish, as insurance against bad crop years, a sizable worldwide grain reserve system which does not destroy the food price structure in the U.S. and around the world.** *S. 513* (Humphrey), S. 549* (McGovern), S. 1354* (Dole), H.R. 1036* (Smith of Iowa).*

a. Help finance improved storage facilities in the developing countries.

V. **Encourage non-coercive population planning — especially development projects that help advance the economic lot of the poor.** *H.R. 2492* (Zablocki); the Administration Foreign Aid Bill for FY1976 is expected to be introduced in early May.*

VI. **Increase and maintain U.S. production of nutritious food. Promote conservation.**

a. Provide incentives for growing basic food products.

b. Stop government price supports for tobacco.

c. Improve conservation of land and water. *S. 80* (Mathias).*

d. Shift from chemical fertilizers, herbicides, and pesticides to natural and organic fertilizers and to more ecologically sound methods of pest and weed control. *Bills to be introduced by Sen. Clark and Rep. Seiberling may deal with this.*

e. Promote nutrition education.

VII. **Make a generous U.S. commitment to development aid abroad, especially through international and non-political channels. Administer U.S. programs so as not to interfere with food price structures of the development process in the developing countries; and encourage multilateral aid programs to do the same. Support labor-intensive practices, small farms, intermediate technology, self-determination of development goals, and self-sufficiency as much as possible.**

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* See Part II for details of bills.

H.R. 2492 (Zablocki); the Administration Foreign Aid Bill for FY1976 is expected to be introduced in early May. Right Sharing of the World's Resources (152-A North 15th St., Philadelphia, PA 19102) and American Friends Service Committee (160 North 15th St., Philadelphia, PA 19102) are sponsors of sound development projects, and are also good sources of information.*

a. Support education and research here and abroad, geared to better understanding and implementing of goals enumerated in VII above. *S. 658* (Humphrey) / H.R. 2436* (Findley); S. 697* (Humphrey).*

b. Send much more of our fertilizer exports to the "most seriously affected" nations, and curtail fertilizer shipments to South Vietnam (which claimed about two-thirds of all grants of fertilizer aid last year). (The Foreign Assistance Act of 1974 allows up to one-third of foreign-aid-funded fertilizer to go to Vietnam in the future.) *H.R. 4874* (Rangel).*

c. Support construction of fertilizer plants in the less developed countries, encouraging maximum use of natural and organic varieties.

VIII. Restructure the international exchange system to enable resource-poor developing nations to import necessities such as energy and fertilizer on favorable terms.

a. Improve international trade practices to accomplish this.

b. Implement a two-price system under which energy, fertilizer, and food would be sold at concessional prices to the developing nations. This should involve all the richer countries including oil-producing countries, but the U.S. should not make U.S. involvement in such a system contingent on the participation of others.

IX. Reduce wasteful consumption.

a. Encourage the use of vegetable protein and grass-fed animal protein. *Rep. Seiberling is expected to reintroduce his bill which would fund education and research towards this end. S. 697* (Humphrey) might be relevant to this.*

b. Conserve water and fuel. This might involve a tax on water consumption beyond a minimum level, taxing cars according to their gas consumption, and taxing industry according to its energy efficiency.

c. Limit the use of grains for producing alcoholic beverages, and limit the use of basic foodstuffs for the production of low-nutrition foods.

d. Reduce greatly the U.S. military budget — probably the biggest single drain on resources. See FCNL's March 1975 (Budget) Newsletter.

e. Encourage the development and use of alternative energy sources: solar, wind, and geothermal.

X. Encourage land reform and more equitable distribution of wealth and power, domestically and internationally. In many countries concentration of land and wealth in the hands of a relatively few wealthy landowners results in a system of crop production and distribution geared to the benefit of these few at the expense of the many who remain poor and lack the means of acquiring an adequate diet on a regular basis. Also, small farmers tend to produce to meet the needs of their families for food whenever possible, while large landholders are usually more interested in producing whatever will provide the highest profit. In developing countries, this often results in good land being used for non-food or luxury food production for export to developed nations, while malnutrition is widespread in those areas. Changing export and import practices could make considerable difference. Controlling U.S.-based multinational corporations would perhaps be the single most effective step in redirecting such practices.

a. Control and regulate "agribusiness" (corporate involvement in agriculture). *H.R. 548* (Kastenmeier). The Agribusiness Accountability Project (1000 Wisconsin Ave., Washington, D.C. 20007) is a good source of information.*

b. Encourage the growth and survival of small and family farms. *S. 227* (Bayh) / H.R. 2417* (Bowen); S. 80* (Mathias); H.R. 2458* (Mezvinsky).*

* See Part II for details of bills.

Part II — Summary of Senate and House Bills and Resolutions

Senate Bills

S. 80 (Mathias; cosponsored by Beall, Humphrey, Javits, McIntyre, Thurmond)

This bill would allow owners of farmlands, woodlands, open spaces, and historical sites to pay Federal estate taxes according to worth based on "existing use." Presently such lands are taxed according to potential market value. This bill would mean a much more reasonable assessment for farmers, which would mean more land kept in agriculture rather than sold for development. This bill deserves support.

S. 227 (Bayh) is identical to H.R. 2417 (Bowen), H.R. 4833 (Bowen), and H.R. 5189 (Wampler)

These bills would amend the Internal Revenue Code to encourage the continuation of family farms." Basically, they would exempt up to $200,000 of the gross estate value of family farms from inheritance taxes. Presently a $60,000 exemption is allowed. Corporate and "hobby" farms are specifically excluded.

S. 455 (Biden; cosponsored by Case and McGovern)

This bill was offered in response to lowered availabilities of flour and oil products for child nutrition programs in the U.S. It would amend P.L. 480 to make all Food for Peace shipments contingent upon "all domestic feeding programs" being "adequately provided with appropriate foods." This would be essentially a strengthening of the language of Section 401 of the Food for Peace Act. FCNL feels that pitting one humanitarian program against another is a dangerous precedent to set. Since P.L. 480 shipments have totalled less than 18% of our agricultural exports over the years and presently represent about 5% of agricultural exports, a more appropriate move would be to hold agricultural exports that are not a part of P.L. 480 until domestic feeding program needs are met.

S. 513 (Humphrey; cosponsored by Mondale and McGee)

This proposal would set minimum floor price levels for agricultural products and would establish reserves of grains, soybeans, and cotton. One-third of these reserves would be held by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA); the rest would be in private hands. This portion of the bill is similar to the reserves bill sponsored by Humphrey last year. Hearings ought to be held by the Senate Agriculture Committee, aimed at developing a reserves bill that is both humanitarian and fair to farmers.

Section 7 of the bill is identical to an Administration proposal introduced by Rep. Morgan in the House (H.R. 3033) and is also the same as Section 1 of Humphrey's S. 883. This section would

allow the President to waive an existing P.L. 480 restriction that says "domestic requirements, adequate carryover, and anticipated exports for dollars as determined by the Secretary of Agriculture" must be "taken into account" before Food for Peace shipments can take place. We believe the desired humanitarian effect would be sufficiently provided by waiving only the "anticipated exports for dollars" phrase, leaving existing flexibility with regard to the other items; this would not appear threatening to domestic programs and to U.S. citizens as a whole.

An important feature of the bill is Section 8, which would require the Executive Branch to report at least 3 1/2 months before the start of a fiscal year, giving projected P.L. 480 levels for the coming year. This would include each country's Title I and Title II levels, and a breakdown for each basic commodity to be shipped. Within thirty days after the end of each quarterly period, similar reports would have to be filed on actual shipments that had been made. Section 3 of S. 883 (Humphrey) would also provide this much needed accountability. This section, at least, should definitely be passed into law.

S. 549 (McGovern)

This would (Title I) establish agricultural price supports; (Title II) initiate the use of livestock, meat, and dairy products for domestic and international humanitarian aid programs at a cost of between one and two billion dollars per year (see H.R. 48 for comments); (Title III) establish grain, soybean, and cotton reserves, to be controlled by USDA but with at least two-thirds held in "on-farm facilities;" and (Title IV) assure the continuation of the food stamp program.

S. 562 (Kennedy; cosponsored by Case, Fong, Humphrey, Inouye, McGee, and Mathias)

This would provide up to $50 million per year ($100 million for Fiscal Year 1975) for "disaster relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction assistance" to needy nations; to be administered "to the maximum extent practicable" by international organizations such as the United Nations and by private voluntary agencies. The Administration is not opposed to this bill and it is thought to have a good chance of passing at least the Senate. A higher annual funding would be desirable, but the bill certainly deserves support as it is.

S. 658 (Humphrey; cosponsored by Hatfield, McGee, Mondale, and Tunney)

This is identical to H.R. 2436, H.R. 2437, H.R. 2438, H.R. 2512, and H.R. 3084, all sponsored by Rep. Findley.

S. 697 (Humphrey; cosponsored by Huddleston, Mondale, Symington, and Hatfield)

This proposal would establish a Soybean Research Institute that would be co-supported by the U.S. and the People's Republic of China. Initially, at least, the emphasis would be on developing "soybean adaptability to new producing regions" within the U.S. and China, and on establishing cooperative research. Questions to raise: Would attention be given to adapting soybeans to conditions in the less developed countries? Would small acreage farm production be a focus? Would soybean production for human consumption be a high priority?

S. 881 (Hatfield) is identical to H.R. 4010 (Schroeder)

These bills would institute an "Office of Food Administration," and a Food Administrator to be appointed by the President subject to Senate approval. The Administrator and his office would have jurisdiction over both foreign and domestic food aid programs, with emphasis being placed on the developing of a consistent U.S. food policy, giving priority to the meeting of human needs. If the right person could be selected for such a position and be given adequate authority, it would represent a significant breakthrough; a lesser person as Administrator or one hamstrung by a lack of authority would probably produce no major changes.

S. 883 (Humphrey; cosponsored by Clark, McGee, McGovern)

This bill is in three sections, two of which are identical to Sections 7 and 8 of S. 513 (Humphrey). The other section calls for giving first priority under P.L. 480 to the providing of food aid to the most needy nations. We feel that this important goal can best be achieved by stronger language — that clearly states that the UN's "MSA" list will be the criterion for determining eligibility for the Food for Peace program.

