



## League of Women Voters of Minnesota Records

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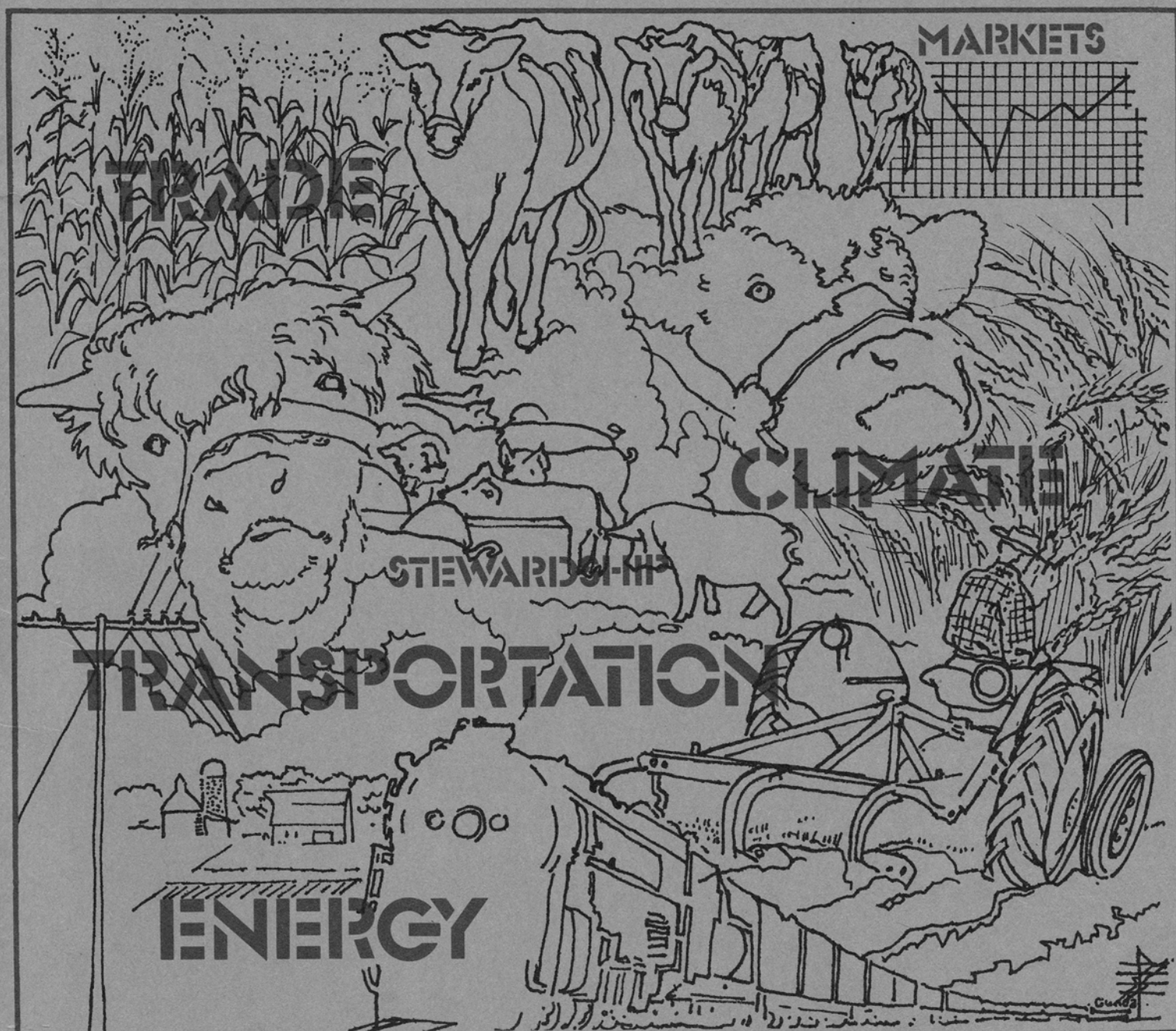
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# Between you and Hunger

A Report on the Midwest Conference on Food Policy



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A Report on the Midwest Conference on Food Policy

JUNE 6 - 7, 1974

Sponsored by Minnesota Farmers Union

Minnesota AFL-CIO

in Cooperation with the World Hunger Action Coalition

Co-chairmen

Cy Carpenter

President, Minnesota Farmers Union

David K. Roe

President, AFL-CIO

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## Between You and Hunger

Ten years ago, five years ago, even two years ago, it would have been unthinkable to suggest food shortages and scarcity prices could occur in the United States.

To be sure, there could be trouble elsewhere in the world, but we in the United States would use our bounty to feed ourselves and continue the war on hunger as we had in the past 20 years.

So, most Americans dismissed the Paddock brothers and others who had begun to warn of famine as alarmists.

We would stand between the world and hunger, we were confident.

Then, all of a sudden, we found ourselves in 1974, not only with a continuing and intensifying food crisis in the world, but in a very real sense with a 'crisis in the bread basket of America.'

It was to demonstrate that a much greater catastrophe would be ahead for consumers here and around the world if farmers here in the 'Midwestern bread-basket of the world' were not able to continue in production, that the Midwestern Regional Conference on Food was called.

Farmers would have to be able to stay in business --- to survive economically and to have access to energy and scarce inputs --- if they were to stand between Americans and hunger, or world citizens and hunger.

The Russian Grain Deal and the energy crisis did not precipitate the crisis --- they only helped accelerate it.

Four years of systematic attrition, dismantling of farm programs, weakening of agencies, short-changing them budget-wise, and using the veto threat to force reductions in price and income support levels had the nation's farmers in a bind.

The White House, USDA and the Budget Bureau refused all proposals to help farmers keep abreast of the devastating inflation in operating costs.

Then came the boom in world demand for food and shortly thereafter the energy crunch.

Farmers benefitted only briefly from the upturn in prices --- then inflation caught up with them --- and their efforts to expand production were hampered by shortages of fuel, natural gas, chemicals, fertilizer, steel goods and other items --- and by a doubling and tripling of input prices in many instances.

Farmers had never farmed in a more precarious time. Their ability to stay in business was in doubt. They were being asked to vastly expand production, but without any assurance that they would be able to do so profitably.

Few people --- except perhaps some speculators and hand-lers --- were benefitting from the roller-coaster tendencies in the food economy.

We had come to this precarious situation because we were without a comprehensive national food policy in this country.

We had a national food policy in this country only in the sense that the policy was not to have a food policy.

The White House and USDA had not only fought every effort to expand and strengthen the farm programs, but had insisted on their downgrading. They kept telling farmers and the Congress that it is wrong for the government to plan, to set food production goals, to give farmers incentives to produce, to raise their prices and incomes in line with costs, or to create and maintain publicly-held food reserves so that shortages could be avoided.

USDA failed to show any great alarm about fuel, propane, fertilizer and other shortages and minimized the impact of rising costs of these inputs.

It was because the Farmers Union and the AFL-CIO organizations of the Midwest states felt that the nation needed an affirmative and comprehensive food policy that this conference was held.

It was no longer good enough to leave things to chance, felt the sponsors. The nation had to establish a food budget and an energy budget to assure the production goal.

America needed a comprehensive new farm and food policy, for the sake of its own citizens, and because without a food policy of our own, we were unlikely to be of much help in determining successful food policies for a troubled world.

Thinking farmers and workers, aware that a World Food Conference, proposed by Senator Humphrey and endorsed by Secretary Kissinger, would be held in Rome, Italy, in November, 1974, knew that this conference would have to achieve results if greater disaster were to be avoided.

But, at the same time that grave concerns were being felt by farmers that the World Food Conference might fail; some in the Administration were alarmed that the World Food Conference might succeed.

Officials high in USDA or elsewhere in the government talked about the risks involved in participating in the World Food Conference.

These officials worried considerably that the U.S. State Department might get 'mouse-trapped' into some bad deals --- deals which might cost the American taxpayers billions.

The cost of not dealing with world hunger --- in terms of lives shattered or lost, or new threats to world peace and stability --- scarcely seemed to occur to these negatively-oriented officials.

It was in the context of these two over-riding concerns that the Midwest Food Conference was held --- first, the danger, that the American family farm structure --- the last bulwark between people of the world and hunger --- was being allowed to deteriorate --- and secondly, the prospect that the United States should continue without a constructive food policy and allow the World Food Conference to falter upon the simple failure of this nation to exhibit strong intellectual and moral leadership.

--- Milton D. Hakei  
Co-ordinator,  
Midwest Food Conference



# Agenda --- Midwest Food Conference

## THURSDAY, JUNE 6 ---

8:00 a.m. --- Registration

9:00 a.m. --- PLENARY SESSION --- AGENDA AND ACTION

Cy Carpenter, President,  
Minnesota Farmers Union

David K. Roe, President,  
Minnesota AFL-CIO

9:30 a.m. --- WELCOME AND CHALLENGE

Jon Wefald  
Commissioner of Agriculture,  
State of Minnesota

9:45 a.m. --- PRODUCER AND CONSUMER ---  
THE FUTURE AS WE SEE IT

Tony T. Dechant, President,  
National Farmers Union

Frank L. Fernbach, Assistant to the  
President, United Steelworkers of America

Reactor Panel ---

Chuck Lillgren, WCCO Radio

Ted Tabler, Metropolitan  
Senior Federation

George Rice, Saint Paul Pioneer  
Press and Dispatch

12:00 Noon --- LUNCHEON SESSION

INFLATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS  
FOR THE FOOD PRODUCER AND  
CONSUMER

Eather Shapiro, President,  
Consumer Federation of America

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, JUNE 6 ---

2:00 p.m. --- WORKSHOP SESSIONS

A. FOOD ENOUGH FOR EVERYONE ---  
INPUT AND OUTPUT PROBLEMS

Gilbert Rhode, President, Wisconsin  
Farmers Union, Chairman

John Peterson, Director  
Minnesota Energy Conservation  
Office

Donald V. Borst, Vice President,  
Corporate Planning, CF Industries

Ed Wisland, Asst. Manager,  
FU Marketing & Processing

Victor K. Ray, National  
Farmers Union, Reporter

B. INFLATION, CREDIT, AND  
YOUR FOOD PROBLEM

Pat Dubois, Independent  
Bankers of America,  
Chairman

Alvin C. Peterson, President,  
State Bank of Chandler

Frank L. Fernbach, United  
Steelworkers of America

Robert Handschin, Economist,  
Farmers Union GTA, Reporter

C. CONSUMERS AND PRODUCERS ---  
RIVALS OR PARTNERS?

Leonard O. Lashomb,  
Minnesota AFL-CIO,  
Chairman

Tobey Lapakko, Member,  
Governor's Advisory Council  
On Consumer Affairs

Lowell Gose, President,  
Iowa Farmers Union

Maxine McKeown  
Catholic Rural Life Conference

Jim Paulson,  
KMSP TV, Reactor

Barb Beerhalter, Minnesota  
AFL-CIO, Reporter

D. WHAT'S BEHIND THE FOOD  
PRICE SPIRAL

James J. Wengert  
Secretary-Treasurer,  
Iowa Federation of Labor,  
Chairman

James G. Patton, Past President  
National Farmers Union

Jim McHale, Commissioner,  
Pennsylvania Department  
Of Agriculture

Gordon Spielman, Editor,  
Union Advocate, Reactor

Joe O'Neill, NFI Washington  
Newsletter, Reporter

E. LAND, PEOPLE, AND FOOD

Rev. John J. McRaith,  
National Catholic Rural  
Life Conference, Chairman

Robert Snyder, University  
Of Minnesota

Keith F. Myers, Midwest  
Field Rep. Of SCS

William Hoeg, Director,  
Agricultural Experiment Station,  
University Of Minnesota,  
Reactor

Thomas F. Ellerbe Jr.,  
President, Cooperative  
Foundation, Reporter

F. FAMILY FARMS --- WHY AND  
HOW THEY SHOULD SURVIVE

Ben Radcliffe, President,  
South Dakota Farmers Union  
Chairman

Richard Rodefeld,  
Michigan State University

Philip M. Raup  
University Of Minnesota

Bill Walker, Assistant  
Commissioner, Minnesota  
Department Of Agriculture,  
Reactor

F.B. Daniel, Executive  
Director, Iowa Farmers  
Union, Reporter

3:30 p.m. --- REPEAT OF WORKSHOP SESSIONS

THURSDAY EVENING, JUNE 6 ---

7:00 p.m. --- PLENARY SESSION

MORAL AND SOCIAL ISSUES  
OF HUNGER, LANDLESSNESS,  
AND UNEMPLOYMENT

James G. Patton, Past  
President, National Farmers  
Union

Bishop Edward E. Swanson,  
Executive Director, Catholic  
Relief Services

Dr. J. Robert Busche,  
Assistant Executive Secretary,  
Lutheran World Relief

Reactor Panel ---

Stanley Moore, Secretary-  
Treasurer, North Dakota  
Farmers Union

Tom Doughty, President,  
American Agricultural  
Editor's Association

Dr. Clyde N. Rogers,  
Consultant, Ohio C.R.O.P.  
Office

FRIDAY, JUNE 7 ---

7:15 a.m. --- BREAKFAST SESSION

TRADE POLICY --- THE STAKE  
OF CONSUMERS AND FARMERS

Robert G. Lewis, Secretary,  
National Farmers Union

9:00 a.m. --- OPEN HEARING

THE FOOD CRISIS AS IT AFFECTS  
ME AND MY COMMUNITY AND  
WORLD

Robert Bergland, U.S. Congressman,  
Seventh Minnesota District,  
Co-Chairman

Frank Denholm, U.S. Congressman,  
First District,  
South Dakota

Statements by concerned individuals  
and groups.

12:00 Noon --- LUNCHEON SESSION

Greetings, Governor Wendell R. Anderson

THE UN WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE  
NOVEMBER, 1974

Dr. John G. Stoessinger, Director  
Of Public Affairs, United Nations

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, JUNE 7 ---

2:00 p.m. --- PLENARY SESSION

NEW DIMENSIONS OF THE WORLD  
FOOD AND DEVELOPMENT GAP

Herbert J. Waters, Chairman,  
World Hunger Action Council

Lester R. Brown, Senior Fellow,  
Overseas Development Council

Dr. Louis M. Thompson, Associate  
Dean for Agriculture, Iowa  
State University

Reactor Panel ---

Judy Healey, Coordinator,  
Joint Religious Legislative  
Coalition

Robert G. Lewis, Secretary  
National Farmers Union

Melvin B. Meyers, Director  
Of Material Resource Program,  
Crop Church World Service

4:00 p.m. --- CONCLUDING ADDRESS ---  
'THE NEXT STEPS'

Hubert H. Humphrey,  
U.S. Senator, Minnesota

## The Genesis of the World Food Conference

The first World Food Conference in history will be held in Rome, November 5-16, 1974.

The idea of such a conference was proposed by U.S. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey during the course of the confirmation hearing by the Senate Foreign Relations committee into the approval of the nomination of Henry A. Kissinger as Secretary of State.

This colloquy took place on September 11, 1973:

SENATOR HUMPHREY. Dr. Kissinger, I shall not keep you very long. I have a special interest in trade and economic policy.

I think that this is a very significant dimension of what we call national security and foreign policy. If it is true that we are leaving a period of confrontation and entering into the era of cooperation, then we have to think in terms of economics and trade and resources. It is my judgment that this is going to be one of the toughest areas for our country in the coming months and years.

We are very short of natural resources, and at the present time, because of the devaluation of the dollar, there is a drain on American resources. It is a good buy if you can get everything you can from the United States.

My special field of endeavor in the past year or so has been in the food area. I am of the opinion that the administration since I have taken office has realized the significance of the adequate supplies of food and fiber to national security, and to our foreign policy.

Not long ago I wrote a letter to the President in which I suggested, in light of the fact that there is about a 400 million bushel shortage of wheat worldwide which precipitates an international food crisis, that there ought to be a meeting of the key exporting and importing nations to decide, first of all, what are we going to do about the areas of starvation and famine.

I would like very much, Mr. Secretary, if my vote prevails, that you give this issue priority attention, because I have noted day after day the problems in India and Bangladesh and the Sahel, in other areas, and our Public Law 480 program has ground to a halt insofar as any assistance is concerned.

I do not expect that the United States can do this alone. I want to be very frank about it.

For example, in the West African countries, France has a special responsibility.

Let me just put it in the form of a question.

Would you initiate, after consultation with the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Commerce, and obviously with the President, a discussion amongst the main exporting nations and the main importing nations as to what we are going to do in the coming year to relieve conditions of human misery and, in some areas, famine, in the light of the world food supply situation?

MR. KISSINGER. You know, Senator Humphrey, that your suggestion runs counter to all our traditional attitudes with respect to agriculture.

SENATOR HUMPHREY. Correct.

MR. KISSINGER. We have always resisted the idea of commodity-type agreements because we wanted to have the maximum opportunity for the export of American products, and we thought we would have enough to take care of all needs. In this respect the experience of the last year has been a chal-

lenge to all our traditional assumptions. We recognize that now we are living in a new world.

We have recently started an interdepartmental study of this problem. The proposal you make is one that some of us were discussing informally earlier this year; at that time it did not receive too much favor because of the weight of previous assumptions.

All I can say, pending the completion of that interdepartmental study, is that the approach you have suggested is needed, and we will look at it with the greatest sympathy.

SENATOR HUMPHREY. I will share with you some correspondence on it. Let me say again, Dr. Kissinger, my basic feeling is as Chairman of Foreign Agricultural Policy, I deplore export controls. I would like to see the market as open as possible. But I know that the Chairman of the Agricultural Committee, Mr. Talmadge, is deeply worried about the outflow, for example, the excessive outflow of American cotton. All of this is due, might I say to my colleagues, to the fact that the dollar has a 35 percent discount. There is a run on everything we have.

Yesterday morning we spent 2 hours on the fact that we have a shortage of fertilizer, and let me say that this fact means that we will be short 20 million tons of feed grains next year. Unless we can remedy the fertilizer shortage within 90 days we will be 20 million tons short next year on feed grains which will precipitate an international economic crisis. And in the United States inflation will be like a barn burning down. There is no way that we can lose 20 million tons and not be in a major disaster.

I again say that I don't like to see export controls, but I want the State Department to be involved in this, and it hasn't been in the past. It has been looked upon as strictly commerce, or as agriculture, and yet this deals with our foreign policy. If we put on export controls it upsets others, as it did the Japanese, and the French used it to great advantage in terms of the common agricultural policy of the European Community. I hope, Dr. Kissinger, that you will involve yourself, as the Secretary of State, in matters which have been essentially looked upon as commercial.

Might I say that even those who write about this are ill informed because there is a whole new ball game. People do not understand what is hitting us. I want to state for the record today that unless the Government of the United States takes some measures to either extend terms of shipment or enters into some form of licensing to where we can keep a better record of what is happening in terms of exports so that we can avoid export mandatory embargoes we are going to have an international food crisis, Dr. Kissinger, the likes of which no one has ever dreamed of. We are the only reserve producing country in the world, the only one, with any major reserve.