S. 1206 (Dole) is identical to S. 1354 (Dole)

These would allow "foreign countries and agencies thereof and foreign companies" to "purchase and store United States agricultural commodities or products thereof in the United States." If such "reserves" are stored here for at least 12 months, and the Secretaries of Commerce and Agriculture approve, the stocks "may be exported without regard to any export restraints or controls."

One likely result of this legislation would be increased profits for the largest grain storage companies. Rather than encourage dependency on U.S. facilities, we should support and encourage the developing of improved storage facilities in the developing nations, and support eventual internationally operated reserves.

Senate Resolutions and Joint Resolutions

S.J.Res. 28 (McGovern; cosponsor Mondale)

This Joint Resolution calls for the use of 300 million pounds of "all-purpose survival biscuits" now stored in fallout shelters and facing imminent spoilage from aging. Worth about $150 million, these biscuits are proposed for shipment to countries on the UN's "most seriously affected" list. The Administration has argued that shipping costs might be too expensive to justify such use, apparently preferring to risk the food's being wasted. FCNL feels that this is a good proposal, but perhaps domestic emergency food programs could make more economical use of the stocks, since they are already distributed over a wide area in this country. The basic issue raised here, that of waste in our affluent society, is one that needs to receive much more attention.

S. Res. 85 (Humphrey)

This calls for a Federal Food Policy Coordinator to "develop a long-term program to implement the resolutions of the World Food Conference" and to "give priority attention to food aid requirements." As a resolution rather than a bill, this proposal would recommend, without having the force of law. The Hatfield/Schroeder bill (S. 881/H.R. 5010) would have the force of law if passed.

S. Res. 101 (Talmadge; cosponsored by Allen, Bellmon, and Helms)

This resolution, which was recently passed by the Senate, expresses the "sense of the Senate" that the Secretary of Agriculture should "take steps to distribute excess peanut stocks in useful edible forms to needy persons at home and abroad under the domestic food assistance programs and the Public Law 480 program."

S. Res. 122 (Hathaway; cosponsor McGee)

This resolution would express the "sense of the Senate" that "potato stocks in useful forms" should be distributed through domestic feeding programs and P.L. 480.

House Bills

H.R. 48 (Melcher; cosponsored by 16 Representatives) and an identical bill H.R. 3853 (Hammerschmidt)

These are substantially the same as Title II of S. 549

(McGovern). The only difference is that the Melcher and Hammerschmidt versions would provide meat and animal products for humanitarian relief at home and abroad. While the McGovern bill does this, it also authorizes the donation of live animals for herd replenishment in other countries.

Voluntary agencies and hunger groups have expressed some strong reservations about these pieces of legislation, mostly relating to the overseas shipment portions. A recent *Christian Science Monitor* article (3/25/75) says: "Fred W. Devine, deputy executive director of CARE, Inc., cited three difficulties he foresaw with shipping beef: (1) The relatively high cost of beef over grain would put a severe dent in the limited budgets of voluntary relief organizations. (2) Tin cans of beef have a "short shelf life" in tropical climates; they tend to pop open when warm. (3) Shipping problems would be greater."

Other questions raised include: Would the increase or introduction of meat in foreign diets have adverse effects on populaces as a whole and/or on the agricultural sectors in other countries? (Most people in developing lands eat relatively little meat, and many of these countries are not in a position to become meat producers.) Does such a proposal reinforce the concept of P.I . 480 as a surplus disposal program, rather than a humanitarian one? These questions should be answered in some detail before any of these bills are supported. Tentatively, we believe that such meat and animal product distribution programs might be workable if: (1) Meats and meat products are used solely for **domestic** feeding programs as supplements to existing programs (Rep. Melcher has indicated that he supports such supplemental food programs); (2) Dried milk be made available for use in the P.L. 480 program and emergency food aid programs such as Senator Kennedy has proposed (S. 562). Dried milk was used in the Food for Peace program until 1973.

H.R. 546 (Kastenmeier)

The "Family Farm Anti-Trust Act of 1975" would forbid any corporation with more than $3 million in non-farm assets from engaging in farm owernship or operating. (North Dakota has a state law forbidding all corporate involvement in farming, and several other states have regulations of one kind or another on agribusiness.)

Senator Abourezk will introduce this legislation soon on the Senate side. This legislation could be a major step towards reversing the increasing dominance of agribusiness in rural America.

H.R. 1036 (Smith of Iowa)

This is a grain reserves bill, similar to the Humphrey and McGovern reserves bills (S. 513 and S. 549). An identical Smith sponsored bill was passed by the House in 1971.

Hearings ought to be held by the House Agriculture Committee, aimed at developing a reserves bill that is both humanitarian and fair to farmers.

H.R. 2417 (Bowen), H.R. 4833 (Bowen) and H.R. 5189 (Wampler) are the same as S. 227 (Bayh)

H.R. 2436, H.R. 2437, H.R. 2438, H.R. 2512, and H.R. 3084 are identical and all sponsored by Rep. Findley, and cosponsored by 70 Representatives so far. S. 658 (Humphrey) is also identical

The bill's stated purpose is "to prevent famine by increasing world food production through the development of land-grant-type universities in agriculturally developing nations." This goal would be attempted through the funding of U.S. land-grant universities to develop programs assisting the growth and development of counterpart universities in the developing nations.

As it now stands, this is not a real anti-famine bill. Rather, it is a broadening of existing federal subsidies to land-grant colleges for similar programs already existing. In the past, land-grant universities have generally not addressed themselves successfully to the most pressing agricultural problems in the developing world.

H.R. 2458 (Mezvinsky)

This bill would "create a position within the Agricultural Research Service of the Department of Agriculture" to help set up and maintain "farmers' markets designed to lower the cost of food for consumers and increase the income of small farmers."

We feel this bill is deserving of strong support.

H.R. 2492 (Zablocki; cosponsored by Bingham, Buchanan, Fascell, Fraser, Hamilton, Whalen, and Winn)

This bill includes many of the programs traditionally included in the annual foreign aid authorization legislation, with a notable exception: military aid, the Mideast military and economic package, and "Indochina Postwar Reconstruction" (economic-political aid) are left out (presumably to be dealt with under separate legislation). This bill would make permanent the crucial portion of this year's Foreign Aid Authorization Act that limits (at present, only for Fiscal Year 1975) Title I of P.L. 480 to ensure that at least 70% goes to the countries on the UN's list of "most seriously affected" nations. Extending this concept of limiting the political use of Food for Peace, no more than 10% of Title II would be available to "security supporting assistance" nations (notably Cambodia, Vietnam, Israel, Egypt, and Jordan).

Food and nutrition, development, and population planning programs currently funded by the Foreign Aid legislation would receive increased funding. A special disaster relief fund would also be authorized.

Since this bill is still in rough form, and figures in it are tentative and likely to change somewhat, it is difficult to evaluate this bill as a whole. Again, we feel that Food for Peace should be made 100% humanitarian. Hearings should be held to take an up-to-date look at all foreign assistance programs. This bill needs to be compared with Administration requests when the Administration's foreign aid bill is introduced.

H.R. 3033 (Morgan) is the same as Section 7 of S. 513 (Humphrey) and Section 1 of S. 883 (Humphrey)

H.R. 4010 (Schroeder) is the same as S. 881 (Hatfield)

H.R. 4296 is the number used by both House and Senate for the recently passed "Farm Bill"

It sets agricultural target prices and loan and purchase levels for one year. Differences in the House and Senate versions will be reconciled by a conference committee and the bill will then go to the President.

H.R. 4592 was the bill number for both the House and Senate versions of the FY75 Foreign Aid Appropriations Act

The Act, recently signed into law, provides funding for military aid as well as a variety of economic aid programs, through June 30, 1975. AID's food and nutrition programs are funded at $300 million, only $16 million over last year's appropriation.

H.R. 4874 (Rangel)

This bill would direct "the Secretary of Agriculture to conduct certain studies with regard to the world food shortage," and authorize the Secretary "to investigate ways to increase the availability of fertilizer for food production." The main fault of this bill is that all responsibility for implementation and interpretation is given to the Secretary of Agriculture, which makes the bill essentially impotent.

House Resolutions

H. Res. 38 (Metcalfe)

This calls on the President to assess human needs in Sahelian Africa and report to Congress his recommendations. Congress would then be urged to give high priority to the passing of appropriate legislation.

Part III — Brief Review of P.L. 480 (Food for Peace), AID Food & Nutrition Programs and International Organization Programs

P.L. 480

In 1954 the 83rd Congress passed the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (Public Law 83-480), which has become known as both Public Law 480 (or P.L. 480) and as "Food for Peace." This is the major program under which our country sends its overseas food aid. It is composed of two main parts: Title I, which involves sales of food to "friendly governments" on concessional terms (low interest; long repayment periods; and frequently, write-offs of portions of debts); and Title II, which involves grants of food aid to needy nations, through voluntary agencies such as CARE, Catholic Relief Services, Church World Service, through the United Nations' World Food Plan, and through country-to-country grants.

While P.L. 480 was still being considered by Congress, E. Raymond Wilson of FCNL testified before the House Agriculture Committee on the proposed program. The May 4, 1954 issue of FCNL's *Washington Newsletter* reported:

> *He urged the Committee to view food surpluses not as a curse but as a blessing and an opportunity for America to exercise stewardship. In addition, he stressed the need to give with humility, to preserve the dignity and self-respect of recipients; and to give on the basis of need, not in order to achieve military alliances.*

Raymond Wilson hit on most of the major problems that have plagued Food for Peace over the years. Surplus disposal has, in fact, been the main reason for P.L. 480 shipments; the quality of U.S. stewardship in distributing this surplus has varied greatly.

When Public Law 480 was enacted, huge reserves of agricultural products were already piled up, and the Government's Commodity Credit Corporation was acquiring greater stockpiles rapidly. The $1 billion per year that was initially authorized for P.L. 480 shipments represented only a fraction of the available surplus. Of this $1 billion, only $300 million per year was authorized for Title II grants. (In 1956, FCNL lobbying was instrumental in raising the Title II limit to $500 million per year — see "The Battle To Feed the Hungry," in *Uphill for Peace*, by Raymond Wilson.)

Besides surplus disposal, Public Law 480's stated goals include: export market development for U.S. products, expansion of international trade, combatting hunger and malnutrition, educational and cultural exchange programs, economic development, and "common defense." All of these (sometimes conflicting) goals have been pursued at various times, with mixed results.

While America was often (but by no means always) generous with its food aid during the years of domestic food surpluses, P.L. 480 shipments declined rapidly after 1972. From an annual delivery average during the mid-sixties and early seventies of about 9 million tons, Food for Peace aid declined to a low of 3.3 million tons last year. The Russian wheat deal, which claimed 26 million tons of grain, and poor crops in 1972 and 1974 were major factors in this decline. Simultaneous with this overall reduction has been an increased percentage of P.L. 480 food and funds going for the support of military dictatorships such as South Korea, the Phillipines, Indonesia, Cambodia, and Vietnam. **Last year about 70% of Title I and 42% of all Food for Peace went to two countries, Cambodia and South Vietnam, representing just 0.8% of the world's population. One reason for this large-scale diversion of P.L. 480 food to these countries is that Section 104 (c) of the Food for Peace law allows local currencies generated through the sale of Title I P.L. 480 food to be used for "common defense" (in other words, military aid). This use of Food for Peace has claimed 13.4% of Title I currencies.** Section 40 of the Fiscal Year 1974 Foreign Aid Authorization Act limits the use of Section 104 (c), so that specific Congressional authorization is now required for any subsequent use of the section. Nonetheless, Section 104 (c) is still in the P.L. 480 statutes, and could be used again. Its very existence represents a policy statement — saying that Food for Peace can be used for war.

Meanwhile, famine conditions spread, as drought continued into its seventh year in Africa's Sahelian zone. Conditions grew steadily worse in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and elsewhere.

The World Food Conference held in Rome during November of 1974 helped raise public and governmental consciousness regarding the extent of the world food crisis. First, some of the traditional allies of humanitarian causes, then the public as a whole, then Congress, and finally the Executive Branch began to react to the increasingly glaring questions posed by the food shortages faced by about half a billion people.

During 1974 Congress limited P.L. 480 aid so that no more than 10% could go to any one nation during this fiscal year. It soon became obvious that the Administration was nonetheless still planning to allocate the major portion of Food for Peace for less needy but more politically favored nations. Congress then amended the Foreign Aid Authorization Act (Public Law 93-559) to state that no more than 30% of this fiscal year's Title I aid could go to countries other than those on the United Nations' list of "most seriously affected" nations.

While this 30% limitation amendment was a major step towards revitalizing P.L. 480, it will lose its force of law as of June 30, 1975, unless it is extended and, hopefully, strengthened.

On February 18, 1975, the Senate Agriculture Committee held oversight hearings on the Food for Peace program. Testifying at these hearings, Senator Mark Hatfield called for a genuine reshaping of our foreign food aid policies. Hatfield said that "political considerations should be completely excluded from decisions about allocating P.L. 480 aid . . . At least for the immediate future, I suggest that we use the United Nations' list of those nations 'most seriously affected' by the world food crisis to determine what countries should receive P.L. 480 aid."

Pointing out that "our Food for Peace program . . . is frequently motivated more by a desire to create new demand for American agricultural commodities than a desire to meet needs for food that already exist," Hatfield went on to "recommend that the Act be amended to excise the portion that establishes the creation of export markets as one of the purposes of the program."

Hatfield and Senator Dick Clark argued also for the removal of tobacco and cotton shipments from the Food for Peace program. Clark said that these non-food items have comprised "over 15 percent of everything we have shipped" under P.L. 480.

Clark later countered the frequently heard argument that "we can't feed the world" by pointing out that our annual average food production has been about 220 million tons for the past few years. This year's Food for Peace allocation of about 5.5 million tons represents 2 1/2% of our total production.

During the hearings Senator Robert Dole, the ranking Republican on the Agriculture Committee, mentioned having recently discovered that a small group exclusively from the Executive Branch has been making all significant decisions about how much Food for Peace aid will go to each country.

This "Interagency Staff Committee" was created by an Executive Order issued by President Eisenhower, and consists of representatives from the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Treasury, State, and Defense, and from the Office of Management and Budget and the Agency for International Development. The Interagency Staff Committee is not mentioned in the compilation of statutes relating to Public Law 480, but an "Advisory Committee" is mentioned that is supposed to include most of the above-mentioned agencies (though not the Defense Department), as well as the chairmen and ranking minority members of the House and Senate Agriculture and Foreign Affairs and Foreign Relations Committees. Although the Advisory Committee is supposed to meet at least four times a year, it has met only once since it was created (in March of 1968).

Congress should claim its proper role in overseeing P.L. 480. The Advisory Committee should be activated and broadened to include more Congressional representation and representatives of voluntary agencies engaged in Title II distribution.* The Interagency Staff Committee should be phased out altogether. Annual hearings of more than one day's duration should be held. Congress should be informed well in advance as to how much food is to go to each country (as proposed by Senator Humphrey), rather than being told allocation levels when there is only a quarter of the fiscal year remaining (as has happened this year).

Voluntary agencies testifying at the recent P.L. 480 hearings had broad agreement on the need for reform of the Food for Peace program. They said that levels for coming years should be made public well ahead of time, and that these food aid levels should be kept stable rather than fluctuating, so that field workers can have a reasonable idea of what they can expect to be handling and equip themselves accordingly. A general consensus emerged that total P.L. 480 aid should be stabilized at about 8 to 10 million tons of food per year. James Grant of the Overseas Development Council said that delays in planning and announcing this year's allocation levels had hurt poor nations whose needs have gone unmet, and that there is still some question as to whether the entire $1.6 billion/5.5 million tons that is this year's allocation can actually be shipped before the end of the fiscal year on June 30. Only $213 million worth of Title I, and an undisclosed amount of Title II aid had been shipped as of February 10.

Over the years, Food for Peace expenditures have totaled about $25 billion, for an average of about $1.15 billion per year. Food for Peace shipments have provided nourishment for tens of millions of people. Yet if we consider this amount as a percentage of our gross national product (.16%) or compare it with our military spending (which has averaged $78.75 billion annually in the 1970's), or even compare it with the amount paid out to farmers for not growing crops during the same 20-year period that Public Law 480 has been in existence (almost $35 billion), we find that food aid has held far from a high priority position under any Administration.

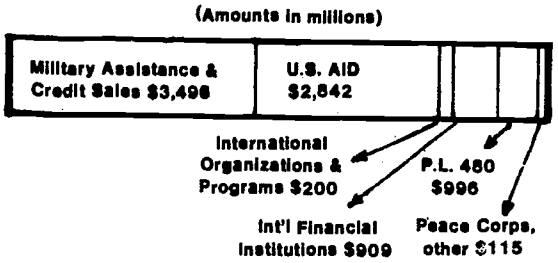
An informed and concerned citizenry can make a difference. Congress has taken steps in the right direction for the first time in many years, and the evidence so far is that the 94th Congress will be more sensitive to human needs than their recent predecessors.

Food for Peace has perhaps the greatest potential of any of our programs for humanitarian assistance. But without considerable watchfulness on the part of both Congress and an informed and concerned citizenry, any governmental program will tend to lose sight of human needs and idealistic goals.

Foreign Aid/Food and Nutrition

Foreign aid legislation is a grab-bag of military/non-military, bilateral/multilateral, governmental/non-governmental programs. It is split up into a series of authorization and appropriation bills considered by the House and Senate foreign policy, Armed Services, and Appropriations Committees, and the House Banking, Currency and Housing Committee (for international lending agencies).

Here is a graph showing the breakdown of the Administration's requests for FY75 as reported by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (S. Report 93-1299, pp. 6-10). Congress did not approve all these requests but this chart gives a rough proportion of amounts for different purposes.



TOTAL = $8,368

In 1973 Congress took a functional approach to U.S. foreign assistance by dividing aid into four categories: "food and nutrition," "population planning and health," "education and human resources development," and "selected development problems." About one-quarter of AID's total program was projected for "food and nutrition" in FY75. Congress finally voted $300 million for it, only a $16 million increase over the FY74 programs, not the $391 million increase AID requested. The Senate Appropriations Committee (S. Rept. 94-39) criticized this program for funding projects under this title which were only "distantly related" to food and nutrition or "not responsive to the immediate nutritional needs of the poorest majority."

AID sets forth six broad purposes for its food and nutrition programs. (April 1974 Summary Report Fiscal 1975, p. 15):

- Strengthening local institutions to involve the poorest majority in development;
- Increasing and diversifying agricultural production;
- Integrating agricultural, industrial, and commercial development so that advance in one spurs the others;
- Improving nutrition;
- Localizing infrastructure so that the poorest majority have access to roads, better land, electricity, water, and other utilities;
- Increasing employment and improving income distribution.

In filing additional views on the "World Food Crisis and Development Strategy" in the Senate Report on Foreign Assistance (S. Report 94-39), Sen. Mark Hatfield commented:

> Most national and international agencies and private aid agencies have argued for the following: (1) an increase in government services and support for agricultural production, with particular emphasis on the transfer of advanced tech-

* CARE, the well known relief agency, has asked to be included in the planning sessions for P.L. 480 every year for the past ten years, according to CARE spokesman Fred W. Devine. So far they have been refused every year.

nology; (2) reliance on the high-yield grains of the "green revolution" and the inputs required to sustain it; (3) more vigorous constraints against population growth; and (4) the creation of a world food reserve to cushion the impact of poor harvests.

Development programs based on these concepts will do a fairly good cosmetic job on the symptoms, but they do not address the cause of the world food problem. As the United Nation's "Assessment of the World Food Situation" put it, "the causes of inadequate nutrition are many and closely interrelated . . . but the principal cause is poverty." In their inattention to this central fact, traditional development proposals primarily serve to salve our conscience while preserving the status quo.

For example, what advantages are there to promoting the energy and capital intensive methods of the green revolution if only the rich few can afford them? What advantages are there to significantly improving yields if the benefits do not accrue to the growers?