The predicament, yesterday from Dr. Paarlberg of the Department of Agriculture were that we are headed for a 20-million-ton shortage next year, even though we open up 22 million more acres, because of one little subject called fertilizer which is running out of this country at \$20 a ton more overseas than they can get for it domestically. Enough on that, I just

wanted to get you involved in it because I think the trade matters are going to be at the heart of all of our new efforts.

MR. KISSINGER. It is a new field for us. We had not in the past thought that agricultural exports required foreign policy decision. But I can assure you that the State Department will be deeply involved in these issues that you have raised.

Within less than two weeks of that confirmation hearing, on September 24, 1973, Secretary of State Kissinger appeared before the 28th General Assembly of the United Nations. He proposed such a conference to discuss ways to maintain adequate food supplies and to harness the efforts of all nations to meet the hunger and malnutrition resulting from natural disasters.

Additional impetus to such a conference came in November, 1973, when the 120-nation United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) held its biennial conference in Rome. Unanimous approval was given at an FAO plenary session to the general objectives and format of a World Food Conference, giving this guidance to the UN in making the final decision on the conference.

"The principal task of the World Food Conference," the FAO report declares, "should be to bring about a commitment by the world community as a whole to undertake concrete action towards resolving the world food problem within the wider context of development problems."

In its report the conference indicated that the world food problem which had undergone a serious deterioration during the past year, could not be solved within the agricultural sector alone. It suggested that the next level with full participation of all members of the United Nations, or of its related agencies including those not members of FAO, is the time to begin a debate on the question many delegations stressed the importance of participation of the USSR which is not a member of FAO.

As envisaged by the FAO report, major emphasis of the World Food Conference should be placed on additional measures for increasing the food production, consumption and trade of developing countries.

"Particular attention," the report declares, "should be paid to maximizing the production potential of available land, to an extension of the area under irrigation, of agricultural inputs, which should increasingly be manufactured in the developing countries. Action should also be foreseen to reduce losses, both before and after harvesting."

On December 17, 1973, the General Assembly adopted a resolution to convene a World Food Conference under the auspices of the United Nations.

The preparatory committee for this conference has held three sessions, the first session in New York, February 11-15, 1974, and the second session in Geneva, June 4-8, 1974, the third session will be held in Rome, September 23-October 5, 1974.

In accordance with the decision taken at the first session, an assessment on the present food situation was prepared for consideration at the second session.

The assessment is based largely on material prepared in the Food and Agriculture Organization with contributions from other international organizations including the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the UN Conference on Trade and Development, the International Labor Organization, the U.N. Children's Fund, the World Health Organization, and the World Meteorological Organization. The designations employed and the presentation of the material in this publication do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the Food and Agriculture Organization, or the U.S. Government, concerning the legal status of any country or territory or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers.

Secretary General Waldheim appointed Mr. Sayed Marei of the U.A.R. as the Secretary General of the Conference. Mr. Marei is former Deputy Prime Minister for Agriculture and Irrigation and is currently an advisor to President Sadat. He is assisted by three deputies drawn from the FAO, the United States and the Soviet Union.

While the conference was designed as an intergovernmental meeting on the ministerial level, Secretary-General Marei has stressed the important role which non-governmental organizations can and should play before, during and after the conference to assure its success.

"Producers of food have a crucial role to play in the solution of the world food problem and have a tremendous responsibility for supporting measures and arrangements that are necessary at national and international levels," Marei told the delegates to the International Federation of Agricultural Producers at its 20th general conference in May, 1974, at Baden Austria.

Marei termed the food crisis as more than temporary situation or short-run deviation from an otherwise favorable state of affairs.

"In the present case we can see something basically wrong with the structure of production, distribution, and trade of food products. If for some curious reason the present crisis looks a bit too sudden, it does not mean that it was not there; it was building up all the time. It is now clear that we are landed with a problem of serious dimensions, and it will require equally heroic efforts to put it right."

He warned his IFAP listeners that there is danger ahead if the World Food Conference is a failure.

"If the governments participating in the conference fail to come to grips with the problem, we will face a dangerous situation. People don't eat documents --- they eat bread --- and that's what they expect from this conference," he said.

IFAP members responded with a special resolution terming the World Food Conference the most important meeting in regard to agriculture and food in 30 years since the meeting was held at Hot Springs to establish the FAO.

The IFAP resolution emphasized that "because the Conference is about food, it must also be about the people who produce it --- the farmers of the world."

Through IFAP, farmers of the world declared:

The world's resources of land, people, materials, and knowledge are sufficient to provide the food mankind needs. But that need will not be met until it is translated into real demand at effective and remunerative prices to producers in both developing countries is especially fundamental. The basic long-term answers to food supplies must lie in the broad framework of a development and trade strategy of which food production is but one, though a critical part.

## World Hunger Action Coalition

### WHAT IT IS ... WHAT IT BELIEVES

#### STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

The world is confronted by a food crisis of an unprecedented and long-term character which presents a moral as well as an economic challenge to the U.S. The increasingly widespread shortage of food is aggravated by rapidly escalating prices for fertilizer, petroleum and food itself, which threaten to curtail what is available to hungry people even further. The gap between the well-fed and the underfed is widening; there are more hungry people in the world now than ever in the past. This situation demands immediate reserves.

Since the developed countries, such as the United States, are better off both economically and technologically, and since the consumption patterns stemming from our affluence contribute significantly to the pressure on limited world food supplies, we must take primary responsibility for relieving present and guarding against future scarcity, even to the point of limiting our own escalating standards of living.

In seeking to discharge this responsibility, we must recognize (a) that the right to eat is fundamental to human life, (b) that our own hungry people are an integral part of the world problem, and (c) that any program designed to relieve world hunger must protect the farmer's right to a fair return on his investment and labor as well as the rights of consumers. While assistance to the hungry in the form of food is imperative, food aid is not a substitute for development assistance, especially at the level of the individual villager and farmer.

The Coalition, alarmed at an apparent isolationist trend in the U.S. believes that the developed nations cannot afford, either morally or otherwise, to enlarge the gap between themselves and the less developed countries or to alienate further the poor in their own countries. Cognizant of the fact that we all share a global interdependence and that the resources of the world are finite, we encourage steps, both immediate and long-range, to alleviate the world food problem and the underdeveloped condition of which it is a symptom.

Just as we in the United States once made our farm surpluses available to the needy in the days of abundance, we must now reaffirm that commitment in a time of scarcity. While not neglecting domestic needs, we believe the U.S. should carry out a deliberate and conscious policy of creating food reserves that will help sustain hungry people abroad in the face of the vagaries of weather, crop and price fluctuations, and natural and human disasters.

#### WORLD HUNGER ACTION COALITION GOALS

To attack world hunger immediately by stimulating public interest in and action toward (a) sharply increasing food aid through both private and public channels, (b) building up the U.S. component of a worldwide food reserve, and (c) insuring that the U.S. delegation to the World Food Conference in Rome advocates a policy of sharing national food resources with the hungry.

### TARGET: THE UN WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE

The World Food Conference, called by the United Nations for Rome in November, 1974, offers an opportunity to plan cooperative action toward minimum world food security, including food aid, disaster relief, and other measures, and to re-emphasize the essential link between general economic development and the provision of an adequate diet for all. The success of the Conference will depend on how effectively governments cooperate and, in particular, whether they are willing to turn a proposal already accepted in principle—i.e., the world reserve—into an effective system of food security.

Moreover, we see the World Food Conference not only as a forum for repairing the more immediate damage done to the most vulnerable of the poor countries by the recent sharp price rises in energy and food, but more importantly as an opportunity to relate these short-term measures to the more basic continuing development problems of alleviating poverty and accelerating social and economic progress toward equitable distribution of the planet's finite resources. It should thus be the occasion to discuss and design a global program that would move far beyond food.

All governments must play a great part in this. The U.S. Government, however, now lacks a formal national policy on world food needs. Therefore, in implementing its stated goal to influence the U.S. delegation and through it the World Food Conference, the Coalition intends:

1. To become a national voice in the formation in the U.S. of a world food policy along the lines described above.
2. To help the American people understand the reality and the severity of the world food crisis.
3. To stimulate public participation in an immediate effort to increase food aid and build up a food reserve.
4. To stress the need to view hunger in the broader context of development, whose ultimate goal is to enhance the quality of human life.
5. To mobilize grassroots support for development assistance to less developed countries.
6. To advocate a policy in the U.S. of greater concrete concern for the poor in America, particularly in areas related to food and nutrition.
7. To insure implementation after the World Food Conference of the policies we hope to see adopted there.

The agenda now envisioned for the World Food Conference ... the launching of a world food reserve system, stepped-up food aid, and a worldwide effort to increase food production in the developing countries, seems to us to offer the possibility of moving beyond a rather narrow focus on food to a thorough discussion of the much broader development questions, of which food is a single but most important aspect. The Conference will not be a culmination, but a beginning of concerted solutions to the moral and economic problem of a world increasingly divided between the very rich and the very poor, between the satiated and the hungry. The matter is one of justice and equity.

# Producer and Consumer

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# 1

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## Cy Carpenter

Like an heir who has inherited great wealth, but never worked to earn it, our nation has taken its food supply for granted. Our consistent and sustained abundance have made it possible for the nation to proceed without planning or direction.

America has proceeded without an overall food policy, but now we can no longer do so.

Today, both producer and consumer are alarmed at the wild gyrations in food supplies and prices. The roller-coaster economy has served no one well.

The housewife is aghast when she sees price tags over \$2 a pound on the meat in the supermarket counter --- and the farmer has the same feeling when he is asked to pay \$2 per pound for seed to put into the soil.

Farmers cannot continue to produce if their return does not cover the rising costs of various supplies and inputs --- they cannot continue to produce if vital fertilizer, chemicals, fuel, metal goods, and other supplies are not available when needed.

What we need to do, as a matter of national policy, is to budget the amount of food and farm raw materials we will need for domestic and export needs, plus a reserve, and then to budget the gasoline, electrical energy, fertilizer, chemicals, marketing and transportation services to produce and distribute these products.

We need to develop a national food policy which will enable farmers to produce enough for all needs and will at the same time assure an income level which will enable them to stay in production and keep our productive capacity at a high level. We must do better than the kind of unplanned, chaotic and gambling approach to food policy which is exemplified by current USDA thinking and leadership.

To develop this comprehensive national food policy we must have the cooperation and input of farmers, consumers, businessmen, and workers --- after all, they are all affected. Food is everybody's business --- but the process all starts at the farm and we can have ample supplies at reasonable prices only through a continuation of our family farm system.

As farmers and consumers, we need to understand each other's position, problems, and viewpoints. This closer understanding of the entire food situation is essential, unless we are willing to keep living in this present unsatisfactory condition.

The conditions in the food crisis are not beyond control. Monopoly and concentration in the food business need not be accepted --- spiralling interest rates and double-digit inflation need not be suffered without a response.

Neither can we accept the continuing toll of hunger and malnutrition in the needy nations around the world.

What so far has been an annoyance to us in food shortages and scarcity pricing, is much more serious many other places around the globe. While we complain about our own situation, and understandably so, millions of parents in the needy nations watch their children go hungry and seek their physical and mental development impaired by protein deprivation. Governments around the world are being shaken by the food crisis and the inflation spiral.

We are richly blessed in this country. We can do better if we will resolve to maintain the strengths of our agricultural system.

These are both moral and economic problems. I think the people are willing to face up to the times, but we cannot make these decisions, make these plans, or budget the necessary food production without leadership by the government.

We hope this conference can marshal the will and the determination to use our human and natural resources to produce and utilize food in the interests of all.

## David K. Roe

The family farmer, the laborer, the consumer, just that average guy, have one thing in common --- the marketplace. We are here together, the family farmer, the average working people, and other consumers to listen to the experts and to each other; to ask questions of the experts and each other, so we can understand each others' problems better and see if there isn't a way we can stem this tide that's making the future very uncertain for all of us.

In the energy field a complete lack of planning has created a near chaotic condition. We can't permit this to happen in the marketplace. The easiest part is finding out what the problems are.

I have a few figures on what's happening to the workers: In Minnesota the cost of living last year increased nearly 10% --- a full percent more than the national average; cost of food in the Twin Cities has gone up 18% during the same term; and the average production worker's pay went up only 5.5% in the Twin Cities area.

That ten percent increase last year may look mild by the time this year is over. For the first few months of this year the cost of living was going up at an annual rate of 18%.

The President said that labor shouldn't expect any catch-up wages to make up for what was lost in inflation in recent years. That's the problem workers face when they try to plan ahead --- both for collective bargaining for their wages, and how to feed their family.

## Jon Wefald

When you talk about food it seems to me extremely and vitally important that consumers, working people, and farmers understand that they have to work together and think collectively to really come to a true understanding of what it's all about.

One of the great ironies in the world today, certainly in America, is the fact that we have people who are starving to death; we have people who are literally dying on the vine. Too many millions of people are suffering from malnutrition, utter poverty. To put it bluntly, they just don't have any food.

The other side of the coin is that in America, where we've got the most productive and efficient farmers and ranchers anywhere in the world --- we have too many hog, cattle, and dairy people who are simply going broke. I think that says something about the fundamental problem that we face in this nation, and in the world today. This is why it is so extremely important that farmers and workers and consumers start now to talk to one another, to explain what their problems are.

We ought to take advantage of all of this and start paving the way for the kind of understanding that will do what? --- that will, in short, give incentive to our farmers and ranchers to produce at a fair price. And if they get just a reasonable return on their investment, I think it is fair to say that our farmers and ranchers are capable of feeding this nation, and indeed much of the world. But this can only be accomplished with good will and understanding, not just on the part of our farmers and ranchers, but consumers and working people as well.

## Tony T. Dechant

The world is face to face with its most dreaded disaster --- famine.

Famine is rampant in Ethiopia, in the seven African nations of the Sahel, and in areas of Tanzania, and Kenya. Near starvation plagues Bolivia, Syria, Yemen, and Nigeria. One poor harvest could bring famine to India, Bangladesh, Indonesia, the Philippines, Haiti, the Sudan, Guyana, Somalia, Guinea, Zaire, and two dozen other nations where people face chronic food shortages.

Food is going to be the overriding issue for the rest of our lives.

We are not providing enough food for the three and one-half billion people on earth today. And at present rates of increase, population will double by the year 2000.

About one-seventh of the human race today is literally starving --- starving slowly most of the time, starving faster when times are hardest. The United Nations reports that 500 million to 600 million people are in this condition of "undernutrition". Here is how the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations defines "undernutrition":

"Undernutrition means inadequacy of the nutritional quality of the diet. . . which, continued over a long period, results in either loss of normal body activity or reduction in physical activity, or both. . . For children the consequences of low calorie intake are unsatisfactory growth and physical development, and a reduction of the high degree of activity characteristic of healthy children."

Another two-sevenths of the human race, about a billion people, are "malnourished". They get enough food to fill their stomachs most days, but it is lacking in nutrients essential for maintaining good health.

This leaves just over half of the human population who are adequately nourished. Yet most of these people too want more and better food --- they are hungry for more meat, more milk, more chicken and eggs and sugar and fats. No more than one out of seven, or even less, get about all they want and as good as they want to eat.

Our world reserve of food on hand now is enough only for 27 days, even at present rates of consumption. If all the world's food were divided evenly, everybody would be hungry.

We have not seriously begun to solve our problem. We do not find the answer because we are asking the wrong question.

The question should not be: How can we increase the supply of food?

It should be: How can we increase the power of the hungry to buy the food they want and need? How can we increase demand for food?

We know the answer. It is before our eyes. It shouts to us. The answer, wherever people are well fed, is the same. Hunger ends when people find work that pays them a decent return.

It is not because of our tremendous food-producing capability in the United States that our American people are well-fed. It is because most American families have the ability to buy and pay for food that they are well-fed.

I grew up during the Great Depression of the 1930's. There was a familiar story in farmer's meetings of that time that illustrated this fundamental reality about food and hunger: In Iowa, farmers burned corn in their furnaces because they couldn't get enough money for corn and hogs to buy coal. A few miles away, Iowa coal miners shivered and starved in their shacks because they were out of work and couldn't buy either coal or cornmeal or pork.

In 1961, the United States had the largest food reserves of any nation on earth at any time in all history. Yet it was that very year, we had more malnourished people in the United States than ever before in our history.

The Farmers Union understands the reality of feeding the hungry. Thirty years ago, the Farmers Union sponsored the Full Employment Act of 1946. It is the policies to which that Act committed our government that have made Americans a well-fed people.

How silly it would have been, either in 1933 or in 1961, to have worked to increase the supply of food in the United States because we were concerned about the shocking malnutrition that existed in our pockets of poverty.

How much more sensible it was to see that demand for food must come ahead of the supply of food, in order to get the job done! We started a Food Stamp Program in the 1960's, which the Farmers Union had advocated throughout the 1950's, and now we have greatly reduced malnutrition among our own poverty population. We did it by giving purchasing power to the hungry. The supply of food took care of itself.

How much smarter still it would be for the United States to guarantee a job at the minimum wage to every American! That would be the best way of all, the most effective way of all, to solve the problem of hunger. That would reduce the need for charity food to those who cannot work --- and make it much more likely that charity could be relied on to provide adequate food for those who cannot work.

There is no serious limit upon the physical ability of the world's farmers to produce all the food that mankind needs or will need, for the rest of this Century and beyond.

Approximately two billion acres of croplands are harvested in the world each year. There is nearly three times that much potential additional cropland that is suitable for agricultural production in the world --- for a total of 7.9 billion acres.

But it is not free land --- free for the plowing, as were hundreds of millions of our best prairie lands here in our American bread-basket. It will be expensive to develop most of this new land and bring it into production.

Yes, we can do it. We can grow the food to feed the hungry.

Well, why don't we get at the job and get it done?

I think the truth of the matter is that governments, and many others who bear various kinds of responsibility for feeding the hungry, ignore the fundamental solution to the problem of hunger because they kid themselves into hoping some half-way measures will keep the problem out of sight --- at least for the time being.

Let's take a look at some of these half-way measures.

A few years ago it was "The Green Revolution". Many who should have known better went along with the illusion that the use of advanced plant genetics and other scientific agricultural technology would solve the problem of hunger.

There is more appreciation than ever before of the interdependence of all mankind in seeking the peace, security, and prosperity that every family cherishes as its primary aim.

The militancy of the "have-not" nations themselves may not be a beneficial spur to the prosperous to make the economic accommodations and adjustments that are required to share the opportunity to work and to earn more widely among mankind. Whether we like it or not, the increased share of the world's wealth that is being claimed by the oil exporting countries, and perhaps soon also the exporters of bauxite, and of tropical farm products, and other raw materials, will result in wider dispersion of income and investments and the creation of new jobs.