. . . .

Any solution to the world food crisis must rely heavily on increasing the food production of the poor nations. The programs that we sponsor to achieve that goal must be devoted to increasing production through a program of rural development that is directed toward the poor majority rather than the landholding elite. This will of necessity require strong advocacy of land reform, which we have always been reluctant to endorse because of the volatile political consequences.

Even so, it is imperative that we promote land reform which will eliminate share-cropping and establish numerous small farms — replacing a handful of Gullivers with thousands of Lilliputs. The new units should be sufficiently large to allow optimum use of "intermediate" technology; yet small enough that the land can be worked without the substantial inputs and expense required by American methods of agriculture. While it may be beneficial to our farm implement industry, continued advocacy of the purchase of a $5,000 tractor to do a job 100 men can do at $50 a piece is counter-productive to attaining long-term development goals. (pp. 163-164)

Aside from questions of development strategy, one of the chief criticisms of bilateral U.S. aid programs is that they are so intimately related to current U.S. military, political, and economic policies abroad that they cannot be supported. Development programs by international agencies are often urged as an alternative since they are less susceptible to U.S. pressures.

International Organizations

A number of UN specialized agencies deal with the question of world hunger on an ongoing basis: The Food and Agriculture Organization, UNICEF, and World Health Organization, among others.

In addition, in 1961 the World Food Program was established by the UN and FAO to provide food aid to the developing nations. In its first ten years, WFP approved 550 projects in 88 countries at a total cost of $1.2 billion. The United States has been one of the major contributors to WFP.

The Executive Director of the World Food Program proposed in Rome on 17 March 1975 that a minimum of $750 million in food, cash, and services be provided by the world community for food aid through the Program in 1977-1978.

The developing nations at the Rome Conference pushed for the establishment of an "International Fund for Agricultural Development," operating under majority voting by participating nations. This was rejected largely because of a negative response from the U.S.

The World Bank and International Development Association have taken leadership in research, technical assistance, and project finance on behalf of the hungriest nations. The Bank is a leader in the task force (Bank, FAO, UN Development Program) set up to implement the recommendations of the World Food Conference. The United States has a particuarly strong voice in World Bank and IDA policies: because of its large contributions, because voting strength is determined by contribution levels, and through the Bank's President, Robert McNamara (former U.S. Secretary of Defense).

Part IV — RESOURCES

"1973 Annual Report on Public Law 480." House Document 93-362 (available from House Documents Room, The Capitol, Washington, D.C.).

"Agricultural Handbook No. 444." (Compilation of Statutes Relating to Agriculture), U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

"Coffee, the Rules of the Game & You." (Available from The Christophers, 12 East 48th St., New York, NY 10017; 1 copy free/$2 per 100).

"Food for Peace." A series by Dan Morgan of the *Washington Post.* Available as a reprint from the office of Senator Dick Clark (U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510).

"Hearings on Public Law 480," held Feb. 18, 1975, by the Senate Agriculture Committee (ask for Part 2 of the Senate Agriculture Committee's 1975 Hearings).

"Hunger and Diplomacy." Report on the World Food Conference issued by the Foreign Agriculture Subcommittee of the Senate Agriculture Committee (available from the Committee).

"Report on the World Food Conference." Hearings of November 26, 1974, held by the House Foreign Affairs Committee (available from the Committee).

Selected Reprints Available from FCNL: Senator Mark Hatfield on: "Rejecting Lifeboat Ethics;" "Resolution on Hunger and Fasting;" and "Address to the Conservative Baptist Convention."

By Bread Alone. Lester Brown. NY: Praeger Publishers, 1974.

Small Is Beautiful. E. F. Schumaker. NY: Harper & Row — 1973.

The Politics of World Hunger, Paul and Arthur Simon. NY: Harpers Magazine Press, 1973.

Uphill for Peace. E. Raymond Wilson (particularly "The Battle To Feed the Hungry"). Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 1975.

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LEGISLATIVE MEMORANDUM.

TOWARD THE RELIEF OF DOMESTIC HUNGER

Malnutrition and hunger are a reality for millions of persons in the United States.

Hardest hit by hunger are persons of low income: many elderly; members of minority groups; and the unskilled, under-educated, and the chronically under- or un-employed of every age and social group. In America hunger has been a threat for years, not because food is in short supply but because millions of Americans are unable to purchase it. Thus, malnutrition in America results from: (1) general poverty, caused by unemployment, inadequate unemployment compensation and welfare, and various forms of discrimination; and (2) a modern system of food production and marketing which places control over food quality and prices out of reach of consumers.

The recession is enlarging the problem. Hard times bring shrinking food budgets, while food prices continue to rise. With other options closed, people look to government for help.

Yet relief is slow to come from a divided government. While the Ford Administration is proposing widespread cutbacks in programs of hunger relief, Congress is moving to enact broad increases in these same programs. The struggle centers on food stamps and child nutrition, two program areas which deal with important symptoms (though not the root causes) of the domestic hunger problem.

Food Stamp Reform

The food stamp program provides low income households with food subsidies in the form of reduced-price coupons, or stamps. These stamps are purchased by eligible persons from the government at a discount and then redeemed (like money) for food at grocery stores.

Initiated in 1964, the food stamp program is now the largest program of domestic hunger relief, with budget authority for FY75 of almost $4 billion. However, the program falls far short of its goal of reaching all low-income persons. According to a report issued in March by the Senate's Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, chaired by Sen. McGovern, S.D., food stamps are received by only 38% of eligible persons.

The Nutrition Committee's *Report on Nutrition and Special Groups, Part 1,* of March, 1975, pins the blame for the shortcomings of food stamps on the parent agency, the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA). "The food stamp program is failing to keep pace with the growing problem of hunger in the United States," states the report. "The failure to meet the goals mandated by Congress can be traced directly to the restrictive policies and practices of the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, policies that have plagued the poor for years and are now preventing the food stamp program from meeting the needs of the newly unemployed."

Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz is the most controversial figure in USDA. Butz led the abortive campaign to raise the cost of food stamps in March, at an annual rate of $650 million. He defends additional cuts of $750 million proposed for food stamps in Ford's budget for FY76. And he has been reluctant to spend the full amount of money appropriated for food stamps by Congress.

In October, 1974, U.S. District Court Judge Miles W. Lord, in Minneapolis, said in a decision in which he ordered that USDA spend $278 million earmarked for the food stamp program: "The Secretary's (Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz) response to the Congressional directive (the Food Stamp Act), when viewed in its totality, is fairly described as a total failure on his part to do what the Congress clearly intended him to do."

The Minnesota decision, and similar decisions in Massachusetts and Connecticut have increased the pressure on USDA to expand outreach efforts, and even (in Connecticut) to "**insure** the participation of eligible households." (Emphasis added)

Legislative redress is also available. Many bills have been introduced to compel USDA to expand and liberalize its program. Specifically, what legislative initiatives are underway?

Ten bills in the Senate and 29 in the House variously propose to:

(1) Lower the cost of food stamps for purchasers. S. 13 (McGovern, S.D.) and H.R. 2412 (Abzug, N.Y.) would reduce the maximum share of a household's income that could be charged for food stamps from 30% to 25%.* H.R. 2396 (Riegle, Mich.) would make food stamps free for the elderly.*

(2) Increase federal matching share of administrative costs. With shrinking revenues, many states are finding it difficult to meet the costs of administering food stamps. S. 981 (Hart, Mich.) would increase from 50% to 65% the federal contribution to states for these costs.

(3) Streamline the application process. In February the USDA estimated that at least 65,000 people were waiting *longer* than 30 days for stamp certification, which is the maximum time period permitted by law. (The Senate Nutrition Committee's estimate is 85,000-100,000.) S. 981 would authorize the appropriation of $20 million each fiscal year to hire unemployed persons to assist in the

* These changes could be made by USDA regulation rather than by legislation.

certification of food stamp applicants. In addition, S. 981 would mandate sale of food stamps in all U.S. Post Offices, and on an optional basis in banks and credit unions.

Other proposals would shorten the length of application forms* and allow an optional standard deduction to be extended to all applicants in lieu of itemizing hardship allowances.*

(4) **Expand the number of items purchasable with food stamps.** S. 981 would allow the elderly* and the disabled to spend food stamps for the Meals on Wheels and other home food delivery programs. Other bills would allow use of food stamps to purchase fertilizer (H.R. 2636, Dickinson, Ala.) and seeds at seed stores (H.R. 2430, Daniels, N.J.).

(5) **Improve the diet plan.** The Senate Nutrition Committee recommends that the food stamp allotment be based by law on the USDA "Low-cost diet plan," rather than on the meager "Economy diet plan."* No bills have been introduced yet to make this change. However, H.R. 374 (Chappell, Fla.) would make quarterly, rather than biannual, adjustments in food allotments to better compensate for inflation in food prices. S. 981 would increase the allotment to any household in which one or more members is medically proven to require a special diet.*

All food stamp legislation is referred to the House and Senate Agriculture Committees. Food stamps are expected to become a major issue in both houses early this summer.

More Food For Children

A variety of federal programs aim specifically to improve the diets of children and pregnant or nursing mothers, by means of subsidized meals at schools and other centers, and the distribution of commodity foods.

Included are: (1) the school lunch and breakfast programs, which provide reduced price or free meals to children from low income families; (2) the summer feeding program, for low income children participating in summer recreation programs; (3) special year-round cash and commodity assistance to day care centers and other childrens' institutions; (4) special milk program for schools and child care institutions; and (5) supplemental feeding programs in the form of commodities and food vouchers (checks) for pregnant and nursing women, infants, and children under the age of 4.

All of the above programs set guidelines followed by state agencies which wish to receive federal aid. Total federal budget authority for child nutrition programs in FY75 will amount to $2,378 million.

However, all federal child and nursing mother programs are under attack from the Ford Administration. Ford's budget for FY76 proposes to terminate federal assistance to all child nutrition programs, and instead to offer block grants to states, under general revenue sharing. States would then have to establish their own child nutrition programs. Some might choose to do so, others might not. Experience in recent years indicates that many states choose to offer less assistance to low income persons with revenue sharing funds than the federal government provided with categorical aid.

Furthermore, Ford's plan would reduce total federal budget authority for child nutrition by $700 million under the block grant approach.

Congress is not likely to follow the President's lead. Swift action is underway in both Houses to renew all child nutrition programs in their current form, and to increase expenditures under those programs.

In the House a sweeping new school lunch and nutrition bill (H.R. 4222, Perkins, Ky.) is on the floor as this memorandum goes to press. As amended by floor votes, H.R. 4222 would require all schools to offer reduced price lunches to children from families with incomes between 125% and 200% of the poverty line. These children would pay no more than 20 cents per school lunch.

In addition, H.R. 4222 would offer school food programs to orphanages and children's residential institutions and nearly double the reimbursement rates provided to day care and Head Start programs. $250 million a year would be authorized for the women, infants, and children feeding programs in FY76-78, compared to $100 million in FY75. In sum, H.R. 4222 would add about $500 million a year to the cost of the child nutrition programs.

In the Senate, Sen. McGovern, S.D., has introduced S. 850 which contains a number of provisions similar to those in H.R. 4222.

In addition, Sen. Humphrey (Minn.) has introduced S. 894 to establish a universal food service program for children, with equal benefits to children of all income levels, and to encourage nutrition education, at a total cost of $300 million. Committee action on S. 850 and S. 894 may begin in late April.

Feeding the Elderly

A small nutrition program for the elderly is also up for debate. Title VII of the Older Americans Act (P.L. 92-128), under the Administration on Aging of HEW, provides free group meals and other nutritional and recreational services to the aged. Meals are either served at convenient centers or delivered directly to the homebound, like "meals on wheels."

Congress appropriated $125 million to the elderly feeding program in FY75. President Ford in March failed to receive Congressional approval to rescind $25.4 million from this figure. However, he is requesting only $99.6 million for Title VII in FY76.

To allow for growth in elderly feeding programs, rather than reductions, H.R. 3922 (Brademas, Ind.) would increase the authorization level for Title VII to $210 million for FY76. H.R. 3922 is on the House floor as this memorandum goes to press.

Legislation for the Future

In the long-run, piece-meal solutions to domestic hunger will be inadequate. Hunger in the U.S. is just one manifestation of poverty, and of the inequitable distribution of resources and power which underlies poverty. More basic changes will be needed before hunger is eradicated.

In the area of food production and marketing, Congress should begin now to examine: (1) the need for permanent unemployment insurance and extension of minimum wage laws, to cover all farm workers, who perform vital agricultural services; (2) the impact of agri-business on small family farms, which can produce nutritious food cheaply; and (3) the impact of large-scale food distributors on food prices. (Write for publications of the United Farm Workers, P.O. Box 62, Keene, California 93531, and for the FCNL memorandum on "The U.S. Role in the World Food Crisis," G-10.)

To deal with poverty which underlies hunger, Congress should move to enact generous federal standards for programs of **unemployment compensation** in all states, and also a program of **guaranteed full employment**. It should also move to replace the food stamp program with an **assured annual income** to cover adequately all household expenses, including food. Such a program would allow low income families to meet a wider range of human needs and to exercise greater freedom in setting family budgets than is possible under existing programs. (Write for the FCNL statement on "Taxation and the Distribution of Wealth and Income in the U.S.," S-3:74.)

J. Hope for the Hungry

Policy Proposal to Avert Mass Starvation
by Issues Center for a World Without War, Seattle

(The essay produced by the World Without War Council, "hope for the hungry", is designed to provide informational background for this proposal.)

The world food problem will be solved - if it is to be solved - only through the combined and cooperative efforts of governments, voluntary organizations and individual citizens. The scale of the problem is so large and the world is now so interdependent that action by one government alone, no matter how powerful that government is, will be insufficient. However, the United States, by virtue of its wealth, power and humanitarian traditions, has a particular opportunity and responsibility to lead in an international effort to deal with the crisis.

Numerous bills designed to attack the problem will probably be introduced in the U. S. Congress during the next few years. We do not yet know specific bill numbers, but many of the following proposals could and should be incorporated into legislation. Some suggestions do not require Congressional action, but rather an initiative on the part of the President or the Dept. of Agriculture.

I. THE IMMEDIATE NEED is for sufficient food relief aid to avert starvation of tens of millions of people. The President could help with the following steps:

A. Increase Food for Peace (Public Law 480) purchases to at least the 1972 commodity level of 9 million tons, as requested by Senate Resolution 329 on 8/7/75.

B. Use this food to set new standards for aid and to encourage other nations to cooperate.

- Earmark $1.75 billion worth of grain, 6 million tons, for sale under Title I of PL 480 (concessionary sales) at 1972 prices - which are 60% less than today's prices.

- Send the remaining 3 million tons (or more) of grain immediately to nations facing starvation, under Title II of PL 480 (grants).

- Use nutritional need, not political motives, as criterion for where to send food. This means not sending Food for Peace to Vietnam, South Korea, or Chile - where it is converted into military aid.

- Call on oil producers to make similar concessionary sales and grants for oil, or at least to help pay for the food aid; call on other food producers to contribute food; and call on other industrial nations to help pay for the food.

C. Encourage Congress to change appropriate legislation so that the Federal Power Commission allocates more natural gas for fertilizer production.

D. Help make more grain available for famine relief by calling on U. S. citizens to:

- switch from grain-fed to grass-fed beef. Even a 20% shift would free 9 million tons of grain for aid, and it would also lower the relative price of beef.

- use commercial fertilizer only for food production. This change would create enough additional grain to feed tens of millions of people.

- not waste food. Americans throw away enough food to feed 20 million people.

II. FOR THE NEXT FEW YEARS the less developed nations will face a large and con-continuing food deficit. We must act to create the institutional mechanisms which will redress the great inequality in distribution of food. The President could help if he would:

A. Establish government controlled national grain reserves and integrate these into the international reserve system, the "World Food Bank".

B. Match immediately Canada's pledge to the World Food Bank of 1 million tons of grain per year.

C. Pledge 5 million more tons.

D. Submit, on a continuing basis, all relevant data on crop production, domestic food consumption, and food exports and imports to the Global Information and Early Warning System on Food and Agriculture. This action would encourage submission of similar data by nations currently reluctant to do so (for example, China and the Soviet Union).

E. Order the Dept. of Agriculture to establish a new beef grading system that encourages grass-fed over grain-fed beef. A U. S. consumer shift away from grain-fed beef would also give the U. S. added leverage to encourage the Soviet Union, Japan and Europe to decrease their imports of feed grains - so that more grain and grain-producing land would be available for human consumption.

F. Work with Congress to develop a national food policy that gives priority to human needs. Elements should include more food for America's hungry, expanded and reformed Food for Peace shipments, grain export priority for human consumption, a grass-fed beef policy and grain reserves coordinated with the World Food Bank.

III. OVER THE LONG RUN, the goal must be rural development: to help food-deficit nations bring their agricultural productivity and populations into balance. The Congress could encourage and speed up this vital process if it would:

A. Earmark an additional $400 million per year for pilot projects of land reform and rural development. An offer of this sort would be hard for food-deficit nations to turn down, and improvements in productivity and living standards could be accurately measured and would likely create increased demands for land reform within recipient nations.

B. Increase financial support to the International Development Association.

IV. AS INCENTIVES for other wealthy nations to help, the Administration & Congress:

A. could, if others match the above initiatives, increase total U. S. economic (not military) aid to the U. N. goal of .7 of 1% of our GNP. We now give .25 of 1% which ranks the U. S. number 14 out of 16 donor nations as percent of GNP. This incentive would increase pressures from food-deficit nations on other wealthy nations to match or surpass U. S. initiatives.

B. could offer donor nations increased trade credits and technological assistance that would help them to produce more food-related resources.

V. TO MAKE COOPERATION MORE LIKELY AND TO FREE MORE RESOURCES FOR AID AND DEVELOPMENT, nations must mutually reduce reliance on national military power for security.

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Policy Statement on World Hunger

At Stake

Hunger has become a major issue in world politics. At stake is the degree to which we recognize and act on the following values:

1. **Life** How many people will die of starvation, or diseases related to malnutrition, this year? What quality of life is possible for those for whom hunger is a constant preoccupation?

2. **Cooperation** Can we achieve the degree of international cooperation which will make possible the resolution of this major global problem?

3. **Nonviolent Conflict Resolution** Will international institutions resolve the conflicts over this and other problems without violence, thus helping to create the will and free the resources needed for success?

4. **Political Identity** How will those of us who are relatively well-off look at ourselves and those who live in hunger in the closing decades of the 20th Century?

5. **Realism** Will the costs of achieving the desired results be equitably distributed? How can food assistance fulfill its humanitarian intention without increasing recipient governments capacity for war and violation of human rights?

Perspective

Food scarcity and starvation have been constant in human history. But the scope of the present problem, the availability of resources to meet it, and the growing recognition of global interdependence, require a more adequate response than was ever possible before. Humanitarian and religious injunctions to aid the hungry are now joined by practical and political considerations.

The causes of the current hunger crisis include natural disasters, climatic changes and seasonal crop failures, as well as human actions such as increases in food consumption in developed countries, sometimes self-serving, short-sighted policies by crop-exporting countries, including our own, increases in oil and food prices, frequent misapplication of resources in developing countries, and the failure and inadequacy of previous efforts to promote sustained, diversified, economic growth.

Since the scale of the problem is large and the causes complex, an emergency food aid program is not enough. A comprehensive, long-term development program is required.

The will or sense of purpose needed to overcome the human causes of world hunger is stifled by violent ideological, national, social and other conflicts. The spirit of sacrifice in the developed countries is destroyed by the use of food as a political weapon within and between countries.

The chances for success in the battle against world hunger are enhanced as cooperation improves. No single country has the know-how, the technological skills, the financial resources or the labor required for success. A truly global effort, with a high degree of international cooperation, is needed. The degree of cooperation required is possible as understandings develop and institutions are created which make more likely the nonviolent resulution of conflict. Without such institutions and understandings, shurt or long-range solutions to the world hunger problem will probably fail: scarce resources will be diverted to political allies in the struggle for survival — or resources freed will be consumed in preparations for war, or be destroyed in war.