No one need fear that the farmers of America --- and of the world --- would fail to respond to the pull of rising demand for food, particularly if they are protected and encouraged by reasonable measures to avoid collapsing prices when they occasionally produce short-run "surpluses" --- as will surely happen --- and to obtain the supplies and equipment that are needed to do their work.

It is the pull of demand --- not the push of surplus supplies --- that alone can end the problem of hunger. Events of the past two years have given us all a glimpse of the possibilities for feeding the hungry that lay ready at our hand. Demand for food briefly overtook the supply of food --- and it produced a demonstration that the world can pay parities for food, even after 20 years of habitual farm depression. Guaranteed parity prices for farm commodities --- sustained by the pull of rising demand for food generated by rising employment among those now hungry, and assured by reasonable and effective farm price support and stabilization programs --- is all the engine that is needed to win the war against hunger for all time.

I think that, despite all the good intentions in the world, in trying to deal with the problem of hunger, we have acted too long like an idiot trying to open a pouch by pushing on the drawstring.

It takes a pull, not a push, either to open or to close a pouch. Anyone in full charge of his faculties knows that.

It takes the pull of demand to get food to the hungry. It is high time for us, as the conscience of our nation, here in this Conference on the World Food Problem, to start to bring the world to its senses and to recognize the futility of half-way measures and short-run schemes that are bound to be as hopeless as the idiot, pushing on his drawstring.

## Frank Fernbach

I recently was reading a Farmers Union publication and it said, "Can the world be made to pay a just return to farmers for enough to eat?" This is the very essence of the problem. But it's only part of the essence of the problem of enough food for the world. There are so many facets, the issues are so complex and unfortunately, they are so controversial. And because all things that happen in life happen in a political context, it's good for agriculture and labor to be speaking to each other so we understand where some of the rough edges are, as well as congratulate ourselves on the areas of historic and continuous agreement.

As I see labor policy, and as I see it intermingling with farm policy, the emphasis of the latter relates to three basic questions: Can we produce an adequate supply for 210 million Americans available at fair and reasonably stable prices? Can we provide the producers of that agricultural supply with adequate returns for all factors, beginning with the farm laborer in the fields all the way to the counter of the chain store where the food and fiber production aspects are released to the public? Finally, can we produce a surplus for export

to meet overseas needs, to help our balance of payment problem and to clear the market of the inevitable surplus which this highly efficient agricultural system of ours does produce.

There is a magnificent record of cooperation between the Farmers Union and the American labor movement. Out of that cooperation and the policy positions that have emerged over the long run, we have been producing a miracle of production. Over the long run, farmers have not received adequate returns --- and I would go further to say that over the long run it seems to us inevitable that government must play a role as a partner in assuring the success of our agricultural system.

Much of labor does understand the reason for something called supply management involving our agricultural economy. And the fruit of this understanding is as recent as 1973 when I think the AFL-CIO, it is acknowledged, played a considerable role in the enactment of the legislation that Farmers Union was supporting.

When farm folks can get together and tell the labor movement what you need and why, it can be productive. But there is confusion because while we know and dearly love the Farmers Union, there also is the Grange, the NFO, the Farm Bureau. There are commodity groups of all kinds and the problem for us so often is, who speaks for agriculture? In our book it's the Farmers Union, although we'd like to see you with an all-embracing total membership of all these family farmers of this country.

I think we have to face the question not only of how many there are who live today who are hungry, but how many there'll be tomorrow. It took from the beginning of time to 1830 to create a billion people in this world. It took a hundred years to create the next billion. It took 30 years to make the next billion, and twenty years thereafter, we're producing a billion and a half people. And in the twenty years hereafter we will produce an additional three billion, on the basis of present population trends.

We must move towards self-sufficiency in the realm of food, it seems to me. When we speak of agriculture, may I mention the tremendous potential of food from the sea and the tragedy that man in many places seems to be fishing his food out of existence and that we need to interest and concern ourselves with that problem.

Now, I think it's a fallacy that we can go very far in helping the under-developed nations by letting them produce, for sale in the U.S., a whole variety of goods which thereby will provide them with income sufficient to buy our surplus of agricultural products.

We look with some dismay at a proposal to simply let the U.S. receive a flood of low priced commodities, or even high priced commodities, as a substitute for our own production. I want to make reference to a new phenomenon that is too little discussed, and that is the multi-national corporation. It is a fact that our largest and most powerful corporations, including some that are based in the state of Minnesota, simply have traveled overseas to build much of their new plants for a variety of reasons, including lower taxes, the ability to jump over other people's tariff walls, and most particularly --- cheap labor.

How do we help these less developed people? Of course, the thing they should be doing is raising as much as they can, with our help --- all the technology and inventiveness we can provide them.

We believe, and we have said so publicly, that there should be a reasonable monitoring of exports, of food and fiber and all other products, in consideration of what is good for the country from whatever point of view might be involved. Labor supports food and fiber reserves. All countries of the world should make some kind of contribution to a world wide reserve, and some rules have to be drawn about who shall draw what and when.

# Workshop Recommendations

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## A FOOD ENOUGH FOR EVERYONE --- INPUT AND OUTPUT PROBLEMS

The workshop session was opened by the chairman, Gilbert Rohde, President of the Wisconsin Farmers Union, with a statement in which he defined "inputs" as being such items as fertilizers, pesticides, and machinery and parts; and "outputs" as centering around distribution problems, transportation, prices, and the political situation around the world which might affect trade.

Panelist John Peterson, Director of the Energy Conservation Office of Minnesota, reported to the group on the work of his newly formed agency. He said the first job is to put together a comprehensive emergency energy plan for the state, the first draft of which is due July 27, 1974, and the final draft, December 27, 1974.

The thrust of his remarks was to assure that agriculture will continue in the top priority position for energy.

The next panelist was Donald V. Borst of CF Industries, who reported on the fertilizer situation. He said that present projections indicate the nitrogen shortage will continue until 1978, the phosphate shortage until 1976, and a potash shortage in the 1980s.

Another panelist, Representative John Lindstrom of Willmar, Minnesota, discussed a number of problems relating both to inputs and outputs. He expressed his own feeling of skepticism about how much government can do to remedy the situation; yet he indicated there was no other place the farmer can go. He called for corporate social responsibility. He said that the type of young farmer loan program is needed. He discussed the critical problem of transportation, worsened by railroad track abandonments.

A lively question period followed the brief presentations by the panelists. The following responses to questions were made: Lindstrom noted that the University of Minnesota is working on better ways of recycling manure. Borst said, however, that for the commercial farm, animal wastes are not a meaningful substitute for processed fertilizers.

Rohde noted that the creation of agriculture as a utility is a "highly sensitive political question." Lindstrom said that there is little possibility of such a development in the near future, yet he noted that small evidences of the trend may already be visible --- such as land use plans, environmental plans, and nutrition plans for schools.

Borst said that developing countries also face critical fertilizer shortages, but he said that their needs could best be served by building up their own resources, rather than trying to fill their needs from the U.S.

With reference to "social responsibility" by corporations, Lindstrom noted that Senate and House committees are looking into such things as state bank charters to determine how much funds are being used locally. He said such questions as "How much are the railroads doing for consumers?" are being asked.

## B INFLATION, CREDIT, AND YOUR FOOD PROBLEM

The panel on "INFLATION, CREDIT, AND YOUR FOOD PROBLEM," was opened by Pat Dulbis, president of the First State Bank of Sauk Centre, Minnesota, past president of the Independent Bankers Association of America and currently chairman of its Agriculture-Rural America Committee. Dulbis reviewed the current inflationary trend, the need for credit, and the relationship of food costs to farm costs of production.

Frank L. Fernbach, assistant to the president of the United Steelworkers of America, charged that soaring interest rates are adding to costs and prices throughout the economy and are posing a real inflation danger.

He declared that mismanagement of our national economy by the government has caused the supercharged inflation which is now taking its toll. Since interest rates are a major

part of the cost of doing business in all parts of the economy, this is adding sharply to the inflationary pressures.

Fernbach insisted that workers must have a rightful return for their contribution to the production process.

He declared that organized labor has the ability to price labor in the market place, but observed that farmers lack the cohesiveness that would permit pricing their production likewise. He expressed concern about farm price fluctuations and speculation in the agricultural commodity markets and urged that a system be developed which would bring some stability into marketing and prices.

Alvin C. Peterson, president of the State Bank of Chandler, Minnesota, defended the need of farmers for an adequate return on their operation. (See text of address.)

Discussion began on the damage done by inflation and on its causes. Inflation hurts farmers as well as consumers. One statement was that "inflation upsets everything" when it is severe. Inflation was also defined as "too many dollars chasing too few goods," and a condition where people have more dollars than sense." Probably the most frequently named cause was monopoly prices set by big corporations. It was pointed out the inflation began during the Vietnam War because taxes were cut instead of being increased. There were examples given of how farmers have increased their productivity, although it was pointed out that they were helped by a wide range of man-made goods and services. On the other hand, many industries, such as automobiles, have raised prices while cutting production.

Over the years personal income has gone up much more than food costs, so that food costs for consumers have gone down year by year despite much fancier food and much more eating away from home. This has been reversed somewhat the past year but not much yet. This brought the comment that it is "not only the high cost of living, but also the cost of high living" that plays a part in inflation.

Farmers have added to the price of farm machinery by competing with others to get machinery in a hurry. Likewise some wages have been pushed up much more than the inflation level, although many workers get only minimum wages or even less. Profits of industry have risen while productivity has actually gone down.

To stop inflation industry must increase production and lower prices, and farmers must be enabled by 80% of parity floors and substantial reserves against bad weather which couldn't be sold below 110% of parity. That would stop the wide fluctuation in farm and food prices which hurts both farmers and consumers.

## Alvin C. Peterson

The other day one of our most progressive farm customers came in with a check from the sale of 80 fat steers, and he told me he lost \$119 per head feeding them. In my small bank in a town of 350 people wholly dependent upon agriculture, I never feel secure unless the people I deal with have some sense of security. The farmer's story needs to be told.

Last October the farmer I spoke of bought 80 head of cattle. By the time he sold them there was no death loss; they had gained 30,392 pounds. The price he received was \$5,085.30 over his purchase price and loan interest combined, or 16.73% per pound of gain. He lost 8 pounds of feed to produce a pound of beef, and he could have sold his corn for \$2.50 per bushel --- about 1 1/2, a pound. But he happens to feed more corn than he produces, so it cost him 7 pounds of corn at 1 1/2¢ a pound (31 1/2¢) plus one pound of protein at 9¢ for a production cost of 10 1/2¢ per pound. Subtract his 16.73% per pound of gain for a loss of 23.77¢ a pound, at a total loss of \$7,234.18. Divided by 80 head of cattle, this comes to a loss of more than \$90 per head on just cost of feed and interest without considering veterinary expense, depreciation on equipment and facilities,

electricity, and other costs --- with no provision for labor.

You may ask why he does it if he's going to lose money. Last October, when he paid from \$55.50 to \$57.75 per hundredweight for feeder cattle, he didn't anticipate receiving \$40.50 per hundredweight for them after he had gotten them ready for market. No one knows what agricultural commodity prices will be six months or nine months or a year from now. The farmer doesn't operate like the steel companies, the manufacturers of food processing, or any other business. He has to ignore costs of production when it comes to market time because they are never a factor in determining the price he receives. The farmer will see his prices fluctuate with every crop report. Someone will spot a rain cloud over Kansas, and wheat could drop 4¢. That's how sensitive farm prices are. Does any other business operator have a similar obstacle to overcome?

The farmer must take at least part of the blame himself. He is an individualist --- very independent, often optimistic. There is no way, in my judgement, that farmers --- who are generally not organized --- can compete with organized industry and organized labor and still receive a fair share in the marketplace, except on the basis of scarcity. This happened in 1973 when we heard reports of a short supply of wheat and feed grains, and we banned the exports of soybeans because of an impending shortage, and farmers had the same year in history.

It has been suggested that, because the excess of the flow of money over the balance of goods and services creates inflation, to fight inflation we must increase production. Wheat areas have been increased 20% this year and corn acres 10%. Economists have been predicting the rate of inflation will continue as farm prices decline, but I don't see that happening. In fact farm prices have declined as inflation has increased.

In my judgment, only agriculture is cooperating in the fight against inflation. Industry is not really cooperating, and we find shortages of everything --- fuel, fertilizer, repair parts. In April of this year one major auto company cut back production 26% about the same time they were asking for a price increase. An increase in production would have had the effect of lower unit costs, which is exactly what the farmer is asked to provide.

By most indicators, profits of U. S. corporations should have fallen sharply in the first quarter of this year. During that period, real output of goods and services by private business fell at an annual rate of 7%, productivity declined at a 3 1/2% rate, unit labor costs jumped 11%, and reports of shortages were common. Nevertheless a survey of leading corporations showed their after-tax profits were 16% higher than a year earlier --- inflation made the difference.

It disturbs me that the farmer cannot get a fair price for a product we cannot get along without. If after this year's harvest the farmer has produced a fraction over normal consumption, that fraction will determine the price of all his production. If he were a manufacturer, he would limit the supply to keep the price up, and if there were an excess, discounts would be taken on just the excess.

Not long ago a farmer came in with his milk check and said they had cut the price one dollar per hundred-weight during May. That is 8 1/2¢ per gallon, and at the same time the milk hauler told him he would have to have more money for picking up the milk because of the high price of gasoline. It seems everyone but the farmer can pass increased costs on to the consumer.

1973 was a good farm year, and I would be the first to admit commodity prices were too high in some areas. But I must also say farmers had some catching up to do. Yet the Minneapolis Fed's May Ninth District Quarterly says there is a haunting possibility 1973 was a one-shot affair and we may be headed back toward agricultural surpluses and low farm prices.

The press has not been fair and, probably more than anything else, ignorant of the farm situation. Last year a newspaper item stirred our nation by stating that the price of bread would be going to a dollar per loaf because of the wheat shortage. But only about 2 1/2 --- 4¢ of the price of a loaf of bread is due to wheat cost --- the rest is due to processing, packaging, and a variety of other middleman costs. This was ridiculous and irresponsible reporting --- if the increased price of bread were due to raw material cost alone, at one dollar a loaf the farmer should be getting over \$100 a bushel for wheat.

Since when has it become the moral and financial responsibility for just farmers to provide, out of their own pockets, cheap food (at less than cost) to the rest of the nation? When did it become the moral and financial responsibility of just rural America to sacrifice themselves and their families for the hungry throughout the world? It is high time this situation is labeled for what it actually is: a consumer subsidy.

Let's not ask the American farmer to make all the sacrifices. Give him a chance so that we, so that the world, can be assured an adequate supply of food.

## C CONSUMERS AND PRODUCERS --- RIVALS OR PARTNERS?

The questions put out for discussion were comprehensive:

Does reasonably priced food have to hurt the farmer? Does a decent return from working a farm have to mean unreasonably high prices? What is reasonable in both cases? Do government policies help or hurt? What is the effect of consumer boycotts? What lies ahead for both? Can consumers and farmers work together for the benefit of both?

But the questions were not answered directly. The program and the discussion centered on the problems each group had.

Tobey Lapakko, a member of the Minnesota Governor's Advisory Council on Consumer Affairs, stressed the need for communication and understanding between the farmers and the consumers.

She explained the frustration of working families who saw a 25 per cent increase in their food costs during the past year while their salaries and wages were frozen or limited to about 5.5 per cent increases. She stressed that such dramatic price increases seriously affect a family's ability to survive, especially when the increases are unforeseen.

Mrs. Lapakko raised some questions on behalf of consumers. She noted that the public hears about farmers being paid not to plant crops and about farmers complaining of low prices while the prices in the retail stores are soaring. That's very difficult for the consumer to understand and accept, she stressed, and that if farmers and consumers are going to work together there has to be more information, education and understanding.

Lowell Gose, President of the Iowa Farmers Union, explained the economic problems of the family farmer.

He stressed the need for survival of the family farm in order that control of supply and price is not in the hands of a few corporations, many of which use farming for tax purposes originally but gradually gain large enough control to become major factors in supply and price. And as in other conglomerate situations, the corporation farms can afford to lose money for a time in order to achieve substantial or monopolistic control at the expense of the independents, such as family farmers.

Gone laid much of the blame for the problems of farmers and consumers alike to the commodities market. He stressed strong controls of, or a complete ban on, the commodities market are needed to bring stability and predictability to the farmer who is making his business plans. He explained that stability and predictability then will provide for stable or more gradual and reasonable prices for the consumer.

Maxine McKeown of South Dakota, a member of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, and a family farmer, emphasized the social aspect of family farming and the need for more education for its survival.

Mrs. McKeown stressed that farming is a way of life that allows more freedom than the life of a factory or office worker. She noted that the farming family has control over both its social and business life. But she also charged that family farmers are their own worst enemies because they fail, too often, to take advantage of educational opportunities to help them improve their capabilities and financial situation.

There was no consensus from the workshop on the questions posed for discussion. But there was agreement that more education is needed about the problems of the other, that complaining is needed to get the real questions out in the open before any true ground for cooperation or agreement can be discussed, and that farmers and non-farm worker people both need decent prices, decent income and a more predictable and controllable future.

#### WHAT'S BEHIND THE FOOD PRICE SPIRAL

Chairman Jim Wengert reviewed the question before the workshop: What's Behind The Food Price Spiral? He praised the working relationship between farmers and labor and noted that an Iowa labor group had met on a monthly basis with the Iowa NFO in the 1950's but that the practice ceased when the NFO began to feel that labor was interfering with its organizing efforts.

He said there is no trend toward stopping corporate farming. He questioned whether a so-called family farm should not be considered a corporate farm after it reaches a certain size and has expressed the need for a more precise definition of a "family farm". Unless action against corporate agriculture is taken, he said, "the family farm will be a thing of the past". Jim McLeane said that the subject of this panel ("The Food Price Spiral") had been well covered by Father Shapiro at the Luncheon session which preceded Workshop "D". He said the main problem is that farm income has never kept pace with inflation. Production costs and shortages of supplies will bankrupt many farmers. Foresight, he said, may be the most important of the four "F's" --- fuel, food, fertilizer, and foresight.

The dismal picture of agriculture today can't be changed by state programs, but can be dealt with through federal farm programs. McLeane reviewed the present deteriorating farm price situation and cited the Russian Wheat Deal to show that present federal farm policies are not benefiting the farmer.

Transportation is another area in which a national policy is lacking, he said. Instead of using foresight and planning, present policy calls for abandoning rail lines. He suggested the possibility of establishing a public service program, along the lines of REA, to help restore the railroads.

McLeane said that anti-trust laws are not the answer to the halting the corporate take-over. He called for support for the "Family Farm Act" which is before the U.S. Congress.

Jim Patton said that the 1973 Farm Act would not have been possible without the farm-labor coalition.

He suggested the possibility of a \$50 billion expenditure to establish a people-owned (co-op) chain of supermarkets to

create competition in the retail food industry and to establish a yard-stick by which to judge the industry.

In spite of some comments that had been made at the conference, Patton said it should be remembered that Wallace's ever-normal granary philosophy had prevented thousands of people in this country from starving to death.

The basic cause of the inflationary spiral is the \$300 billion per year that has been removed from the economies of the world to spend on war. If the money spent on war could be spent on people, we could turn the present situation around. At present, people do not have control of the government. Until the people regain control, little can be done about inflation.

Gordon Spielman (Reactor) said that the real problem brought about by monopolies had not been faced up to --- "The unbridled drive for more and more profits".

He questioned whether the co-ops were equal to the task that Jim Patton had suggested since they were not able to take part in the Russian Wheat Deal, and since some of the large co-ops seem to be indistinguishable from large corporations.

Spielman cited the need for a National Food Planning Agency. In relation to a national food policy, he said we still don't know what Kissinger's promises in the Middle East will cost us. We learned, he said, what the Chinese and Russian initiatives cost --- our food supplies.

In reply to Spielman, Patton said that co-ops are production oriented and not consumer oriented. Co-ops have never been able to gather enough capital to enter into competition with other industries.

He said that he has never feared nationalization and that even the threat of government take-over would have straightened out the oil companies.

We are a long way from citizen participation in our government, Patton said. Labor and farm groups have done a good job but the people themselves have to force their own participation.

Jim McLeane reviewed the plight of milk co-ops in Pennsylvania, where some of the largest and supposedly efficient ones are going bankrupt because of corrupt management that is now involved in the Nixon campaign scandals.

Comments and recommendations made during the first session discussion period included the following:

- None of the world problems will be solved without honesty and integrity.

- No corporation can compete in efficiency with a father-son farm operation.

- Corporate farmers are in the business of losing money (tax shelters) and holding land for future sale for huge profits.

- National and international food policies must be coordinated.

- Nationalization of industries should not be feared --- even the threat of nationalization would have been enough to straighten out the oil companies during the shortage.

- In order to stop spiraling prices, supplies must be stabilized.

- Must have government intervention in agriculture --- Butz turning farmers over to the wolves --- monopolies, corporations, speculators, multi-national traders --- They have us playing Russian Roulette.

- Bank for co-ops nearly as hard to deal with as local banks; interest rates high --- directors tend to turn activities over to management without close supervision. Bank for co-ops should not be separate from federal government.

- Noted economists beginning to come around to the idea of food reserves and making peace through food rather than using resources for war.

- Policies of Secretary Butz can't survive. Decision between Kissinger and Butz policies will have to be made.

- Farmers need Administration which will increase target prices, provide low-interest loans, and follow up with meaningful land policy.

#### LAND, PEOPLE, AND FOOD

Rev. John J. McRaith, co-director of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, opened the workshop by noting that if we were to reduce world population to 100 people, it would break down something like this ---

- 70 would be illiterate,
- 1 would be a college graduate,
- 70 to 80 would be mal-nourished, some of them actually dying.
- 70 to 80 would be living in substandard housing,
- 6 would have one-half of the world's income, the rest would have the other half.

We in America would be among that first six.

The first speaker, Robert Snyder, University of Minnesota economist, noted that there is a strong feeling that our ability to produce food is being threatened by other demand for land.

The adverse effect of urban, suburban and ex-urban penetration of land on commercial farming is well documented, he explained. As residential development occurs, farmers find that their taxes rise, land values go up beyond what can be paid for land for farm use, trespassing and vandalism become problems, and complaints about farm odors and noises lead to regulation of farm activities. As a result of these trends, capital investment in farming lags.

Farmers are reluctant to expand their acreage, credit may become hard to come by, and the temptation to become a land speculator rather than a farmer is difficult to resist, Snyder pointed out.

Under these circumstances, efficiency of food production deteriorates, some land becomes idle and the effect reverberates through the whole economy.

Snyder acknowledged that farming can be shifted to other areas or we can reconcile ourselves to higher-cost farm operations.

The long-run impact is probably not going to become evident for some time --- it will probably not be until the land used for farming is transferred to new owners who have to pay higher acquisition costs.

While it is probably far-fetched to call this a crisis, Snyder declared that if we can do something about it now to change the trend, the benefits would outweigh any disadvantages.

The concern about the adverse effects on farm productivity has prompted many states to enact legislation designed to encourage the retention of land in agriculture. Usually, this has taken the form of measures to reduce the property tax burden.

Some 36 states have laws of this kind enacted in the last 10 or 15 years.

Snyder reported that two states --- New York and California --- have developed more comprehensive programs, including taxes, but are going considerably further with new approaches to influencing land use and land-owner decisions.

California's Williamson Act was a response to the failure of zoning to protect farm land. The Williamson Act defines prime farm land and provides for small compensatory payments by the Department of Agriculture; other land is subject to certain restrictions but without the compensation available on prime land.

Snyder reported that by 1971, 48 of the 53 counties had elected to participate in the program, and about 10 million acres of land, 25% of the total farm land, had been brought under provisions of the act.

Critics of the legislation have argued that it has not been effective in saving prime farm land and have charged that 25% of the contracted land is owned by about a dozen large farm entities. It was said that 80 of the land was at least 10 miles removed from urban development and only 25% of it was prime land.

Another early criticism of the Williamson Act was that its processes were not related to land use planning and that any farmer who wanted to put his land into the reserve was usually afforded the privilege.

In 1973, the law was amended so that any county participating must have a comprehensive plan for open spaces and a zoning ordinance based upon it.

The Williamson Act has also caused a loss of tax revenue, which is estimated at about \$40 million annually. In 1971, the Legislature sought to compensate for this by allocating \$13 million in state funds to school districts.

Snyder reviewed the New York agricultural districts law adopted in 1971, commenting that it seeks less, rather than more government controls on farm land use.

He explained that under the New York plan, the land owner initiates the process. The petitioner must own at least 500 acres of farm land or 10% of the acreage in the proposed special agricultural district. The petition goes to the county, and if approved there, goes to the state. Then it returns to the county for the final decision, or for hearing on any changes made by the state.

By 1972, New York's farmers had initiated 10 districts, averaging 1,000 acres in size, and totalling more than one million acres. It is hoped, he reported, that the program would eventually involve 5 million acres or 20% of the farm land total.

It is hard to tell how successful the New York law is since all it tries to do is to influence decisions. State officials are enthusiastic, however, and believe the program has a psychological effect in persuading farmers that they belong in this urbanizing world.

The second speaker, Keith F. Myers, stressed the need to know our agricultural land and be able to scientifically judge its capability for food production. (See text.)

William Hueg, director of the University of Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station, estimated that of the total of about 25 million acres of cropland in Minnesota, perhaps 10 million would qualify as prime farm land.

At the rate we are losing cropland to other uses nationally --- more than 2 million acres a year --- we would be out of cropland in Minnesota in 10 or 12 years.

Dr. Hueg urged a focus upon the prime farm land, stating a favorite slogan, "improve the best, you may not need the rest."

In response to questions, Dr. Hueg said that there is a potential for a 50% increase in soybean and corn output by applying already known technology.

He maintained that existing agricultural technology will enable us to feed the world at least for the next 50 years.

In concluding the session, Father McRaith urged Americans to develop a sense of responsibility in dealing with land and food problems for the sake of people 50 and 100 years from now.

#### Keith F. Myers

Any discussion of the food situation makes one clear point --- it is a two-sided question. Both sides are making themselves heard, and rightfully so. Robert Rodale, writing in the Chicago Tribune recently, said we should get ready to stand in line for food in this country. Dr. Quentin West, of USDA's Economic Research Service, on the other hand says we will increase production of food and it will be cheaper. He says we have no crisis, but admits there are some problems. Many aspects of the food situation have already been discussed in this conference. Population growth continues; fertilizer supplies are short and energy sources demand attention; foreign markets are able to afford better quality and more in quantity of food. Affluence allows us to have more of the foods we want in this country. I see no need to recap these factors.

It might be profitable, however, to take a closer look at the major resource base on which food supplies depend --- the land itself.

Whereas populations grow, land doesn't. We have no more land than we had 100 years ago, acrewise. In fact we're losing land every day as far as ability to produce food is concerned. Land is being covered with asphalt and concrete; planted to houses, stores, and industries; or being destroyed by erosion. It frequently alarms us when we consider that such shifts in land use are all subtractive when the crop base is computed.

This particular year climatic conditions look unfavorable in parts of the country. Droughts, particularly in the Southwest, have reduced total wheat yield even though more acres of wheat were planted. Earlier in the season many acres of wheat in Texas were plowed up and the land planted to grain sorghum because the prospects for a wheat crop were dim. Recent floods in Iowa and other parts of the Midwest have caused serious erosion. Also, many acres of crops have to be replanted.

A recent survey shows that in six midwestern states 3.7 million acres of land are being plowed out of protective cover and converted to cropland. On the surface this may rate as a plus factor in food production, considering that land in grass or trees for a number of years is more productive for a short while after it is plowed. The irony, however, is that nearly half this 3.7 million acres are unsuitable for cultivation and erosion will likely remove more than the allowable limit of topsoil. Over the long pull we will lose much more of the resource base than any short term gains will balance.

In the Great Plains, where most of our beefsteaks begin, a million and a half acres of grassland are being plowed up. Again, half or more of this land should have remained in grass because it is not suitable for cultivation. A large share of the plowed up acres have never been in cultivation before, because they were better suited for grassland.

Why use marginal farmland? One reason is that demand for agricultural products encourages farmers to plant more acreage. Another is that, in some areas, farmers are being squeezed out of using the better agricultural lands by urban expansion. A third, and related, reason is the high cost of land --- farm real estate values rose an average of 21 percent across the country in 1973.

Already the ravages of wind erosion are taking their toll. The blow season has just ended, and estimated losses on some Great Plains soils run as high as 120 tons per acre in this one season than for a similar period last year.

As if creeping concrete and howling winds and runaway waters weren't enough, they now tell us the world is getting colder. Growing seasons are getting shorter. The shifting climate affects rainfall amounts in areas that can ill afford to forfeit the moisture. Farmers in England now have two weeks less time to grow their crops than they had 25 years ago.

There are plus signs in the face of all these adversities, however.

There are, in truth, many opportunities for increases in production of food. Each should be accompanied by a corresponding protective measure for the land to assure ourselves lasting increases, rather than emergency supplies.

Ride along any major highway and you see vast areas of land that appear to be idle. Many of them probably are. The trained eye, however, may see good reason why these acres are not being used for food production. Some are too steep or too rocky or too shallow, or have some other soil limitation that takes them out of the food production race. Others are dedicated to growing timber, wildlife, grazing for animals, or some other use in keeping with their capability. These, too, are important uses in today's world.

My point is that we need to know our land --- to be able to scientifically judge its potential or its limitation in food production. We in the Soil Conservation Service have been given the responsibility, along with the land grant universities in each state, for making a soil survey of the land in our country. We are covering it as fast as money and manpower will allow. Surveys adequate for modern planning needs are finished and published on 24 percent of the land now, and are available at local SCS offices. Survey information can be obtained from any SCS office, though it may not be in printed form yet.

Soil surveys warn us of hazards in dealing with marginal land for production, and will point up capabilities for other uses provided adequate conservation measures are applied. These we can do.

Another plus factor --- conservation is an accepted way of life by the leading farmers and food producers in our country. Production by the top ten percent of the Nation's best farmers is far and away better than the average of all farmers. Modern technology separates these groups, and conservation is a part of the skill. As these management skills are gravitated from the leaders to the followers, so must the conservation philosophy be imbued. Sound conservation and full production go hand in hand. We have the know-how to protect while we produce. These are scientific and economic facts of life.

It is some comfort to know that much of the land reserve we have and on which we must rely for expanded production has, in the past, been protected by sound conservation practices. This doesn't mean it is eternally safe from damage for it isn't, but we can continue to protect while we produce because we know how and we know it is necessary.

Some form of land use policy is indicated. And it appears to be generally acceptable, even though there is some disagreement as to the form and who should formulate it. It is high time we think seriously about the number of acres of good agricultural land being lost from the production of crops. Highways, factories, schools, and many other valid items of community progress could just as well be built on marginal or non-agricultural land, even if the cost may be slightly higher. The preservation of prime and unique farmlands should be a vital part of present and future land use planning. Both farmers and city and suburban dwellers will benefit. We all eat, and we all need a place to live.

Many of the Nation's more than 3,000 local soil and water conservation districts have land use authority granted them by their enabling laws. Most have been reluctant to implement these authorities, not because land use by regulation wasn't important but mainly because district officials have been busy helping landowners with more immediate problems of protection for land already in such productive uses. Perhaps it is time now for these local authorities to be given a hand in effecting more prudent shifts in land uses.

The National Association of Conservation Districts urges all Americans to accept conservation of natural resources as a broad, national policy --- on par with other national policies such as defense, education, health, and foreign relations. Perhaps this is an idea whose time has come.

It is also time we gave some thought to strengthening conservation technology, manpower, and funds to keep pace with growing needs. In recent years the work force of the Soil Conservation Service and other agency technology available through local conservation districts has been reduced. Coming at a time when careful planning of resources is needed to meet demands, the timing appears to be out of pace with the times.

To summarize, it appears we need to give attention to four main considerations if we are to be found equal to the demands of the immediate future:

1. Shifts in land use to capitalize on sporadic price incentives need to be more carefully made, with greater attention to the land.

2. We need to accelerate the soil survey program in order to have some scientific basis on which to decide which land is capable of more intensive use and which should be dedicated to other uses.

3. Land use policies may be imminent and necessary to preserve our prime agricultural lands.

4. There has never been a better time to focus on the conservation of soil, water, and plant resources as matters of national policy. Our system of leaving the decisions up to local people is sound, and it needs only guidelines and leadership to give it unity, in which there is strength. A food crisis, if indeed it does arise, will automatically become a national issue. Sound management of resources will be one of the solutions if it, also, attracts national attention.

#### FAMILY FARMS --- WHY AND HOW THEY SHOULD SURVIVE

People participating in this panel were firm in the belief that family agriculture is essential to food abundance in America. And almost equally firm in the belief that relatively few Americans, including farmers, have yet faced up to the seriousness, the reasons, or the consequences of the continuing disappearance of family farm units --- 6.8 million farms in 1935 have become 2.7 million in 1974.

There is great misconception, especially among consumers, of the existing influence of corporate and conglomerate farm operations. The circumstances described in the book, *Hard Times* --- *Hard Times*, the complete corporate domination of the brailer industry, and the totally self-serving role of a half dozen corporate grain exporters in 1973 were cited as examples.

The role of American housewives in the misguided meat boycott of early 1973 was seen as further evidence of how little the consuming public knows about the production of food in America and the relation of farm prices to eventual consumer food prices. In fact, unrealistic consumer pressure such as the '73 boycott serve to assure the slaughter of female animals which would otherwise be retained as breeding stock, thus affecting the supply of slaughter animals and the retail price of meat for future months.

The fact that beef on the hoof at the time of the 1973 boycott was only slightly higher than in 1952 confirmed to this workshop that consumers have little knowledge of the source of their food or of the effect 1952 farm prices had on the cost of living up to 1973.

There was complete agreement, that school, church, community life, and the local business community are dependent upon the number of people and the number of operating farm units in that community, rather than on the total number of producing acres or animals.

This panel concluded that family agriculture in America will not survive without positive action on the part of government and the consuming public. The necessary action can not be attained by farm people who are now little more than four percent of our population. But the direction and the initiative will probably have to come from farm people as it did in North Dakota, Minnesota, South Dakota, Oklahoma and Wisconsin. The persistence of farm people and particularly of Farmers Union people, gained enactment of legislation affecting corporate farming in each of these states.

Several factors were recognized as significant to the task of preserving family agriculture in America:

1. Contingency to an off-repeated change, legislation protecting family farming is not special interest legislation. Rather it is the preservation of independently owned and operated private business - farm and city.

2. Neither the consuming public nor family agriculture is served by the 1964 Farm Census redefinition of farm operator from one who actually resides on the farm and manages its day to day operation to the person who controls that farm.

3. The USDA claim that corporate type farms (numbering approximately one percent of all farm units) are no threat to family agriculture, is at least misleading in light of the ever growing percentage of total farm production coming from those farms. They need not own agriculture to control it.

4. It is basically family farming, not corporate farming, which has made American agriculture the envy of the world. Fifty people are well fed today for every one person employed in agriculture in America today, compared with seven people in Russia, for example. Our per-man-hour increase in agricultural production in the past 20 years is 330% compared to 160% for our corporate oriented American industry.

5. Higher operating costs (fuel, fertilizer, labor,) may actually favor family-type farming over corporate farming.

6. Farm people have not yet faced up to their new-found role of 'minority group' and hence do not act as a minority.

7. Specialization farming as opposed to diversification of the recent past has diminished market response to price change.

8. Part-time farming has become a durable, growing practice, particularly in grain and specialty crops. Inflation will likely accelerate land investment and part-time farming.

9. The absence of land-transfer legislation and non-farm influence on farm values is causing even more farmers to become hobby farmers and land speculators.

10. Implicit in the choice Americans will ultimately make concerning family farming, is the total non-relation today of fuel prices to fuel supply. And unlike fuel or new cars or furniture or clothing, no American family can defer to next year their purchase of food because the corporation which produced it is asking too high a price.

11. Experience in several states indicates the enactment of legislation necessary to preserve family agriculture is a long and complex process, calling for every means of communication. And it will probably be best accomplished when taken through the entire political process from precinct caucus to county and state conventions and through the election campaign, before trying to win final approval in the legislature.

## Philip M. Raup

I propose to look first at some elements of change that have direct effects on the farming business. In terms of both immediate impacts and long run implications, the most insistent issue concerns the question of energy.

We practice "cheap fuel" farming in the United States, and have done so throughout our history of agricultural mechanization. This is a reflection of our resource endowment, and the geographic accident that has located petroleum supplies in proximity to major farming regions. It is also a reflection of our institutional structure, and especially our tax system.

United States agriculture is thus ill-equipped to face petroleum fuel shortages. Because farm fuel prices have not included the substantial taxes dedicated to highway expenditures, any increase in basic fuel costs will have a larger percentage impact on farmers than on highway users. It seems probable that the half-century decline in the relative cost of petroleum fuels in agriculture will be reversed.

Every major industrial nation imports some of its petroleum fuels. The Soviet Union, with vast and untapped resources, imports petroleum products from Iran. Recognition of the consequences of this form of fuel dependency has been unavoidable in oil-poor nations like Japan, Italy, the two Germanies, and France. It has come suddenly to the United States, and the shock has been great. We do not even have the statistics readily available to measure the degree of our dependency, and its consequences for domestic and foreign policy.

One question emerges with unexpected importance. How long will it remain economic for the United States to import petroleum for fuels and fertilizers to produce wheat, cotton, feed grains and soybeans for export in order to earn the money needed to pay for petroleum imports? How durable, in other words, is our present comparative advantage in export markets for farm products?