While a majority of mankind is undernourished, the attempt by 150 sovereign natiuns to maintain their security through participation in global and regional arms races threatens everyone. In addition to the resource waste involved, the prevalence of the threat and fact of war cripples the ability of the world community to resolve systematically basic problems such as world hunger. We believe national security is a legitimate concern in a deeply divided and armed world, and we believe it should be sought through developing international institutions into instruments of world law. Such institutions should be based on consent and be at least powerful enough to inspect and enforce steps toward general and complete disarmament.

Population control should not be a precondition of economic assistance. Population and environmental resources are most likely to come into balance when families in developing countries are not threatened by starvation. Economic development itself is the best way to limit population growth.

Actors

Nearly every citizen of the U.S., many non-governmental organizations, must multi-national enterprises, every country, and many international organizations will be making decisions in the next year which will effect world hunger.

Standards

We believe decision-makers should consider the following standard in determining their response:

Does the specific proposal or action help create or enhance a sense of world community?

By a sense of world community we mean the expectation that conflict in world politics will be conducted without war. Such a sense of community is violated by the use of aid to gain national political advantage and by attempts to make others dependent upon us, save un an interim basis if required to prevent starvation.

No group or territory should be written-off. Neither the analogy of the lifeboard or the triage principle in a battlefield huspital need apply. Adequate resources which will permit the survival of everyone are either currently available or can be created.

Finally, creating a sense of world community requires realism. We need to act in a way which enhances the chances of a desireable response from others. The United States cuuld and should initiate new action, but reciprocation bv other developed country, by newly rich nations, and by developing countries, is required for success.

Proposals

With these considerations in mind we recommend the following:

At the international level:

1. The creation of a 10 million ton supply of cereal grain stock per year to meet the current emergency. We welcome Canada's pledge of the first 1 million ton per year and the pledge of 5.5 million metric tons by the United States. We urge other grain exporting countries to pledge their fair share. We believe the U.S. could reasonably contribute six million tons.

2. That the World Food Programme director's goal of $750 million dollars in food and cash for 1977-78 be accepted as a reasonable budget for its programs. This goal has been supported by Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of the United Nations and by A.N. Boerma, Director-General of the Food and Agricultural Organization.

3. The establishment of a world food reserve system which will permit the storage of surplus grains and the distribution of them in accordance with need in fallow seasons or in response to natural disasters.

4. The establishment of a world fertilizer reserve system to supplement the food reserves. The availability of needed fertilizer reserves can be as crucial as grains in meeting food needs. The creation of an adequate world fertilizer system requires the combined resources of the oil-producing countries, the technological know-how of the developed countries and the labor intensive techniques of the developing countries. We commend the initiative of the oil-exporting states in the Persian Gulf area for constructing fertilizer producing plants using previously flared natural gas resources. We ask that they be distributed through the world fertilizer reserve system.

5. The creation of a World Food Council within the framework of the United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organization as recommended at the World Food Conference (Rome, 1974). The World Food Council is needed to coordinate the work of international agencies in the field, supervise and administer the above programs and determine need and to monitor efficient utilization of resources. In addition, the World Food Council should analyze and publicize world trade patterns in cooperation with the United Nations' Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

6. We endorse the United Nations set goal of .7 of 1% of our GNP for economic aid and ask all nations to meet it.

(The World Hunger Crisis Kit includes other recommendations for international action proposed and accepted by the World Food Conference in Rome, 1974 and later proposals. See the response sheet.)

At the national level:

A. To blunt the immediate crisis we:

1. Support the passage of HR 9005, the International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1975 because:
a. it increases the amount of funds authorized for aid;
b. it separates economic from military assistance;
c. it provides a $200 million contribution to the International Agricultural Development Fund;
d. it authorizes loan repayments from developing countries be reused for food production programs.

2. Support the passage of a revised P.L. 480 (Food for Peace) Act. We welcome the revisions proposed by Senators Clark (S. 1889), Humphrey (S. 1634) and Hatfield (S. 1668) and expect the composite bill to be a vital piece of legislation deserving support. We support the principle that 70% of such funds go to the U.N. designated Most Seriously Affected (by the hunger crisis) countries in the belief that such a contribution, combined with those of others, will meet those countries immediate food aid needs.

3. Endorse S. 562, Kennedy which authorizes up to $100 million for disaster relief channeled through the U.N. and various non-governmental organizations.

4. Support the creation of an Office of Food Administration (S. 881 Hatfield, H.R. 4010, Schroeder bills). The office will coordinate domestic and international food assistance programs and develop new legislation.

5. Seek to amend the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act of 1973 to include price supports for farm products to encourage high production and continuation of the domestic Food Stamp, hot lunch and related programs. (See McGovern S. 549)

6. Urge the development and implementation of a national Food policy, a major ingredient of which should be a national grass-fed beef policy. The shifting of fattening cattle for market on cereal grains to grass would free a significant amount of land for growing cereals fit for human consumption. Such cereals could be ear-marked for the world food reserve or emergency programs. Steps in this direction include:
a. the establishment of a top grade status for good 100% grass-fed beef. Current grading standards rule this out.
b. reduction of feed-lot time requirements for the "choice" category by six to eight weeks.
c. increased government support for the Bureau of Land Management's attempt to upgrade public pasture lands and to control their use.

B. Toward ending world hunger

7. The U.S. should accept the United Nations set goal of .7 of 1% of our GNP for economic aid. We now give .29 of 1% and rank 14th out of 16 donor nations. The U.S. should agree to an increase to .5% this year and agree to increase its contribution to .75% when a majority of other donor countries reach the .5 level.

8. Endorse the Famine Prevention Act (Findley) and ask increased aid for agricultural research. We ask Land Grant Colleges to focus their research on increasing agricultural production by small and family farms in developing countries.

9. Endorse S. 4165, Clark which limits federal government utilization of fertilizers for non-food purposes and encourage local communities to do the same.

10. Support the creation of a Soybean Institute between the U.S. and China to develop new products, increase yields and broaden utilization of this high protein cereal grain. (S. 697, Humphrey).

11. Support the appropriation of $400 million per year for pilot projects designed to reform land ownership patterns and to encourage efficient, small farms in developing countries.

12. Ask Congress to draft and pass legislation enabling the Federal Power Commission to allocate increased amounts of natural gas for fertilizer production.

13. Encourage the U.S. to participate in the Global Information and Early Warning System on Food and Agriculture which is designed to anticipate food crises. China and the Soviet Union should be asked to participate as well.

14. Encourage the U.S. to initiate steps to reduce the arms race and ask other countries to respond. The U.S. could cut its defense budget 10%, give the funds to the World Food Council and agree to contribute another 10% when the U.S.S.R. and China contribute their first 10%.

In addition to the proposals identified here, there are many others in this and related areas which deserve careful consideration. We urge those with citizenship or legislative responsibilities to consider among other issues, how the impact of trade legislation, international monetary policies, population growth, the mining of sea-bed and off-shore mineral resources, ocean fishing and the regulation of multi-national enterprises effects the chances of resolving the problem of world hunger.

Initiatives

In many cases the long-term success of these proposals requires the cooperation of other nations or international organizations. If the needed cooperation cannot be achieved by negotiations, the U.S. should not give-up. Where appropriate, the U.S. could intitiate the establishment of, for example, a fertilizer reserve system by placing 1/2 of its contribution in an international development bank and by calling on land grant colleges to begin research on technical and environmental impact problems. At the same time, the U.S. could indicate to others that the remaining contribution will be made when agreeable terms for participation are negotiated. Such unilateral peace initiative acts could increase the chances that other nations would move from verbal commitments to specific, constructive action, if they are not now doing so.

For organizational leaders:

1. Use your organizational newsletter, bulletin boards, library or other information media to distribute accurate information on the world hunger crisis.

2. Organize discussion and consideration of alternative policies at membership meetings.

3. Develop an organizational policy statement and present it to international and national decision-makers, also at the local level.

4. Plan "Hunger Banquets" at which a typical sparce meal is served and contribute the savings to an agency doing effective hunger relief work.

5. Utilize community resource people, films, discussion guides and seminars to broaden public understanding of the hunger crisis and proposed courses of actions.

For Individuals:

1. Encourage international, national and local decision-makers to develop an adequate program for resolving the world hunger crisis.

2. Don't waste food, grow your own, if possible.

3. Ask restaurants to assist in collecting funds for hunger relief.

4. Use only grass-fed beef and ask stores to stock it.

5. Study the wide range of causes of the current crisis and develop adequate community resources for understanding it.

6. Utilize fertilizer only to increase food production. Develop compost and related organic fertilizer sources. Some cities now convert sewage materials to fertilizer. Why not your city?

7. Organize or help in community recycling centers.

8. Encourage development of non-fossil fuel energy sources.

9. Contribute to organizations working in the field.

V. Resources for Action

A. World Hunger: What Can I Do?

What can one person do? The world hunger crisis is so enormous, so far removed from our immediate experience, there may seem little the individual can do that will have any real effect. And, like all the major problems facing the world, there are no quick and easy solutions to the problem of world hunger. But there are many levels at which individual action can make a difference - especially as that action is aimed at gaining the support and participation of others. How we respond as a nation and as a world to the hunger crisis is a matter of will and commitment - and the ultimate source of that will is the individual.

This checklist of possible activities is meant to be suggestive; other ideas may occur to you on the basis of your own interests, experience and abilities.

EDUCATE YOURSELF....AND OTHERS

Becoming an "expert" on the problem of world hunger involves acquiring several kinds of knowledge:

- Learn about the substantive issues, arguments and problems in the field.
- Keep up with current developments through newspaper and magazine articles which reflect a variety of viewpoints and approaches.
- Become acquainted with the purposes, activities and resources of the principal private organizations and governmental and international agencies in the field.
- Keep track of proposals, legislation and hearings or conferences being sponsored in Congress or the United Nations.

Becoming a resource for others involves a knowledge not only of the substantive issues, but also of the programmatic resources available.