At the moment this seems to be a ridiculous question. We can export everything we have for sale and at prices undreamed of even twelve months ago. But it is a question that must be asked. Potentials for improvement of agricultural productivity in the rest of the world are great, and especially so in the Soviet Union. The foreign markets that have generated the current euphoria in United States agriculture could prove to be transitory. And if the problem of farm supply returns to be a new dimension of the conservation of energy supplies will be an added and insistent consideration in any future farm programs that seek to manage farm output.

If a management problem of this type arises, it will be resolved in a changed political climate. An agricultural production plant producing surplus in competition with householders and motorists for energy supplies will face political opposition of a new kind. Should this occur, it seems probable that agriculture will be subjected to both input and output control measures that will be much more demanding than anything we have known in the past. Resource mobility within agriculture may be declining at the same time that the mobility of resources from non-farm sectors into agriculture is increasing. A more capital-intensive agricultural structure may also be a more rigid one. If this occurs, one casualty will be our conventional economic wisdom regarding the price elasticities of agricultural output.

One of the most persistent and visible trends in United States agriculture has been the continuing increase in size and decline in number of farms since the Second World War. In crude terms, the number of farms was cut in half from 1950 to 1973, and average size of farms doubled. These data are defective in the definition of a farm

have taken place on several occasions since 1950. The 5,648,000 farms enumerated by the census in 1950, for example, included a number of small farms in size classes that were excluded in the estimate of 2,831,000 farms for 1973. Although the degree of decline in number of farms for 1973 is overstated, the magnitude of the increase in average farm size is not significantly disturbed by this correction.

As we have seen, a part of the explanation for this increase can be traced to the relatively low cost of energy in agriculture which has encouraged the substitution of machine power for human and animal power. This trend has been accelerated by a continuous decline in the cost of machinery and equipment relative to labor. And in recent decades the trend has been heavily influenced by peculiarities in the institutional structure affecting farm price support programs, credit programs, and tax policies. Two of these peculiarities merit a closer examination.

Since price support programs have in the past been tied to crop acreage or a production history, the size of any government payments to individual farmers has had a direct and linear relation to volume of production. In sharp contrast, by underwriting a relative degree of farm price stability, the federal government has had an influence on the risk expectations of farms in different farm size classes that is not linear. A historic characteristic of large scale farming activities has always been the indeterminateness of large risks. In agriculture these involve both market price risks and climatic and biologic risks. By reducing substantially the risk of market price collapse, the net effect of government farm price support programs has been to make farm investments relatively more attractive to large scale investors than to small scale investors or family type farmers. Large scale farmers have been encouraged to use venture capital more effectively than is possible for small entrepreneurs. Capacity to make use of financial "leverage" is in general unavailable to family type farmers. This becomes increasingly important as size of farm expands, permitting a given proportionate increase in equity capital to finance a much larger increase in total business activity.

This in turn has been a consequence of the peculiar nature of United States accounting practices and tax policy with respect to the taxation of income, and particularly income from capital gains. Since income from borrowed capital is a business expense in computing income tax liability, those enterprises with adequate borrowing power and large incomes can shift from the use of equity capital to the use of borrowed capital to advantage. The net effect is to reduce the cost of income from the large firm. This opportunity is either unavailable or of minor significance for family type enterprises.

The resulting stimulus to the expansion of the farm business has been given further impetus by our method of taxing capital gains. Up to 1959 this tax was levied at a rate of never more than 25% of the realized capital gain. Since tax liability on earned income can rise to a height of 70% on incomes above \$200,000, there has been a substantial reward to high-income taxpayers for the conversion of earned income into capital gain. Some reduction in this incentive was achieved by the tax reform act of 1969, which provided for an increase in the capital gains tax liability from 25% to 35% when income from capital gains exceeds \$50,000 in a tax year. This rate increase has been relatively small compared to the reward that could be achieved by realizing income in the form of capital gain, never to be taxed at more than 35%, while income from wages and salaries could be taxed at rates up to 70%.

As a consequence, an incentive condition has been created for wealthy investors or large firms to buy land on credit, and farm it while holding it in anticipation both of income from annual operation and from ultimate liquidation, through the differential savings made possible by the capital gains

tax structure.

The development of corporation and large scale farming in the last 20 years has been heavily influenced by these trends. They introduced an element of institutional bias into a structure of cost and returns based on conventional farm operation practices that has greatly accelerated the trend toward larger farms. To put the matter in other terms, the farm size structure that we have today is in part a consequence of expanding technology, and economies of size resulting from the rising cost of labor relative to the cost of capital. But this fails to tell the whole story. A major part of the reason for the continuing expansion of farm size is due to our institutional structure, and particularly to our tax system and to the past twenty years of our farm price support programs.

The farm price support program has been changed but the tax inequity remains. We tax income from property at never more than 35%, when realized in the form of capital gain. We put a penalty tax on income from wages and salaries that rises above the 25% marginal rate when income goes above \$12,000 for a married taxpayer filing a joint return. It rises above the 35% marginal rate when family income goes above \$24,000. Put in other terms, the tax system gives an increasing reward to income from property over income from labor. This has insured that the operation of the land market will transfer real property over time from the hands of those with low incomes to the hands of those with high incomes. This trend is clearly under way in American agriculture today.

Another dimension of the problem is even more puzzling. It has been a major article of rural faith in the past that the disappearance of family farmers could be traced to low farm prices and lack of ability to command a reward in the market place that was commensurate with contributions to national welfare. We have recently had farm prices at or above parity levels in almost all farm commodities. It remains to be seen whether this dramatic shift in farm price levels will be a benefit or a disaster for family farmers. As noted above, one of the inhibiting factors which has historically prevented large investors from acquiring farm lands has been the combination of high market and weather risks. A major reason for the durability of a family farm structure is that it could survive catastrophe. It remains to be seen whether or not it can survive prosperity. Under existing institutional structure, the prospects are that high and stable farm prices will work to the disadvantage of family farmers by attracting an additional influx of non-farm capital that in the past was scared away from farming by high risk.

Another dimension must be considered before this discussion can be regarded as complete. The social structure of farming is a prominent part of the total picture. Throughout our history we have had a dispersed pattern of agricultural settlement, with family farmsteads dotting the landscape. With few exceptions we have never known the type of village-based agriculture that predominates in so many parts of the world. This era of dispersed settlement may well be coming to an end. It is ironic that the region of the country which in popular mythology has been regarded as most rigorously independent, namely the Great Plains, is a region in which we may first see the emergence of something akin to the village structure of Europe or Asia.

The isolation involved in scattered farmsteads and ranches in the Great Plains is now reaching proportions that render it pathologic in a cultural sense. As a consequence, much of the Great Plains is being depopulated in two dimensions. Population is declining over large areas, and those who remain are clustering in villages and small cities. In the European version of this phenomenon, it has been customary to point out that the family farm is no longer a viable social institution if the family values its leisure time

at opportunity cost rates of return. Young people, and particularly farm wives, are not satisfied to be chained to livestock enterprises in a manner that was accepted by their parents. As a result the agricultural price policies and planning systems of several European countries, especially Sweden and the Netherlands, have established a "two family farm" as the model enterprise which their planning and price policies seek to maintain. The main reason for setting the norm at two families was not technological but social. In that way families could have some relief from the demanding work routine required by intensive farming.

On the basis of present trends, it is unlikely that a two-family farm model will prosper in the United States. Instead the solution that seems to be emerging is a form of village agriculture in which the social defects of isolated one-family farms are being resolved by regrouping farm families in urban places. The farms and ranches that survive this economic and social change may remain in family hands but they will not resemble the family farms, in that they may be devoid of rural residences. It is perhaps no accident that this physical concentration of rural residences is taking place in areas where the social cost of distance generated traditions of fierce independence in a past generation, and is associated today with the most pronounced pattern of clustering of visible non-farm agriculture.

To an important degree, the critical resource in United States agriculture is no longer land but minerals. We are today in a phase in the use of mineral resources that invites comparison with hunting, gathering and fishing stages of development, before the invention of agriculture. One of our great difficulties is that we are hunting and gathering phase human beings were securing a food supply that was replenished primarily by direct use of solar energy, through chlorophyll photosynthesis. When man accomplished the transition to agriculture he did so by a more efficient method of ordering and organizing these solar energy processes.

The most recent transition from animal agriculture to mechanized agriculture represents a major change in the mode of energy conversion. Until well into the Twentieth Century almost all of our food supply came from flow resources derived directly from solar energy. Today a large and rapidly increasing share of our food supply comes from stock resources, primarily petroleum, coal and minerals. It is recognition that this stock is limited that generates the acute environmental concern that has exploded in the last decade.

What in what sense is it limited? The finite nature of the world's stock of resources can only be defined in terms of man's knowledge of how to use these resources. This knowledge gives them value, generates prices, and creates a structure of prices that indicates relative values. We have picked the "low-hanging fruit" first. We use the cheapest sources of power, until they begin to rise in price. Then we set to work to develop new ones.

Our experience with a heavy reliance on fossil fuels is encompassed by the life-span of a man. It is not surprising that we should be having problems of accommodation. The wealth and abundance that has resulted from our discovery of ways to use stock resources is in fundamental conflict with the social systems and religious beliefs we have inherited from our history of resource scarcity.

A concentration of economic power in United States agriculture will find its ultimate test in the capacity of the system to promote change. The history of large scale farms is that they resist change. This is true across national and national boundaries, and in private enterprise and socialized economic systems. There is real danger that a reasoned examination of the present trend toward economic concentration will be rendered impossible by those who identify opponents of change with sentimental proponents of a return to the family farm.



## Richard Rodefeld

(Excerpted from a comprehensive paper on family farming cited by the speaker in the discussion.)

If the forces which have brought about past increases in farm size and farm ownership by large corporations continue to function in the future as they have in the past, then the ownership and operation of farms by large corporations will increase in the future.

Economists Rhodes and Kyle reached this conclusion when they stated:

"No action may be reasonably expected to bring about corporate (concentrated) agriculture. If nothing is done now to arrest the forces already in motion, commercial agriculture will likely be increasingly concentrated in larger, more industrialized units. Relatively large units controlled by sole proprietors or family partnerships and corporations might compete quite effectively for another generation or two. Then the trend could accelerate toward more control of agriculture by very large corporations."

Historically, large corporations have played a very limited role in American farming. While their involvement in every type of agricultural production could be noted, the numbers have always been small and many have failed after a short time. Large corporations have been a significant force only in some areas of fruit and vegetable (or processing) production. In almost all cases, the large corporations involved in farming have been farm input suppliers or processors.

Very little information prior to 1967 existed on the number or characteristics of these farms. In 1968, the USDA ERS carried out a national survey of all legally incorporated firms engaged in agriculture. They enumerated 2,455 "other" corporations in 48 states. These were defined as nonfamily owned and/or having 10 or more shareholders. These corporations accounted for less than one per cent of all farm numbers and about two per cent of total sales in 1967.

In 1969, the Census of Agriculture for the first time classified farms by type of legal organization. Farming corporations with more than 10 shareholders numbered 1,797 and operated 14.4 million acres. Both surveys illustrate the low number and relative significance of large corporations in agriculture.

On the other hand, a large number of corporations have entered agricultural production in recent years. Observers have noted the increased ownership of very large farms and agriculturally related businesses by large conglomerate corporations, many of whom had no prior contact with the agricultural sector. Examples include Coca-Cola, Boeing, Tenneco, Purex, Ralston Purina, Gates Rubber and CBK. While the number of such farming corporations may be small, the operations are very large. Some of these corporations have failed in recent years. This has led some to the conclusion that such operations cannot succeed in farming.

A number of authors in assessing the present status of large corporations in agriculture have noted their growing importance. Twenty years ago, almost no one believed a corporate agriculture could happen; today the corporations themselves, and growing numbers of integrated or displaced farmers know that corporations can succeed in various parts of both field and livestock production.

U.S. farming is being transformed through the establishment of very large farms, and more often large nonfarm interests have moved into the ownership or control of farm production.

There are a number of bases upon which to predict the number and significance of large corporations in farming

will increase with time. Conditions and forces already enumerated support this prediction. In addition, other factors applicable largely to agribusiness corporations or corporations generally support the same prediction.

Many of the traditional obstacles to large-scale farming have been eliminated or reduced. Second, a number of incentives were identified for the establishment of large farms with high levels of managerial differentiation. Third, incentives were also identified for the ownership of land and capital by nonfarmers. The simultaneous existence of all these causal forces provide many of the incentives for the establishment of large farms.

Some incentives exist for corporations in agriculturally related industries to engage directly in agricultural production. Processors require a steady flow of quality controlled products or produce. Input suppliers seek market control and a stable demand for their output. While these objectives can be attained in the open market or through vertical integration with farmers, the same result can be accomplished if these corporations own and/or rent land and produce the goods themselves.

Production costs can be reduced by eliminating marketing steps and their costs, and middleman margins can be reduced or eliminated by buying internally. Higher prices may be obtained for the agricultural production through direct market merchandising techniques such as large-scale advertising. It may be possible to reach special or higher-priced markets.

A number of incentives and supportive conditions exist for the ownership and operation of farms by large corporations, regardless of their major activity. Some of these factors are not applicable to the establishment of large, highly differentiated farm operations or processors.

The increased value of nonland production assets has contributed to increases in the total value and capital requirements per farm. In 1940, the average per farm value of these assets was \$41,600 while in 1972, their value was \$424,200. This was approximately a 15-fold increase. Forty-eight per cent of this increase was accounted for by the increased value of machinery, while 40 per cent can be attributed to the increased value of livestock. Among the major reasons for the increased value of nonland production assets are: the increased substitution of capital for labor, the increased use of purchased versus homegrown inputs, the adoption of larger capacity machines, inflation, increased machinery and equipment prices, larger numbers of livestock per farm and increased livestock prices.

The increased value and amount of capital necessary for a whole farm operation has had two major effects. First, it has made it more difficult—some would say impossible—for young, financially-unaided individuals to establish themselves in farming as owners. Second, it has increased the difficulty of retaining farm operations within the family from one generation to another.

Increased farm size and value have made it increasingly difficult over time for financially unassisted individuals to attain farm ownership status. The reason for this is relatively simple. Because of the increased value of land and nonland resources necessary in farming, larger down payments are necessary for purchase. Traditional credit arrangements require down payments ranging from 35 to 40 per cent of the real estate value. Since many farms now have a value ranging from \$100,000 to \$150,000, this would require a down payment of \$35,000 to \$60,000. Obtaining this much is simply out of the question for many prospective young farmers unless they have access to substantial family help. Additional capital would also be required for the purchase of necessary nonland resources.

Unsupported farmers have continued to gain access in farming in recent years, but it has required a good deal of sheer sacrifice and extraordinary personal effort. The number gaining such access has been greatly reduced, and they have

less security and certainty of final success than was the case previously. In the future, young persons will be able to enter farming as small farmers, part-time farmers or tenants, but they will have great difficulty acquiring control of larger commercial farms.

The increased difficulty of transferring farms from one generation to another is readily apparent. In 1953, a North Central Research Committee estimated that as many as 80% of all beginning farmers received substantial assistance in entering farming. Wisconsin research studying a sample of the largest owner-managed farms in the state found that over 50% of these farms had been owned by the fathers of the present owner managers, and about 75% of the managers' fathers had themselves been farm owners. Higher percentages of these owner managers reported receiving financial assistance from their parents than a random sample of all state farmers. These figures suggest that beginning farmers may yet attain ownership status if financial assistance, from the family or elsewhere, is provided. However, increasing capital requirements, are creating problems in this mobility path.

The major problem is that of intergenerational transfer. Traditionally and at the present time, farm families have been large, averaging three or four children. There is a strong value held by farm parents and their children that all children should be treated equally in inheritance matters. Very often this value has been codified in state laws. A problem is created because most of the parents have only one farm. This means that if any of the children want to retain the farm, they must buy out the remaining inherited shares from their brothers or sisters. The smaller the number of purchasers, the greater the number of brothers and sisters inheriting, and the higher the price of the farm, the greater the difficulty of purchase and retention within the family. The greater the extent to which the three preceding conditions are reversed, the greater the likelihood of intergenerational farm retention.

The focal concern here is with farmers who presently own some land and their nonland farm resources. Rising land values are increasing the difficulty for these farmers to expand their operations by purchasing additional land. If pressures exist for expansion but farmers are either unwilling or unable to buy additional land, they will most likely rent, lease, or work additional land on shares.

As the proportion of land operated which is rented increases, the level of manager, landowner differentiation increases. We must be concerned with the forces making expansion through purchase more difficult.

In terms of a general principle, it appears that the lower amount of equity held by a farmer in his operation, the less likely any additional land purchase will be and the smaller the number of acres purchasable. The smaller the equity, the more an existing owner is like a beginning farmer with little or no equity. Both face the same problem—the inability, without help, to generate the necessary down payment for the purchase.

As equity increases, borrowing power increases. This suggests that as farm size and equity increase, the difficulty associated with purchasing any given quantity of land will decrease.

Another phenomena affecting the ability of initial acquisitions, intergenerational transfers and expansion through purchase is the escalation of land prices beyond levels justified in terms of farm production earning capacity. The greater this disparity, the more hazardous the assumption becomes that such land can be paid for out of future earnings. This is neither a new problem nor one restricted to urban expansion. In the past, land prices that were above values justified by earning power of the land have probably been the greatest force fostering tenancy's growth.

Other factors also inhibit or discourage farm and land ownership, especially for younger farmers just beginning or

attempting to begin. Farm property taxes as a percentage of operator net income have increased in the U.S. from 5.1% in 1945 to 17.6% in 1970. All other things equal, this reduces the family's disposable income and lowers their attainable level of living. If the probability of operations remains low and interest rates are high or rising, the length of repayment will take longer and be more costly.

A variety of forces have made it increasingly difficult for beginning and existing farmers to acquire farms, transfer them intergenerationally, and expand operations through additional purchases. Even as the likelihood of land ownership by farm managers has decreased, the likelihood of land ownership by nonfarmers has increased. Part of the increased difficulty for farmers, of course, has been the nonfarm purchases. Nonfarm ownership has been made possible because capital has been available for investment. This is a necessary, but not sufficient condition for nonfarm ownership and investment however. There must also be investment opportunities and incentives for investment. All three conditions are necessary for nonfarm ownership of farms and all three together comprise a sufficient condition. Investment opportunities are created by farmers soliciting capital for expansion purposes and through the open market purchase of available farm land by nonfarmers. Numerous incentives exist for the ownership of farms and farm land by nonfarmers. These incentives include the hope that purchased farm land might increase in value over time. There appear to be two major groups of investors. One group apparently is interested in land primarily as a long range investment and only expects rates of land value increase to continue as they have in the past. As pointed out previously, this is a relatively safe assumption given the consistent increases since 1939. The second group of investors is interested in more spectacular increases in land values. These investors speculate or gamble on land conversions to higher value use such as housing, business and industry.

Somewhat related to the preceding factor, but identifying a different motive for investment, is the fact that land is an attractive hedge against inflationary impacts on income and capital.

A number of federal income tax provisions have created incentives for the ownership of farm land by nonfarmers. Nonfarm income can be invested in farm land and buildings, which upon sale are taxed at maximum capital gains rates of 25%—the greater the extent to which personal income tax rates exceed 35% the greater the amount of benefits derived by investing income in assets taxed as capital gains. Some building related equipment is also depreciable. This makes ownership attractive since depreciation is deductible from ordinary income. Land clearing and conservation expenditures may be deducted as carrying rates. Tax benefits, both absolute and relative, increase with the amount of taxable income.

Trend data showing increased farm size and levels of differentiation in all dimensions of farm organizational structure have been assessed. Generally, all major farm status-roles (factors of production), landowner, capital owner, manager and laborer are becoming separated over time. The major causal forces and conditions which brought about these changes in the past were reviewed. The conclusion was reached that if these causal forces continue to exist and function in the future as they have in the past, then farm sizes and levels of structural differentiation will experience future increases also.

A continuation of these changes will bring about a dramatic, even radical, transformation of U.S. farms as they presently exist and have existed historically. The dominant farm in the U.S. has been a relatively small farm.

Families, usually nuclear, sometimes other, have owned most farm land and nonland resources (capital), managed the farm operation on a day to day basis, and also performed most



of the physical labor expended on the farm. A continuation of past trends will result in the replacement of this historically dominant farm type with extremely large farms with absentee land and capital owners and hired, nonowning managers and laborers, i.e., farms very large in size with highly differentiated organizational structures.

The land and capital owners in most cases will be large corporations and/or wealthy nonfarm individuals residing in metropolitan centers. The farm work force will consist entirely of hired, nonowning managers and laborers. Hired workers will dominate occupationally --- accounting for 85-90 percent of this farm type's work force.

These two farm types are in fact polar opposites on farm size and structural differentiation continuums. The change from a dominance of one to the other will not occur overnight --- it is likely to take many decades. The rates are likely to vary by type of production and region. However, the direction of change should be uniformly in the direction of increased farm size and differentiation. Many farms will be directly transformed from the one type to the other.

Given the fact these various changes were occurring, it was important for both basic and applied purposes to know as accurately as possible what the consequences or effects of these farm size and structure changes would be. In an ideal sense, we would have liked to know what the consequences of these changes for all levels of society would be.

The question of 'effects' was addressed particularly for farm work force individuals and families and for the communities within which farms were located. A knowledge of the relationships between farm size and level of structural differentiation and community characteristics provided a knowledge base from which the community consequences of these changes could be predicted. Relevant research and literature was reviewed to determine what the nature of these relationships have been in the past.

Past research and previously published data suggest the effects of increased farm size and structural differentiation would be considerable. Even if changes in structural differentiation were somehow halted, farm size would continue to rise. All other things equal --- this will result in decreased population numbers in community hinterlands, hence the community as a whole. As the hinterland population declines, the community's nonfarm population will also decline resulting in additional community population loss. As the community's population declines, its population structure will be altered, and the sizes of community social systems will decline due to lost status occupants. The greater the reductions in system and subsystem sizes, the more likely the numbers of systems and subsystems will also decline.

However, increases in the differentiation of all dimensions of organizational structure are also expected. These changes also have major implications for farm work force individuals and rural communities. First, structural differentiation is related to farm size and population density. All other things equal --- increases in structural differentiation will result in decreased population density. The amount of decline will be highly related to the number and types of dimensions increasing in differentiation. The greatest declines will then accompany increased manager/laborer differentiation; the least, increased capital owner/manager differentiation. As the level of a farm's structural differentiation increases, its size will increase and its population density will decline.

Increased structural differentiation is also significant since it will result in farm type and work force occupational composition changes. Past research suggests most changes in occupational composition will result in changes to the background-socioeconomic status (SES), family structure and social integration characteristics of the farm work force.

In terms of background-SES characteristics, nonland (but capital) owning managers were less likely to have a farm

owning fathers, have more years of education, lower job and residential stability, lower per capita and family income, wealth and levels of living. For family structure characteristics, nonlandowning managers were younger, they had similar or slightly fewer children, and their children had higher rates of community outmigration. Regarding social system integration, nonlandowning managers occupied fewer statuses and were less active in the roles associated with all social assessed (formal voluntary organizations, informal groups, churches and religious organizations, political organizations and activities and educational organizations).

Given the preceding differences, as the percentage of landowning managers within the farm work force decreases and the percentage of nonlandowning managers increases --- all other things equal --- the background-SES, family structure and social system integration characteristics of nonlandowning managers. As these changes occur in any community --- all other things equal --- the community population as a whole will increasingly reflect the characteristics of nonlandowning managers and changes will occur in the community's compositional characteristics, population and social system structure and functioning.

If one's concern is with the consequences of changes in farm structure, then it is inappropriate to restrict the definition of 'corporate' farms to nonclosely held and/or nonfarming corporations.

I would also suggest that if a major policy objective is the preservation and strengthening of the 'family' farm, and this farm type is defined as a land and capital owner managed; family sized farm, then, surely, the only way this policy objective can be successfully attained is to halt all the preceding structural differentiation changes.

I would suggest that the two most significant and far-reaching farm changes with implications for rural communities are increasing farm size and the increased differentiation of farm managers and laborers. Increasing farm size appears to be the major force bringing about the increased separation of land and capital ownership from farm management. It also has largely independent effects (population decline) on community characteristics. The increased separation of management and labor is one of the major causes of increased farm size and also has the relatively independent effect of bringing about major alterations in the background --- SES, family structure and social system integration characteristics of the farm work force.

Public debates and the enactment of policies and legislation on farm changes and their consequences which fail to address these two topics directly, appear doomed to failure because they will have excluded what appear to be the two most significant farm changes presently occurring.

# Moral and Social Issues

## 3

## James G. Patton

This is a time when we face a very critical and continuing food situation in which the farmer and the consumer of the United States must join hands in developing a National Food Policy, which will assure our citizens of an ample supply of nutritious food at all times. At the same time, I feel that we must assure the world that the United States will do all that it can to produce and provide food and feed grains to help prevent mass starvation. We should supply our full share of grains and oil seeds for the world commercial market to prevent further runaway inflation. If inflation is allowed to continue it will destroy peace, tranquility, and famend revolutions in the nations where mass hunger and starvation exists. Furthermore, runaway inflation of food prices will go far to create chaos and instability in the developed countries of the world.

Our present food crisis arises out of the gap between the amount of food produced in the world and the rapidly increasing number of people to be fed, more than half of whom are born into a world of continual hunger and starvation. World-wide inflation, spiraling costs of production, spiraling food prices, the energy crisis, inadequate forward planning, the lack of will on the parts of governments to plan ahead and to act by providing reserves of food and adequate incentives and opportunities for farmers of the world have brought us to a world-wide crisis which literally threatens world order and the survival of some nations as workable effective governments.

Notwithstanding its weaknesses and inconsistencies, the United States has had a National Food Production and Distribution Policy from 1929 when the first major farm bill was adopted by the Hoover Administration, until Secretary Butte scuttled most of it in 1972, 1973, and 1974. The New Deal followed up with many new laws relating to production, distribution, and credit. The basic thrust of these many laws and agencies has been to provide the American farmer with some protection against the vagaries of the free market which has for most of the time, except during periods of war and post-war hunger, adversely affected farmers income. The second aspect of our national food policy has been to provide the American consumer with an ample supply of foods at relatively low cost. The third aspect of our national food policy has been to provide food for emergency hunger situations around the world and to feed the hungry and starving in war torn areas. In more recent years the fourth aspect of our national food policy has been to use food supplies --- especially food and feed grains and soybeans to earn dollars to close our deficit in trade. In recent years our food and fiber exports have been our largest dollar earners.

This trade deficit was brought about in most part by our huge expenditures for the Vietnam War national defense and support of large military forces in Germany, Japan, Korea and South Vietnam.

The Nixon Administration has played games with the stabilizing effects of the national food and agricultural programs we have had.

Secretary Butte sold off all of the Commodity Credit Corporation stocks. In 1972 he spent billions to pay farmers to take land out of production to win their votes for President Nixon.

A handful of private multi-national grain trading companies sold over \$400 million of grain and soybeans to Russia's government-controlled corporations before the public, including farmers, knew about it while the U.S. Department of Agriculture looked the other way. When it became generally known that there was a world-wide shortage, Western European nations and Japan rushed in to buy our food supplies at a discount price because of the devaluation of the dollar and the general lack of knowledge about what was going on. This all brought about a sharp inflation of food and feedstuffs which, in turn, brought about a world-wide inflation of food prices.

Beginning with the war time United Nations Relief Rehabilitation Agency, followed by the Hot Springs Food Conference in 1943, the founding of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (UNFAO), the proposal for a World Food Board in 1946 vetoed by the U.S., and the rejection of the International Commodity Clearing House proposal in 1949, there has been substantial support in the U.S. for a national and an international policy of maintaining food reserves and providing the mechanisms to stabilize and increase supplies while stabilizing the incomes of primary producers. The support has not been adequate.

The moral responsibility of those who had more food than they could distribute or who had funds in helping to supply food to the hungry people of the world was constantly and effectively stated and put into action by the great religious orders and non-governmental organizations such as CARE.

Public Law 480 known as the Food for Peace Act arose out of two motives: The moral obligation to share our abundant food and the more selfish motive of "disposing of surpluses" to avoid the threat of surpluses depressing prices in the commercial market. The Food for Peace Act saved millions from starvation. It assisted many nations in their attempts to strengthen their economies and resist violent political disturbances by lessening the hunger of their citizens.

In 1960, during his campaign for the Presidency, John F. Kennedy, in a speech at Mitchell, South Dakota said, "Fellow Americans, facing a difficult future, I think the farmers can bring more credit, more lasting goodwill, more chance for freedom, more chance for peace, than almost any other group of Americans in the next ten years, if we recognize what is strength, and food is peace, and food is freedom and food is a helping hand to people around the world whose goodwill and friendship we want."

In the opening hours of his administration on January 24, 1961, the President issued an Executive Order creating the Office of Food for Peace. In issuing this Executive Order, President Kennedy said, "We must narrow the gap between abundance here at home and near starvation abroad. Humanity and prudence alike, counsel a major effort on our part." The President's Food for Peace action on January 24 was the second Executive Order by his administration. His first order, called for a stepped up food distribution program for new Americans.

America's rural heartland, once the cradle of isolationism, can now be a dynamic force in American foreign policy. The American farmer is the new internationalist. This is so because our food producers need the expanding world markets and we are about half of them are starving right now. They need the food produced by the farmers of America.

Because we have not had an adequate National Food Policy, domestically nor internationally, we have not maintained adequate reserves of food, fiber, petroleum, fertilizer, and other production supplies. Suddenly, so it seems, we find the abundance that we thought we had is vanishing. Now we are facing the question of whether we will share our short or skimpy supplies of foodstuffs and production supplies with the less fortunate nations, their farmers, and their millions of hungry people.

This is the moral question facing the American people. The question to be answered is just how strong do we believe in the philosophy "food for myself is a material concern, food for my brother is a moral concern." Are we concerned enough about the hungry people in America and the other countries of the world that we are willing to provide the money and the effort to help feed the starving and the hungry? Are we people of such moral integrity that we ask our Congress and our Executive Branch to see that America does her full share to feed the hungry and the starving as a matter of moral concern?

Are we willing to share our wealth to greatly increase those programs which will help the people in the less developed countries help themselves? I feel that we have the moral courage to

do our part. But we must act dynamically now.

The social and political issues are many. They are difficult to deal with. There are no easy answers.

Hunger raises the social issue of adequate incentives and compensation to farmers of the world who must produce an increasing amount of food from a limited amount of farmland.

The question of equitable distribution of scarce resources, such as energy, minerals, land and water, is a major one which cannot be solved by any single nation. The day of going it alone as a nation, as a group, or as an individual is over. All the world's people are in this thing together. We are faced with the question of whether mankind and his institutions can survive if they do not learn how to give up some of their sovereignty and learn how to establish world-wide institutions in which all people share the scarce resources of the globe which will become more scarce.

Food is an end product of land, seas (water), energy, and human ingenuity.

Hence, the equitable distribution and wise use of the world, a finite resource, is a major issue facing the world. Here at home we are haggling and struggling to develop land use policies that will make it possible to preserve in perpetuity our finite resources of land and water.

We must preserve in perpetuity our class 1, 2, and 3 land for farming. We are the only people on this God given finite resource. The most efficient way of performing as good custodians is by increasing the use of farmland by family owner-operators. Family-type farming is not only the most efficient way to produce food, it has the greatest long and short term social and cultural values. Producing citizens with good morals, fresh food, and individual leadership is still the greatest single product of family farming in America.

Therefore, we must have federal land use policy guidelines and land use policies in our states that will preserve good farm and grazing land forever to be used by family farmers owning the land on which they live and work.

Irrevocably tied to increasing production of food and adequate land policy is the issue of adequate income to farmers in the United States and all over the world. If we are going to maintain family farming, preserve and improve our land and at the same time produce enough food and fiber for ourselves, do much more to feed the hungry of the world and provide a substantial dollar earning in the commercial food markets of the world, then we must provide incomes for farmers which are comparable to urban compensations in business and the professions which require equal investments, skills, management, and labor. We cannot have an adequate national and international food policy with primary producers living in economic wind tunnel where they are blown to the top of the mountain one year and then swept down to disaster in a so-called "free market" speculative down draft of prices the next year. As a beginning we should amend the 1973 Farm Act to set the target prices on all farm commodities at 100% parity. Production payments should be limited to encouraging and protecting family farmers.

At the same time, we should enter into international commodity agreements which will create adequate national and international reserves and stabilize prices and supplies for consumers and producers.

We cannot afford to let the multi-national commodity trading corporations of the United States consort with the State trading corporations of the Communist countries to play Russian Roulette by manipulating the commodity markets to create scarcities, fear buying, and rampant inflation in food prices. Nor can the people of the world afford to allow our big multinational energy and minerals cartels with the OPEC countries unbalance the economies of all the nations in the world and in some instances destroy the economies and the governments of the poor countries of the world.

The United States must have strong federal policies guiding the use of energy and other finite resources so that our people will not be at the mercy of a handful of international boogymen

who have little moral concern for mankind and especially not for the less privileged of the human family.

In summary, if we are going to meet the moral and social issues of hunger, landlessness, and unemployment, we must revitalize our moral indignation because a world with such a vast amount of resources --- land, labor, energy, and ocean resources --- has allowed itself to drift into a situation where half of the world's people are hungry and starving, while a handful of nations and multi-national corporations have the people of the world by the economic throat and are causing rampant inflation, lowering food production, and creating political and economic instability which will result in revolutions, war, and chaos. We must be indignant enough to see to it that we pressure the Congress and the Executive Branch into quick and effective action.

### What are the Actions

First, take those steps which will assure the primary producers of food and fiber security --- security as to tenure on their land, security as to a fair income for their efforts and security of an opportunity to enjoy a quality life which provides a dignified and worthwhile opportunity for health, education, recreation, and culture. This means land reform as to land tenure, ownership and use in the United States and all over the world, especially in Latin America and other areas where land ownership is concentrated in a few hands. The elimination of corporate farming in the United States. I do not include family corporations where the corporate owners live on the land and provide capital, principal, labor, and management.

Second, the United States as the largest exporter of food and grains, soybeans, and cotton must take the leadership in strongly suggesting the adoption of policies at the World Food Conference in November at Rome which will create adequate national and international reserves to lessen and eliminate hunger and starvation. It means that instead of destroying our federal food and fiber production programs in the U.S., we must strengthen them. We must revitalize the activities of the Commodity Credit Corporation to avoid farm income disaster, and to provide stability as to consumer prices.

Third, several years ago the United States along with other nations, set a goal of contributing 1% of our total GNP to assist the less developed countries in developing their economies. Each year since that time, the United States has invested and contributed less and less of that 1% goal. At the present time, our U.S. share of the international development investment and contribution is 1/4 of one percent. At the present time, the U.S. ranks 15th in a list of 16 wealthy countries.

If we and the wealthy nations of the world are to close the gap between us and the poor countries we must reorder our priorities and be prepared to put at least 2% of our gross national product into assisting the poorer countries to help themselves. The Oil Producing Exporting Countries (OPEC) should contribute at least 2% of their GNP.

If we are to deal with world unemployment and underemployment, then we must have resurgence of indignation and a reordering of our priorities from a world of paranoid military defense against each other to priorities that allow us to spend 50 of the \$100 billion we are now spending for destruction, to eliminating the degradation of poverty, landlessness, hunger, and joblessness here at home and in the world.

Fourth, we must join in a world-wide cooperative effort through international institutions. We can help bring up to date the United Nations by revising the charter. We can do the job through multi-national economic and social action agencies. We can hope that economic and social action will help the people of the world to understand each other and to find ways to live in peace with each other in a variety of political economic systems and cultures.

## Bishop Edward E. Swansstrom

At the Pennsylvania Food Conference sessions, we made significant beginnings. We explored the essentials of a national food policy first in terms of feeding our own growing populations, then with the view of being as helpful as possible in feeding the hungry of the world. A tremendous moral responsibility we have in this regard.

We reviewed the national and international implications; political, social, and economic of a food policy. It was our first call to the nation and to the world to recognize the facts for what they are, namely that we are moving seemingly inexorably towards a horrendous global famine.

Since last December, dozens upon dozens of statements on the world food problem have been made by governmental and intergovernmental officials, and by leaders of the private community both here and abroad. Statements on this subject were relatively infrequent six months ago. Estimates, projections, predictions, conclusions --- in fact statistics of all kinds relating to the global food problem --- are found today in our press, on our radio, and on TV.

But one of the important tasks of this coalition is not to be influenced by statements in the extreme, but to study carefully all the information at hand, to the end that our actions are guided by the best possible perspective.

Because of the prowess of the American farmer, I feel they will not only be able to restore our national food reserves to its former proportions, but also to meet in a large measure the current food needs of others.

Our fear today might well be that because 1974 will be a good crop year in most of the major growing areas of the world, we could be lulled into the belief that there's no food problem after all. Nothing could be further from the truth. The food and agricultural organizations keep warning us that a world shortage of some 10% is almost inevitable if present trends continue.

The more immediate problem faced by the less developed countries is how to pay for the grains that are available at today's sharply higher price levels. My own personal concern has been for the millions of the poor throughout the world who, even before this time of soaring petroleum prices, hadn't the wherewithal to keep body and soul together.

As we thank our farmers we should keep in mind that any sound national food policy must be built upon a protection of farm income. If we expect our farmers to produce more, we must also insulate them against the increasingly higher costs of everything they have to buy. If this takes a new type of government subsidy, then I say so be it.