- Get to know the people in your area (from organizations, colleges, the media) who are knowledgeable in this field and could serve as speakers and discussion leaders.
- Compile a list of films, simulation games and other program resources relating to world hunger.
- Through your church, school, civic group or other community organization, set up programs (speakers, seminars, films, activities) designed to educate and offer opportunities for action.
- Don't forget the media. Many people with programming responsibilities in radio and television will be very receptive to ideas for interesting programs, especially when you can go to them with specific suggestions of topics, names of people to be interviewed, etc. Newspapers (letters to the editor, feature stories, columns) can be just as useful.
- Volunteer for work with one of the many organizations in this field.

ACTION....PERSONAL AND POLITICAL

Reducing consumption is one approach which many people believe is needed to make more food and other resources available for the hungry of the world. As a personal gesture, it may have some meaning, but little impact. As a commitment undertaken by large numbers of people - perhaps by major voluntary organizations - it could have a significant effect.

- Reduce meat consumption. Meat is a very inefficient way to consume grain; it takes seven pounds of grain to produce one pound of beef. (So-called "baby beef", however, is grass fed.) Ninety percent of the grain consumed by Americans is used to feed livestock. By eating less meat (especially beef), Americans could make significantly more grain available for direct consumption by the hungry. "Meatless days", experimental vegetarian diets and "less beef - more chicken" menus are among the suggestions which have been offered. Don't waste food.

- Restrict fertilizer use. Among the effects of the oil shortage has been a world-wide shortage of certain kinds of fertilizer essential to food production. By restricting our use of fertilizer to food production (i. e., not using it on lawns, golf courses and cemetaries), we could help alleviate that shortage.

- Increase giving. Reducing consumption is only half of an adequate answer; what you do, or don't do, with the resources you save is the other half. Increased giving to organizations working in the field - either humanitarian or educational and political - is one needed priority.

- Engage your church, civic group or other community organization. Efforts to reduce consumption and divert resources to work against world hunger are most effective when larger numbers of people participate in the effort.

Changing national and international policy is the only hope for a long-term solution to the problem of world hunger. The essay in this kit suggests a number of U. S. policy initiatives which could help move us in the needed direction.

- Participate in lobbying efforts. A number of the organizations listed in the kit conduct campaigns to influence American policy-makers in this field. Even on your own, through letters to political leaders, newspapers and organizational leaders, you can help build pressure for needed policies.

- Engage your church, civic group or other community organization. If, after common study and discussion, your organization can reach agreement on what our country's response to the world hunger crisis should be, a number of actions might be appropriate.

B. World Hunger: An Action Agenda for Religious Institutions

There are several different kinds of activity which can be undertaken through and by religious institutions in response to the world hunger crisis. The ideas listed here are meant to be suggestive rather than exhaustive - you'll be able to come up with others which fit your distinctive program style.

Education

- Add to the library a number of books and magazine articles on the world hunger problem - and prepare a special display of these materials for a month.
- Organize a series of adult education seminars on the world hunger crisis.
- Organize an evening program on the world hunger crisis for the whole congregation - with speakers on the dimensions of the problem and organizational efforts to meet it.
- Run a series of articles about hunger (the problem itself, an organization's work, efforts by individuals or groups) in the newsletter.
- Have a Sunday School class prepare a visual display (using pictures from magazines and newspapers) contrasting our standard of living with that of people in the developing countries.
- A sermon focusing on the problem of world hunger could be based on any of a number of Biblical texts such as Matthew 25:35 ("For I was hungry...").

Action

- Sponsor a dinner consisting of soup, rice and tea; ask each family to contribute the cost of an average evening meal and send the proceeds to one of the humanitarian organizations working on the problem of world hunger.
- Sponsor days of fasting and prayer: open the religious institution one day a week for prayer and meditation during the lunch hour and have an offering for an appropriate agency.
- Encourage individual members to reduce their consumption of meat (especially beef) and their use of fertilizer for non-food purposes. Urge them to increase their giving to appropriate humanitarian organizations.
- Through the newsletter and bulletin boards, make available information about organizations, legislation and local activity on the problem of world hunger. Encourage members to communicate their support of needed national policy to political leaders and the media.
- Make available recipes and menu suggestions for meatless meals. A simple mimeographed booklet based on suggestions from members, or a commercially prepared book like Diet for a Small Planet, could be sold and the proceeds donated.
- Prepare materials and proposals for the leadership outlining the world hunger problem and suggesting ways in which the church as a body might respond. The process might lead to adoption of a resolution by the institution's principal decision-making body urging a variety of appropriate actions by individuals and groups and committing the institution corporately to several specific activities.

FOR HELP IN PLANNING AND CONDUCTING PROGRAMS ON THIS ISSUE FOR YOUR CHURCH OR OTHER COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION, CONTACT THE

World Without War Council
1730 Grove Street
Berkeley, California 94709

or

1514 N. E. 45th Street
Seattle, Washington 98105

110 South Dearborn
Chicago, Illinois 60603

or

175 Fifth Avenue
New York City, New York 10010

C. Resources for Action: Films, Games and Books on World Hunger

FILMS

African Drought (1974) 30 min/color, produced by ABC & National Council of Churches (BFC-TV Film Library, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 10027: $15. CROP 942 Market Street, San Francisco, CA 94102. Xerox Education Center, Xerox Films, 1250 Fairwood Avenue, Columbus, Ohio 43216) Examines the effects of 6 years of drought in Niger, in particular the disastrous plight of the nomadic Tuareg people.

All the Fish in the Sea (1973) 39 min/color, produced by United Nations TV, (Great Plains National Instructional TV Library, Box 80669, Lincoln, NE 68501: $15/wk). Overfishing off the coast of Peru to feed the fish meal industry has led to the near-extinction of a whole species of fish. Nor is this protein being used to improve the diet of the people. An example of how market demands in one country can damage the environment thousands of miles away.

Diet for a Small Planet (1973) 28 min/color (Bullfrog Films, Box 114, Milford Square, PA 18935: $30) An examination of protein sources, the ecological cost of meat protein and the preparation of high protein, non-meat dishes.

Food Crisis (1966) 60 min/b&w, produced by U. N. - N. E. T. (Oregon Division of Continuing Education, 1633 S. W. Park Avenue, Portland, OR 97207: $11. Indiana University AV Center, Bloomington, IN 47401: $12) Explores world problem of food shortages; lack of population control and good farming practices; difficulties in distribution of surpluses. Lord Boyd Orr, first head of FAO, points out that social unrest, revolution and war are inevitable unless food problems are solved.

Food or Famine (1962) 28 min/color (Shell Film Library, 1433 Sadlier Cir., W. Dr., Indianapolis, IN 46239: Free) Made in cooperation with FAO. The first 12 minutes are a dramatic and effective introduction to the world food crisis. The rest of the film implies that the solution is largely technical, involving modern machinery and methods, chemicals, new types of seeds and fertilizers, etc.

Hunger in America (1968) 52 min/color (AFL-CIO Film Division, 815 16th St. N. W., Washington, D. C. 20006: $7.50. Indiana University, address above: $19. University of California, EMC, Berkeley, CA 94720: $31) The famous CBS report which helped make Americans aware of the ten million hungry Americans, and which inspired an investigation of government food programs. The best film on the problem of hunger in the U. S.

Incentive for Action (1973) 30 min/color (United Nations Films, P. O. Box 7316, Alexandria, VA 22307: $35) The film explains the functions of the UN/FAO World Food Programme through which surplus food resources are used for purposes of development.

Limits of Growth (1974) 30 min/color (University of Washington AVS, Seattle, WA 98195: $8.25. Great Plains National Instructional TV Library, Box 80669, Lincoln, NE 68501: $15) Deals with the findings of the "Club of Rome" set forth in "The Project of the Predicament of Mankind". It focuses on the five major problems facing every nation of the world: population expansion, diminishing agricultural resources, loss of irretrievable natural resources, unlimited industrial growth and pollution.

Not Enough (1969) 30 min/color (Indiana University AV Center, Bloomington, IN 47401: $8.50. Modern Learning Aids, 1212 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10036: $10. CROP, 942 Market Street, San Francisco, CA 94102) Shows the need for international cooperation in the field of development assistance. Successful projects in India and Thailand are contrasted with the realities that undermine progress, such as unchecked population growth and lack of technology.

One and a Half Dreams (1973) 21 min/color; 27 min/color for TV use, produced by UNDP. (Modern Talking Picture Service, 2323 New Hyde Park Road, New Hyde Park, NY 11040: Free) Good, straightforward introduction to the United Nations Development Program and its work to reduce the burdens of poverty in the poor countries. Comparing the achievements of space exploration with the challenge of making this world more liveable for everyone, it presents a strong case for global cooperation in development efforts. Discussion guide from UNDP.

Sahel, the Advancing Desert (1974) 11 min/color (Produced by BBC for Catholic Refief Services, Office of Information, 1011 First Avenue, New York, NY 10022: Free) A visual report on the African drought and its effects on the lives of people.

Tilt (1972) 20 min/color, animated, produced by National Film Board of Canada. (University of California, EMC, Berkeley, CA 94720: $17. CRM Educational Films, Del Mar, CA 92014: $25. University of Washington AVS, Seattle, WA 98195: $12.75. CROP, 942 Market Street, San Francisco, CA 94102) The theme is the imbalance in the distribution of the world's wealth and resources. The film shows attitudes of both rich and poor towards development and poses alternative strategies.

To Feed the Hungry of the Earth: Will we Make the Commitment to End Famine? (1974) 22 min/color (University of California EMC, Berkeley, CA 94720: $25) Contrasts abundant food supplies of North America with conditions in parts of the Third World. Examines Borlaug's work in Mexico to develop more nutritious, higher-yield, more disease-resistant grains.

NOTE: Frequently Public Libraries, Universities and College, companies and government agencies provide films free of charge. Check local resources before ordering a film from a distant source.

FILM GUIDES

War/Peace Film Guide, 1973, Lucy Dougall, World Without War Publications, 110 South Dearborn, Chicago, IL 60603: $1.50. Descriptions of over 200 short, feature and documentary films.

A Guide to Films about Development, 1975, American Freedom from Hunger Foundation, 1100 17th Street N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036.

Films of a Changing World, 1972, Society for International Development, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036.