City folks like myself have a tendency to forget higher food prices do not necessarily mean a tendency to increase level for the farmer. To be sure, it's a relief to see the rate of increase in food prices easing. But there is little cause for real jubilation, unless at the same time the cost of farm essentials eases also.

A national food policy should also include other built-in protections for agriculture. We need to take a hard look at our present land policy. We need to assure the farmer of his essential fertilizer requirements at a reasonable cost. Farmers need adequate energy to power their machinery. The maintenance of a national food reserve to protect us in the event of a natural or man-made disaster is basic to our own welfare, and obviously should be part of our national food policy.

The problem of our international food security is not only both complicated and difficult of solution, but requires the renewal and strengthening of our national convictions that we have a moral obligation to help others.

Twenty-five years ago our foreign aid effort represented more than 3% of our Gross National Product; last year it was down to 1/4 of 1%. There are, unfortunately, ample additional signs of an even greater erosion of this facet of our national

will. This is an ominous trend --- completely unrealistic --- in a world in which the welfare of one human being increasingly depends on the welfare of another.

Part of our job is to turn the country around again, to get it to resume the moral leadership of the world it once had. I urge that nationally and internationally we return to people-oriented policy. Let's stop the new trend toward tokenism. Let us assume willingly and compassionately a just responsibility to the rest of the world.

Thanks to the American farmer it will be possible this year without any sacrifice, to meet our food aid responsibilities. I for one, however, would like to see firmly established the principle of sharing as an integral part of our national food policy, looking to that day when the global food situation may well be vastly different.

Some day, perhaps sooner than we expect, we may be called upon not only to tighten our own belts, but to actually reshape our eating habits in order to keep others from starving to death.

Once we've renewed our commitment to the principle of sharing our foods and food technology with others, we could help them to increase the production of their own food.

As far as production is concerned, our immediate job lies with the small farmer of the world, presently just raising enough for the sustenance of himself and his family. The small farmer, if properly motivated, directed, and assisted, can and will grow more food.

Frankly, producing more food is only one part of the problem. The small farmer, particularly in the developing countries, must be able to enter the economic mainstream. The distribution and marketing of foods is as important as the production of them.

So our first task, I'm sure you will agree, is to establish an equilibrium between global food production and world food needs. Then we can confront the problem of international food security.

What will be the specific first purposes of a world food bank? Will it consist of a replaceable reserve against crop failures? What foods will be stored? Who will pay for both food and storage? How will any international food security system relate to present practices in the world food market? Can and/or will such a bank become an instrument of global price control? Frankly, I don't pretend to know the final answers to these questions.

I do have first-hand knowledge, however, of the fact that when it comes to feeding the people of the world, unable because of their poverty to participate in the market, the job can be done on the part of the American people, at less expense and maximum effectiveness.

We have to assess the fact that we Americans live in a world in which hundreds of millions of our fellow men suffer malnutrition. Still we not only continue to waste an incredible amount of food each year, but spend millions upon millions of dollars on fast diets, fattening parlors, on food with practically no nutritive value. Isn't it high time for us to reorient our priorities?

You know my friends, the tragic part of it all is that we have the know-how, we have the wherewithal to end much of the world's suffering --- we simply don't have the will to do so. The time for action on the world food problem is now. Not to take face up to this problem while there is still time to take meaningful steps towards its solution would be unthinkable.

Let's try and rally our fellow citizens in support of a responsible national food policy. Let us summon our national will to the end that there is bread for everyone, and peace. Let's do it now!

## Dr. J. Robert Busche

There is a problem --- a terrifying one which confronts the whole world. The effects of it are being felt in every nation, and will be for some years. At the heart of the problem is the ominous prediction that poverty, scarcity of food, fuel and fertilizer, and droughts as well as excessive rain-producing climate shifts could combine to destroy through starvation in a single year more lives than have been lost in World Wars I and II --- perhaps as many as have been lost in all the wars of this century.

Equally as tragic but even more certain is the fact that this year alone several million children will suffer severe and permanent brain damage due to lack of proper food. Their impairment will remain a burden not only to their families and nations, but to the consciences of affluent nations and people everywhere.

I have been helped in my own understanding of this problem by viewing the world from a global perspective. If we boil down the huge statistics of world population to a village or small town with a population of 1,000, we discover a world somewhat different than the one we normally think about. 570 villagers are Asians, 190 are Europeans, 100 are Africans, 90 are North Americans, of whom 60 live in the USA, and 50 are South Americans.

700 of these villagers are non-white, and only 300 are white. 500 are hungry all the time; half that number are in such a condition of malnutrition that they continue day-by-day to deteriorate in health. 100 are inadequately housed, more than half of them living in quarters less adequate than those provided for many farm animals in this country.

The 60 citizens of the United States receive approximately one half of the total income of the village each year. The rest is divided quite unequally between the other 940. Many of them, especially those from the industrialized countries of Europe the amount of income to be divided among the majority of the village is so low as to be inadequate from any standpoint or by any standard of supporting life with dignity.

On the face of it, without any analysis, one senses in this situation a moral question. The question is probably one of justice. In such a situation, how can one see justice for those who live in a world of plenty, but have nothing?

Beneath the surface, however, one can recognize that the plight of most people living in the global village really consists of a terrible tyranny. The tyranny is exercised by grinding human poverty, by oppressive and spirit-destroying disease, by malnutrition and by despair and loss of initiative which results from generations of existence in such misery.

These are all social issues which impinge upon the poor of the world in such a way as to undermine self esteem, to cheapen the regard for the value of human life, and to numb the God-given drives to struggle for existence. One of the saddest and cruellest things I have witnessed in traveling among the poorest of the poor is the terrible effect on adult human beings of their incapability to provide for themselves and for those they love. The frustration of their failure to achieve even a minimum of food, shelter, and clothing because of factors over which they have no control breeds terrifying despair and hurt.

Another social implication is the seething unrest and discomfort which breeds in the midst of people who struggle in desperation merely to exist. The ground of discontent and frustration over the unrelenting tyranny of their poverty becomes fertile soil for extreme and desperate plans to break the tyranny, to overthrow the oppressor and to find the freedom they see others enjoy.

The course of action which frequently results is socially destructive, building tensions, heightening distrust, and breeding an atmosphere of hatred, bitterness and fear among the affluent and the poor alike. We as a nation have already expended substantial amounts of money through military

presence or action to assist other nations and states restore order where chaotic disorder has developed directly or indirectly as a result of intolerable conditions of oppression from poverty.

When one contemplates the fact that in this century, the U.S. has been required to spend nearly \$300 billion on 4 major wars and that this vast sum is a minor fraction of total spending for military preparedness and defense, one must ask whether this is the only or the best way to prepare our legacy to future generations. A moral issue surfaces inevitably when the question of our priorities is raised. Our nation in this century has thrived on war, at least when measured by our G.N.P., in personal wealth, in technological achievements, and standard of living.

It is not as apparent that we have made such significant gains in the quality of life, respect for lives and compassion for humanity.

The steady decline in our efforts of foreign assistance to developing nations from a high of 2.8% of our G.N.P. to 25% of it in the face of increasing need for assistance, is sobering. Of course, we have all heard of good reasons for criticism of foreign aid. But is the alternative to stop --- or to proceed with greater determination to succeed --- to correct errors. We may only face the choice of spending money to fight the hungry or to feed them. The moral answer to such a choice should be clear.

Dr. Henry Kissinger, addressing the General Assembly of the United Nations said: "Improving the quality of life to become a universal, political demand, a technical possibility and a moral imperative." That there is growing political demand among poor nations is apparent. That there is technology capable of more adequately distributing and providing the physical essentials for improved quality of life is unquestionable. But that the moral imperative is sensed or acknowledged by the majority affluent nations and people is in doubt.

The framers of this Conference were on target in deciding to link the issues of hunger, landlessness, and unemployment in considering the moral and social issues. They are extricably interrelated. To give the hungry food can be nearly as immoral as to deny them food from our abundance. It can, that is if it is done in such a way or for such a long time as to rob them of their independence, initiative, and self respect. To fail to help them will rob us of ours, and diminish our own humanity.

The challenge lies in discovering and developing means to assist hungry persons to help themselves --- to have a stake in society and to use our food and other resources to help them get a foot hold. What a wonderful thing it would be if the United States as it moves towards its bicentennial, could achieve national consensus to strike a new blow against the tyranny of poverty --- a blow for freedom --- human dignity and peace.

Our own children and future generations will judge whether we as a nation have made a response to this problem which is worthy of our heritage, our tradition, and our own humanity. I am confident that with citizen commitment and concern of the kind I sense among you, this nation can rise to the occasion in meeting the desperate need of the world's suffering poor.

## Robert G. Lewis

Trade means the opportunity for a prosperous growing economy --- to provide the best level of prosperity that we can expect.

It was liberal trade that made this country great.

We are 50 states, and if 200 years ago we had gone the direction some had advocated and the way conventional things were going, we would have had 50 countries with trade barriers between them --- and we would have all been poor.

We've had the largest free trade community in the world here in our 50 states and territories.

The free trade we've had between our 50 states largely has accounted for the strength and wealth of our economy.

Regarding the trade bill now before the Congress, the Senate Finance Committee is getting ready to report to the full Senate. The bill has already passed the House.

One major provision is removal of non-tariff-barriers --- such as import quotas --- which inhibit movement of goods across borders.

If the trade bill passes, the Administration will have very broad authority to negotiate for reduction of tariff barriers and elimination of non-tariff barriers.

Unfortunately, the Administration's trade bill is about 12 years behind the times. Most of the task of reducing tariff barriers has already been done. The Kennedy Round mainly got the job done --- at least the easier cases. The ones remaining are the tough ones.

Many are now coming to the realization that this is just a re-run of the Kennedy legislation a dozen years ago.

From the farmers' standpoint, the trade that will do you the most good is the trade that expands the opportunity for low-wage labor in labor intensive industries in foreign countries to get jobs and make earnings so that they can buy some food.

That's where the farmers' interest is in the trade question. The Kennedy Round did more good for farmers than for any other segment of the economy.

It did that, not by beating down someone else's farm prices in Europe or Japan, but by increasing the opportunity of foreigners to sell goods to us to earn money to buy our farm products in exchange.

The grain trade is supporting the kind of trade initiatives which would enable us to break down someone else's markets and price support systems so that American farmers could take their markets.

The Nixon Administration's central objective in trade negotiations is to persuade the European countries in particular to reduce their level of price support. The variable duty system is a system of protecting the prices for European farmers.

The theory of the grain trade is that if we can cause a reduction of grain price levels in European countries, their farmers will go out of production and we can have their markets.

Do you know how much price reduction it would take to reduce European grain production?

To undersell European farmers, you would probably have to sell wheat at \$1.31 a bushel.

I don't know of a nickel's worth of advantage American farmers have ever gotten by trying to effect the lowering of price supports somewhere else around the world.

On the other hand, there are billions of dollars in expanded farm markets that have resulted from having helped increase the purchasing power of people in other nations. Western Europe and Japan are good examples of how our leadership in economic cooperation has helped build vast markets.

We do not feel that the Administration trade bill really gets at the problems, some of which are internal rather than external.

What kind of a trade bill do we then favor in Farmers Union?

First of all, we favor a full-employment policy for all workers and farmers in our nation.

Next, there must be effective trade adjustment measures for workers and industries injured by trade liberalization. If the textile workers are injured by trade policy, there ought to be some higher-paying jobs available to the people who are displaced. We do not think that farmers or workers ought to bear the cost alone for injuries which are sustained.

For agriculture, we favor international commodity agreements. We favor, for example, an international dairy agreement which would establish what is a fair price on dairy products and then have everyone cooperate in maintaining that price and enabling the price support systems to work harmoniously together. We favor the same sort of approach for grain.

I do not blame labor for being disturbed about trade questions. Our nation has been letting the multinational corporations get away with murder.

Most of American labor has a stake in expanded trade similar to American farmers. This world is hungry for the kinds of things American workers and farmers can produce.

We need to reassert American leadership in world economic policy and to apply American idealism once again to solutions of food and employment problems.

## Dr. Louis M. Thompson

Poor weather may well cause serious problems in the world food supply next year.

Weather has become the most important factor to watch in the market for corn, wheat, and soybeans this year.

By July 1974 the world stocks of grain held by the principal exporting countries will be less than 8 per cent of the world's annual production - the smallest reserve held since World War II.

A drop of only 5 percent in production in 1974 caused by unfavorable weather could cause serious problems in world food supply for 1975.

While grain production in the world reached an all-time record high in 1973 it was not high enough to meet the world demands in 1974. Throughout the decade of the sixties human population increased at about 2 per cent a year while cattle and hog numbers increased at about the same rate. But from 1970 to 1973 the annual rate of increase in cattle and hog numbers in the world was doubled. Since about half the grain produced in the world is fed to farm animals there has been a huge demand for feed grains in world markets over the past 2 years. During the 12 months the United States has exported an average of 26 million bushels of corn each week. This has amounted to 1400 million bushels since the first of June a year ago, or about one-fourth of the nation's production in 1973.

Normal weather is good weather in the Corn Belt. Last year the yield was the equivalent to normal weather, which was 104 bushels per acre in the Corn Belt. Every year since 1956 weather has resulted in a yield of 95 per cent of normal or better, and there were 6 of the 18 years when yields were above normal.

In contrast to the last 18 years, the Corn Belt had weather resulting in yields below 95 per cent of normal in 30 of the 65 years from 1891 to 1955. And indeed there were 10 years out of the 65 when yields were 90 per cent of normal or below. There were serious drought years in the nineties, teens, thirties and in 1954 and 1955. The drought periods have occurred at about 20-year frequencies as long as records have been available in the Corn Belt which go back to 1800.

While there is considerable support for a 20-year cyclical pattern in summer weather, studies show a marked change in Corn Belt weather since 1956. If we do not have a drought period in the Corn Belt in the mid-seventies there will be overwhelming evidence of a change in climate in the Corn Belt, trending toward cooler, wetter summers than have been experienced in the past two centuries.

# New Dimensions

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## Lester R. Brown

The international scarcity of major agricultural commodities in 1973 reflects important long-term trends as well as the temporary phenomenon of lack of rainfall in the Soviet Union and parts of Asia and Africa. We appear to be entering an extended period in which global grain reserves, which provide a crucial measure of safety when crop failures occur, will generally remain on the low side, and in which little, if any, excess cropland will be held idle in the United States. Food prices are likely to remain considerably higher than they were during the last decade, placing a special burden on the world's poor. Meanwhile, the world has become overwhelmingly dependent on one continent -- North America -- for exportable food supplies. From a global perspective the world is likely to be in a vulnerable situation on the food front in the years ahead. Strong international policy responses are called for in an area so basic to human welfare.

During the 1960's, the world food problem was perceived as a food/population problem centered on the developing countries, a race between food and people. At the end of each year, observers anxiously compared rates of increase in food production with those being made by the world's population. Progress was being made. Throughout most of the decade it was nip and tuck. During the 1970's, rapid global population growth continues to generate demand for more food, but, in addition, rising affluence is emerging as a major new claimant on the world's food resources. Thus there are now two important sources of growth in world demand for food.

Worldwide, population growth is still the dominant source of expanding demand for food. With world population expanding at nearly 2 percent per year, merely maintaining current per capita consumption levels will require a doubling of food production in little more than a generation.

Throughout the poor countries, population growth accounts for most of the year-to-year growth in the demand for food. At best, only very limited progress is being made in raising per capita consumption. In the more affluent countries, on the other hand, rising incomes account for most of the growth in the demand for food.

As the world demand for food climbs, constraints on efforts to further expand food production become increasingly apparent. The primary means available for expanding supplies fall into two categories: either increasing the amount of land under cultivation, or raising yields on existing cropland through the use of improved seeds, fertilizers, and energy. We face problems in the needed expansion of each of these physical resources.

The traditional approach to increasing production -- expanding the area under cultivation -- has only limited potential for the future. Some parts of the world actually face a net reduction in agricultural land because of the growth in competing uses, such as industrial development, recreation, transportation, and residential development. Few countries have well defined land use policies that protect land from other uses. In the United States, farmland has been used indiscriminately for other purposes with little thought devoted to the possible long term consequences. Some more densely populated countries, for example Japan and several Western European countries, have used decreasing amounts of land for crop production in the past few decades. Other parts of the world, including particularly the Indian subcontinent, the Middle East, North Africa, the Saharan Africa, the Caribbean, Central America, and the Andean countries, are losing disturbingly large acreages of cropland each year because of severe erosion.

The availability of water for agricultural purposes will be particularly critical for food production in the future. In many regions of the world, fertile agricultural land would be avail-

able if water could be found to make it productive. But most of the rivers that lend themselves to damming and to irrigation already have been developed. The expansion of irrigated area is likely to slow down as we run out of easy opportunities to continue expanding. Future efforts to expand fresh water supplies for agricultural purposes increasingly will focus on such techniques as the diversion of rivers (as in the Soviet Union today), desalting sea water, and the manipulation of rainfall patterns to increase the shade of rain falling over moisture-deficient agricultural areas.

In many developing countries, intensification of agricultural production on the existing cultivated area will require a several-fold increase in energy supplies. With world energy prices increasing rapidly, the costs of intensifying food production will rise commensurately. In countries (such as the United States) that are already engaged in agriculture requiring large energy inputs, high energy prices and the possibility of fuel rationing may hold down future production.

In addition to arable land, fresh water, and energy, fertilizer is in short supply, and the outlook in this case, too, is higher prices.

By early 1974, there were signs that many nations -- including some very populous ones, such as India, Indonesia, Pakistan, and the Philippines -- would be unable to obtain the needed amounts of fertilizer regardless of price.

At a time when rising costs tend to manifest itself in the form of rapidly growing demand for high quality protein, we suddenly find ourselves in difficulty in our efforts to rapidly expand supplies of three major protein sources -- beef, soybeans, and fish. Two major constraints are operative in the case of beef. Agricultural scientists have not been able to devise any convincing means of increasing the number of calves 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. There does not appear to be any prospect of an imminent breakthrough on this front.

The other constraint of beef production is good grassland. The grazing capacity of much of the world's pastureland is now almost fully utilized. This is true, for example, in much of the U.S. Great Plains area, in sub-Saharan Africa, and in parts of Australia. There are opportunities for using improved grasses and for improved range management, but these are limited and slow to be realized.

A second 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. In the United States, which now produces two-thirds of the world's soybean crop and supplies more than four-fifths of all soybeans entering the world market, soybean yields per acre have increased by about 1 percent per year.

The growing demand for food is putting more pressure on the food producing ecosystem in many parts of the world than it can withstand. One dramatic example is the anchovy fishery off the western coast of Latin America. During the early seventies this vast fishery accounted for one-fifth of the global fish catch. During late 1972 and throughout much of 1973 the anchovies seemingly disappeared from the traditional offshore fishing areas. This did not cause a great deal of alarm since a slight shift in the Humboldt current and the change in temperature of a few degrees had caused the anchovies to move away at least temporarily before.