United Nations Association Film List, 1975, UNA of U. S. A., 345 East 46th Street, New York, NY 10017. Comprehensive listing of UN and UN-TV films.

BOOKS

All of the books listed below may be ordered from WORLD WITHOUT WAR BOOKSTORE, 110 South Dearborn, Room 820, Chicago, IL 60603. Include $.35 postage and handling plus Illinois residents add 5% sales tax.

Books are also available on consignment for conferences or display purposes and in bulk.

By Bread Alone, Lester Brown and Erik Eckholm, Praeger, 1974, $3.95. Overseas Development Council study. One of, or the best book available on hunger. Comprehensive, insightful and highly readable presentation of the issues behind world hunger and of the moral and practical choices that must be made in facing this global problem. World Without War Publications, 110 S. Dearborn, Chicago, IL 60603.

In the Human Interest: A Strategy to Stabilize World Population, Lester Brown, W. W. Norton, Inc., 1974, $2.95. Published for Overseas Development Council. A comprehensive, radically accelerated strategy for stabilizing world population growth, presenting specific worldwide measures to decrease the insecurities that have historically encouraged high birth rates.

Recipes for a Small Planet, Ellen Buchman Ewald, Balantine, 1973, $1.50. The planet will not support the wasteful practices that presently produce most of its meat-based protein supply. This book provides an alternative method of creating high quality complete protein, along with hundreds of specific recipes.

The U. S. and the Developing World: Agenda for Action, James Howe and staff of Overseas Development Council, Praeger, 1975, $4.50. The Council's third annual assessment of current issues and decisions facing the U. S. in its relations with the developing countries.

One Hundred Countries, Two Billion People, Robert S. McNamara, Praeger, 1973, $1.95. A collection of public speeches by the President of the World Bank reviews the Bank's efforts to channel loans into development programs which raise living standards of the poorest of the poor.

Famine - 1975!, Paul and William Paddock, Little, Brown, 1967, $2.65. Introduces the triage concept, develops standards for applying it to which countries will receive food aid and which will be allowed to starve and applies it to the 1967 aid recipients.

New Hope for the Hungry?, The Challenge of the World Food Crisis, Larry Minear, Friendship Press, 1975, $1.95. Surveys the current crisis, resources available to meet it and highlights the role of non-governmental organizations.

The Politics of World Hunger: Grass Roots Politics and World Poverty, Paul and Arthur Simon, Harper & Row, 1973, $8.95. Urges the U. S. to support a more intensive global development program, independent of politics and private interests, carried out through international agencies.

ARTICLES

Garrett Hardin, "The Case Against Helping the Poor", Psychology Today, September, 1974. Develops the metaphor of the lifeboat to explain the authors painfully held conviction that the small amounts of aid we can realistically expect will postpone until conditions are worse, the inevitable catastrophe.

Mark O. Hatfield, "World Hunger - the Religious Connection", Worldview, October, 1974. A very helpful article dealing with need, cause and the calling to personal and political response in a Christian context.

Jean Mayer, "Coping with Famine", Foreign Affairs, October, 1974. Proposals for organizing efficiently in crisis situations.

Gunnar Myrdal, "The Transfer of Technology to Underdeveloped Countries", Scientific American, September, 1974. A history of economic aid: why past programs have failed and why a land reform/rural development approach offers the best possibilities.

Roy Prosterman, "The World's Two Billion Poor People Head into their Darkest Times", War/Peace Report, June, 1974. Outlines how price increases for food, fuel and fertilizer have nullified the potential benefit of recent improvements in the U. S. foreign aid program.

Roy Prosterman, "Is the Future Hopeless?", critical review of Robert Heilbroner's "An Inquiry into the Human Prospect", War/Peace Report, vol. 13, #3. Reprints from World Without War Council, 1514 N. E. 45th Street, Seattle, WA 98105.

Roger Revelle, "Food and Population", Scientific American, September, 1974. Shows the tremendous potential for increasing the planet's food production and how improved nutrition helps to stabilize population.

U. S. Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs. Various publications, see especially Hunger 1973 and National Nutrition Study, Report and Recommendation VIII.

PERIODICALS

Bread for the World, monthly newsletter featuring Congressional data. 602 East 9th Street, New York, NY ($10/yr.)

CERES, FAO bi-monthly international development review: order from UNIPUB, Inc., Box 433, New York, NY 10016 ($6/yr.)

Development Forum, published monthly by the United Nations Centre for Economic and Social Information, Palais des Nations, CH-1211, Geneva 10, Switzerland. (Free)

International Development Review, quarterly professional journal of the Society for International Development, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036.

War on Hunger, published monthly by the Agency for International Development, Department of State, Washington, D. C. 20523. (Free)

World Food Programme News, Food and Agriculture Organization of the U. N. (FAO), 00100 Rome, Italy.

TEACHING RESOURCES

Focusing on Global Poverty and Development: A Resource Book for Educators, Jayne Millar for the Overseas Development Council, 1974, 630 pp., $12. An ambitious and valuable integration of background information and teaching resources on seven global development issues, including world hunger. The work includes a 26 page film guide. From WWWC Publications.

Intercom, published quarterly by Center for War/Peace Studies, 218 East 18th St., New York, NY 10003. Issues #69: Development: New Approaches, #72: Teaching About Population, #73: Interdependence.

Social Education, official journal of the National Council for the Social Studies: special issue, Global Hunger and Poverty, November/December, 1974, Vol. 38, #7, $1.50.

Hunger Action Handbook, 1975, American Freedom from Hunger Foundation, 1100 17th Stree, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036.

The Global City, a multi-media presentation by Jim McGinnis of the Institute for Education in Peace and Justice, 3801 West Pine Street, St. Louis, Missouri 63103. Examines the maldistribution of the world's resources, the "economic rules of the game" and a survey of global problems that can only be solved by a global approach. This project, geared to high school and adult audiences, is composed of 40 transparencies, 140 slides, 7 cassettes and 60 pages of text and background information. It is designed for presentations of 3 different lengths: a 45 minute version, a 90 minute version and a series of 6 modules ranging from 15 - 30 minutes each. Purchase: $100; rental: $10 - $20.

GAMES

Aid Committee Game, Oxfam-America, Inc., 474 Center Street, Newton, MA 02158: $5. (Sr. high and above) A series of decision-making situations drawn from 12 different countries of Africa and Latin America, in which students must decide their priorities in allocating limited funds to specific development projects.

Star Power, by Garry Shirts. Simile II, P. O. Box 1023, LaJolla, CA 92037: $25, or $3 for do-it-yourself instructions. (grade 7 and up) A game about the world's unequal distribution of wealth and power in which individual players have a chance to progress from one economic level to another by acquiring wealth through trade.

Baldicer, by Georgeanne Wilcoxson. John Knox Press, Box 1176, Richmond, VA 23209: $25. (grades 6 - 14) Simulates the problems of providing food for the world's populations, encouraging students to think about solutions in an economically interdependent world. 20 - 40 players.

SLIDE SHOW

Hunger on Spaceship Earth, 1974 (American Friends Service Committee, 15 Rutherford Place, New York, NY 10003: rental $5) Highlights the dimensions of the world hunger problem, its causes, the solutions required and what can be done by individuals and organizations.

D. Organizations

There are many non-governmental organizations involved in direct hunger relief and assistance. Addresses may be obtained by writing the American Council of Voluntary Agencies, 200 Park Avenue South, New York, NY 10015.

Africare
American Friends Service Committee
American Freedom from Hunger Foundation
American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee
Brethren Service Committee
CARE (Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere)
Catholic Releif Service
Church World Service
CODEL (Coordination in Development)
Community Development Foundation
Community Nutrition Institute
Ford Foundation
Heifer Project International
Lutheran World Federation
Lutheran World Relief
Mennonite Central Committee
Organization for Rehabilitation Training
Oxfam-America
Rockefeller Foundation
Save the Children Federation
Seventh-Day Adventist World Service
Technoserve
The (Mississippi) Delta Ministry
The Salvation Army
World Council of Churches
World Relief Commission
Young Men's Christian Association
Young Women's Christian Association
Volunteers in Technical Assistance
World Vision International

The below listed organizations, and many of the above, engage in educational or political programs designed to overcome world hunger.

Agricultural Development Council
American Friends Service Committee, New York and other offices
American Freedom from Hunger Foundation
Bread for the World
Friends Committee on National Legislation
League for Economic Assistance and Development
NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People)
One World: The Rich and the Poor
Overseas Development Council
PUSH (People United to Save Humanity)
Society for International Development
World Without War Council
World Without War Issues Center
World Hunger Action Coalition

The following governmental and International Agencies have programs designed to alleviate world hunger.

Agency for International Development
Dept. of State
Washington, D. C. 20423

Food & Agriculture Organization (FAO)
1776 F Street N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20437

World Health Organization
United Nations
New York City, New York 10017

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
1750 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

U. N. Development Program
United Nations
New York City, New York 10017

World Food Programme
Via delle Terme di Carracalla
Rome, Italy

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank)
1818 H Street N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20433

UNICEF
United Nations
New York City, New York 10017

THE WORLD WITHOUT WAR COUNCIL

The principle purposes and functions of the Council are...

to establish the goal of ending war as a guiding force in American life;

to clarify the elements of understanding and belief and to define the strategies and tasks essential to achieving the goal;

to engage mainstream organizations and institutions in appropriate work through their own constituencies to translate these ideas into national policy;

to offer, through national and regional centers of thought and activity, the catalytic, training, model-building, programming and coordinating services and resources needed;

to provide a continuing overview of peace efforts by voluntary organizations with the purpose of aiding in the development of common standards and priorities for more effective work;

to articulate the basic moral and political values which provide the motivation needed for a sustained engagement in that work.

Write the office nearest you for a complete introduction to the Council's programs, publications, ideas, people and work opportunities.

National Office: 175 Fifth Avenue, New York City, N. Y. 10010

Northern California Regional Office:
1730 Grove Street, Berkeley, California 94709

Midwest Regional Office: 110 South Dearborn, Chicago, Ill. 60603

Northwest Regional Office: 1514 N. E. 45th Street, Seattle, Wash. 98105

Other Offices: 1838 S. W. Jefferson, Portland, Oregon 97201