There is now growing evidence that the very heavy offshore from the anchovy fishery ranging from 10 to 12 million tons in the late sixties and early seventies may have exceeded the capacity of the fishery to regenerate itself. Over-fishing may have seriously damaged the anchovy fishery. If so, it may take years before it can recover to its full productive capacity, assuming it is given the opportunity to do so.

A second example of ecological overreliance, which is diminishing the earth's food producing capacity, is now all too evident in the Sahel, just south of the Sahara in Africa.

There is a much more basic problem in the Sahel. Over the past 35 years, human and livestock populations along the sub-Saharan frontier have increased rapidly, in some areas nearly doubling during this period. As the human and livestock populations multiply, they put more pressure on the ecosystem than it can withstand. The result is over-grazing, deforestation, and overall denudation of the land.

As a result of this denudation and deforestation, the Sahara desert has begun to move southward at an accelerated rate all along the 3500 mile southern frontier, stretching from Senegal to northern Ethiopia. A U.S. Government study indicates the desert is moving southward at up to 30 miles per year, depending on where it is measured.

As the desert moves southward, human and livestock populations retreat before it. The result is ever-greater pressure on the fringe area. This in turn contributes to the denudation and deforestation, setting in process a self-reinforcing cycle.

The Green Revolution does not represent a solution to the food problem; rather, it is a means of buying time, perhaps an additional 15 or 20 years during which the brakes can be applied to population growth.

Close to a decade has now passed since the launching of the Green Revolution, but success stories in national family planning programs in the poor nations are all too few. Among the population giants of Asia, the People's Republic of China appears to be substantially reducing its birth rates, but reductions in India, Indonesia, Pakistan, and Bangladesh are minimal. The fertility of relying on the new agricultural technologies is evident in Mexico, the country where the Green Revolution first began. Fifteen years of dramatic advances in wheat production made Mexico a net exporter of cereals in the late sixties, but a population growth rate among the highest in the world has converted Mexico into an importer of food.

The period since World War II has been characterized by excess capacity in world agriculture, much of it concentrated in the United States. In many ways the world was fortunate to have, in effect, two major food reserves during this period. One was in the form of grain reserves in the principal exporting countries and the other in the form of reserve cropland, virtually all of which was land idled under farm programs in the United States.

Grain reserves, including substantial quantities of both foodgrains and feedgrains, are most commonly measured in terms of carryover stocks -- the amount in storage at the time the new crop begins to come in. World carryover stocks are concentrated in a few of the principal exporting countries -- namely the United States, Canada, Australia, and Argentina.

Since 1960, world grain reserves have fluctuated from a high of 155 million metric tons to a low of about 100 million metric tons. When these reserves drop to 100 million tons, severe shortages and strong upward price pressures develop. Although 100 million tons appears to be an enormous quantity of grain, it represents a mere 8 percent of annual world grain consumption, or less than one month's needs -- an uncomfortably small working reserve and a perilously thin buffer against the vagaries of weather or plant diseases. As world consumption expands by some 2.5 percent annually, so should the size of working reserves, but over the past two decades reserves have dwindled while consumption has continued to climb.

The extent of global vulnerability is particularly underlined by examining the degree of global dependence on North America for exportable food supplies. Over the past generation the United States has achieved a unique position as a supplier of food to the rest of the world. Before World War II both Latin America, importantly Argentina, and North America (United States and Canada) were major exporters of grain. During the late thirties net grain exports from Latin America were substantially above those of North America. Since

then, however, the combination of the population explosion and the slowness of most Latin American governments to reform and modernize agriculture have eliminated the net export surplus. With few exceptions, Latin American countries are now food importers.

At a time when dependence of the rest of the world on North American food exports is increasing so dramatically, there is also a growing awareness that this extreme dependence leaves the world in a very dangerous position in the event of a severe crop failure in North America. Both the United States and Canada are affected by the same climatic cycles.

Considerable evidence has now been accumulated indicating that North America has been subject to recurrent clusters of drought years roughly every twenty years. The cyclical drought phenomenon has now been established as far back as the Civil War when data were first collected on rainfall. The most recent drought, occurring in the early fifties, was rather modest. The preceding one occurring in the early thirties was particularly severe, giving rise to the dust bowl era in the United States.

If the United States experiences another stretch of drought years, quite possibly during the current decade, its impact on production will not likely be as great as during the thirties due to improved soil management and water conservation practices. But even a modest decline in production, given the rapid growth in global demand and extreme world dependence on North America's exportable wheat in food, would create a very dangerous situation. It would send shock waves throughout the world triggering intense competition for available food supplies.

High food prices and shortages are an inconvenience for the more affluent societies and individuals, but the poor nations and the poor within nations are in an especially dangerous predicament. When global reserve stocks are low, the capacity of the international community to respond to emergencies such as droughts or crop failures with food aid is greatly diminished. At the same time, high prices may keep needed food out of the reach of poor nations and individuals.

When one spends about 80 percent of one's income on food, as does a sizable segment of mankind, a doubling in the price of wheat or rice cannot possibly be offset by increased expenditures. It can only drive a subsistence diet below the subsistence or survival level.

The global food outlook calls for serious consideration of the creation of an internationally managed food reserve system. 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 over a multi-year period.

One of the most immediate means of expanding the food supply is to return the idled U.S. cropland to production, a process already in motion. Over the longer run, however, the greatest opportunity lies in the developing countries, where the world's greatest reservoir of unexploited food potential is located.

In those countries having the appropriate economic incentives, fertilizer, water, and other required agricultural inputs and supporting institutions, the introduction of new wheat and rice varieties has increased production substantially. But the recent jump in per acre yields in many developing countries appears dramatic largely because their yields traditionally have been so low relative to the potential. Today rice yields in India are 1.5 tons per acre and Nigeria still averages only one-third those of Japan; corn yields in Thailand and Brazil are less than one-third those of the United States. Large increases in food supply are possible in these countries at far less cost than in agriculturally advanced nations if farmers are given the necessary economic incentives and have access to the requisite inputs.



The prospect of an emerging chronic global scarcity of food as a result of growing pressures on available food resources underlines the need to stabilize and eventually halt population growth in as short a period of time as possible. One can conceive of this occurring in the industrial countries given recent demographic trends, particularly if national governments put their minds to it.

In the poor countries, however, it will be much more difficult to achieve population stability within an acceptable time frame, at least as things are going now. For one thing the historical record indicates that birth rates do not usually decline unless certain basic social needs are satisfied --- a reasonable standard of living, an assured food supply, a reduced infant mortality rate, literacy, and health services --- providing the basic motivation for smaller families.

In short, it is in the self-interest of affluent societies to launch a major additional effort directed at helping developing countries to step up food production and generally accelerate the development of the rural areas, and most of the great majority of the world's people and most of the very poor. This effort would not only increase food production at a relatively low cost, but would also meet the basic social needs of people throughout the world. The latter is a prerequisite in lowering birth rates.

Population-induced pressures on the global food supply will continue to increase if substantial economic and social progress is not made. A greatly expanded program to make family planning services available to all who desire them, in rich and poor nations, will be a necessary but not a sufficient prerequisite to breaking the dismal cycle of ten millennia in which food production has always been consumed by an ever-expanding number of mouths to feed, leaving much of mankind hungry.

## Herbert J. Waters

There is a new awakening, long overdue, to the vital importance of food, and assurance of an adequate supply of food, for the world's vastly increasing population.

For perhaps more than two billion people, already existing at food subsistence levels, the concern is not something new. For them, eking out enough food for sheer survival is already the preoccupation in life.

For the rest of us however --- for the relatively more affluent, developed world, whether we feel affluent individually or not --- it is something new. We have been conditioned, over the years, to take abundant food supplies more or less for granted.

We are suddenly, belatedly, confronting the fact that food availability is a global problem. We are no longer isolated from world market trends. What happens to production or consumption demand anywhere else in the world affects all of us, producers or consumers alike.

We had better be concerned. Whether we like it or not, we are embarked by necessity on a period of re-examination of world food policies.

Because the United States is the world's largest food supplier, world food policies cannot be re-examined without implications, one way or another, for our own national food and fiber policies.

When the energy crisis suddenly began to engulf us, all over the country people were saying, "Why didn't somebody warn us?" Well, they can't say they haven't been warned about an impending world food crisis.

Even back in the period when our storage bins were overflowing, the thoughtful farm leaders and political leaders of this great midwestern producing region were cautioning the public not to criticize surplus food supplies as something evil, something burdensome. Far-sighted leaders have been warning for more than two decades that neglect of agriculture was a risk the nation could not afford.

Food was power, real power, they told the rest of the nation. Abundance was the greatest protection that could be offered the American consumer, and assurance of that abundance required fair treatment of our farm producers and adequate incentive for them to keep on producing.

They saw then, as all of us see now, that the world will need all that can be produced --- whether or not the world has the economic means and mechanisms immediately available to pay for it.

There have been repeated warnings, over the last two decades, of the coming food crisis now too threatening to be ignored any longer.

In May of 1967, the President's Science Advisory Committee issued a significant report on the world food problem that came to these four basic conclusions:

"1. The scale, severity, and duration of the world food problem are so great that a massive, long-range, innovative effort unprecedented in human history will be required to master it.

"2. The solution of the problem that will exist after about 1985 demands that programs of population control be initiated now. For the immediate future, the food supply is critical.

"3. Food supply is directly related to agricultural development and, in turn, agricultural development and overall economic development are critically interdependent in the hungry countries, and

"4. A strategy for attacking the world food problem will, of necessity, encompass the entire foreign economic assistance effort of the United States in concert with other developed countries, voluntary institutions, and international organizations."

At the same time, this body of distinguished scientists recognized something of increasing significance today --- the problem of adequate distribution of available food supplies to those needing them the most urgently.

In commenting on the nature of the world food problem, the Science Advisory Committee declared:

"The world's increasingly serious nutritional problem arises from the uneven distribution of the food supply among countries, within countries, and among families with different levels of income. Global statistical surveys, based upon total food produced per person, suggest that there is no worldwide shortage of food in terms of quantity (calories) or quality (protein) at the moment. But in the developing countries, where two-thirds of the world's population live, there is overwhelming clinical evidence of undernutrition (too few calories) and malnutrition (particular lack of protein) among the people. Clearly millions of individuals are not receiving the amounts of food suggested by average figures."

They were ahead of their time. The public paid too little heed to the warning. We turned back on increased cooperation for international economic development. We cut back rather than increased foreign economic assistance. We started neglecting our own agricultural producers and cut back our own food production at a time of rising world need, in real terms if not in economic demand terms. We shared less and less of our food with others in need, cutting back steadily our Food for Peace assistance around the world.

Fortunately, many in this hall never wavered in your conviction of the vital importance of food and food producers to the economic stability of our own nation and to peace and freedom throughout the world.

You were right to be concerned earlier; you are right to be even more concerned today. But it is only now, when scarcity and threatened scarcity force food prices up even for the more affluent nations and people, that we suddenly have a great new awakening of general public concern.

Perhaps, now, everybody will realize that the world's food problem is everyone's problem. Everyone must eat, to survive. Everyone must eat to be able to work, to be able to become productive.

Perhaps now, better than ever before, we have an opportunity to mobilize public action, to assure everyone's chance to survive, to assure everyone's chance to become productive, to assure everyone's opportunity to eat --- at home or abroad, because we have hunger in our own country, too.

For vast populations of many "have not" nations, and for vast numbers of "have not" people within all nations, including our own, the food crisis already exists. Millions live on the verge of starvation --- right now.

An estimated 100 million deaths each year are attributable directly either to lack of enough food to sustain life, or of the right kind of food to ward off disease.

Starvation, on a massive scale, within the next decade, is openly being predicted by serious studies from many different sources --- unless far more is done to prevent it.

I don't want to belabor you with statistics, either of the situation today or the grim forecasts for the future. Plenty are available, and plenty will be presented in the course of this forum. Whether you accept the most optimistic statistics or the most pessimistic, the situation is alarming enough to support several key assumptions:

1. The world is going to need maximum production from developed and developing countries alike.

2. The world isn't going to be able to get the maximum production without adequate economic incentive to farm producers, including availability of production inputs at prices farmers can afford to pay, in relation to what they can get in return for their crops.

3. Maximum production in itself provides no assurance of adequate food availability to the countries and to the people needing it most, without public mechanisms, national and international, to finance acquisition and distribution of food supplies on concessional or subsidized terms.

4. Uncertainties of weather and the recurrent cycle of natural and man-made disasters around the world are such that there can be no assurance of avoiding mass starvation, despite every effort to stimulate world food production, unless man is rational enough to devise some equitable system of building up and maintaining world food security reserves.

5. We cannot achieve the greater production needed, the improved distribution mechanisms required for assuring adequate diets to the people needing them most, nor the security for everyone of adequate world food reserves, without a deliberate moral commitment on the part of the American people and the determination and persistence to convince our government --- and other governments --- that everything that must be done is done, to wipe out hunger in the world.

Governments are meeting in Geneva this time, in the second preparatory conference for the UN World Food Conference to be held in Rome next November --- a conference for which the United States took the initiative in the United Nations.

Our government in involved, right now, in seeking to re-examine U.S. policies and develop U.S. positions for that World Food Conference.

Now, firm, or how weak, a position our own government takes at the Conference will depend, to a great degree, upon how it interprets the will of the American people to join issues, and make commitments.

You can help give them your answer, by speaking out, as individuals and organizations. You can help guide our future policies, by your letters --- now --- to Secretary Kissinger, to the Congress --- and, yes, to the President. You can help by signing petitions showing you care, and showing you want action.

We know that action is needed on a broad front, for such a complex problem. We know it involves greatly expanded research and technical assistance for increasing food production in developing countries. We know it involves improved economic protection for our own producers here at home.

But we know that the most urgent decision is a willingness to greatly increase our own Food for Peace program and our

contributions under it to the World Food Programme of the FAO and UN, a greater sharing of our own food resources with others in more urgent need.

Without in any way intending to downgrade the urgent importance of increased investment in total international economic development, aimed at improving food production in developing countries, we deliberately singled out the need for immediate food assistance because hunger exists, now --- and the need throughout the world is not being adequately met.

It is going to take years of effort and millions in public and private funds to achieve the research breakthroughs that will eventually be needed to help solve the world's hunger problem. It is going to take years of effort to moderate the farming process, overcome cultural and economic barriers, improve internal incentives, and assure adequate availability of required production inputs to make the most of the developing world anywhere near self-sufficient in food supplies.

What happens to the people, in the meantime? What happens to the children already born, but inadequately fed? What happens to the peasants too listless to work their fields, because they are wasting away from starvation?

For my part, I am unwilling to believe the American people can complacently watch hundreds of millions hunger and die anywhere in the world.

We are a humanitarian people, a moral people. Of course we are concerned about our own self-interests, all of us --- producer and consumer alike. But we are not a selfish people. We want a fair chance in life for our own children --- but we also want that chance for other children, wherever they may be.

We had better reconcile ourselves, right now, that massive food aid to much of the world is going to continue to be needed for many years to come.

We need to recognize that food aid is needed not only for humanitarian purposes, but essential to the development process itself. Food aid can and does make a valuable contribution to rural development throughout the world. Food aid provides the chance for a decent start in life for youngsters and becomes a necessary ingredient of self-help projects so urgently needed in most developing countries.

It is our only way, right now, of assuring food for those who need it the most --- the poorest of the poor.

Now how it is popular to say that food aid is no substitute for more long-range development efforts, helping people improve their own production. I agree --- it is no substitute. But neither is long-range development a satisfactory substitute for the child or the mother with an empty stomach today, nor the man too weak from hunger to work.

Food aid is an essential part of any concentrated attack on world hunger and must be regarded as an essential part of winning the struggle for the world to better feed itself.

Even the President's Science Advisory Commission, seven years ago, recognized that much of the world food problem was the uneven distribution of food supplies, leading to the lack of availability where it was needed the most.

Our food assistance programs, whether bilateral or multilateral, are the only immediate means available to correct that imbalance.

Consider, if you will, that a country as wealthy as ours, with our high average per capita income, still has so much hunger and poverty in our midst that we find it necessary to maintain social programs designed to provide food assistance to our own people --- as ineffective as those programs sometimes prove.

Consider, then, if you will, the plight of the poor in countries unable to buy enough food, let alone finance its distribution to their own most disadvantaged people.

Are we really ready to accept national and international policies that permit the world's scarce food supplies to be totally gobbled up by just those countries with the most gold --- and, within those countries --- by just those people with the most money?

I don't think so. I think we have to share, with the rest of the developed world and the major food-producing countries,

equitably with those who need it to survive.

We can be proud of what we have achieved, in terms of alleviating human suffering and encouraging self-help, by our Food for Peace program. But we need to face the fact that our Food for Peace program has shrunk to less than half, in terms of commodities made available to the world's hungry, what it used to be --- and at a time when more people than ever before are dependent on outside food assistance for sheer survival.

We urgently need to double our present food assistance program. We need to double the amounts budgeted for Food for Peace to even regain the 1972 levels of commodity distribution, let alone provide for the increasing needs of an increasing world population.

We need to make firm commitments for food assistance, at the start of every crop year, so there can be assurance of continuity in supply lines upon which development programs and humanitarian programs are based. We can't leave it to hesitant bureaucratic decisions, month by month, to decide how many people are going to be allowed to live, or how many must be allowed to die. We need those firm commitments, before harvest time, for another reason.

We are no longer basing food assistance on "surplus disposal", on giving away something for which we have no need. We are making and must continue to make a conscious decision to share a proportion of our food production with others urgently needing it.

As we make such decisions, it is imperative that they be made early enough in each crop year to be taken fully into account as to the impact on market prices, by the farm-producers, by the traders, and, yes, by the consumers too. It doesn't serve the nation's best interests to withhold such information until after such government purchases can bring any benefit to the farmers responsible for the production.

We believe the crop prospects ahead. In our country, fully justify early commitment of increased food aid to better meet existing hunger problems.

We believe, further, that such an expansion of food aid commitment by our government is the best protection farmers can have that they alone won't have to bear the brunt of costs of meeting the nation's increased food needs, by suffering falling prices. And we further believe that such an expansion of food aid is the best assurance American consumers can have against pressures to again cut back food production in this country, if large crops this fall bring still further falling prices to already hard-hit producers.

Because farmers have learned the hard way to be skeptical of government promises, I recommend that our government go beyond just making public its expanded food aid commitment. I recommend that we very seriously explore forward-buying, at harvest time, of requirements for food assistance programs, earmarking such amounts out of normal commercial channels, even though they may not have to be called-forward until actually required.

In fact, on-farm storage or cooperative elevator storage under government contract for eventual distribution as food assistance abroad might be the protection farmers need to assure them such food aid levels would be isolated from any potential misuse to depress their commodity prices.

While current discussions about international cooperation toward building adequate national food reserves go much further toward assuring adequate supplies for commercial export, as well as market stabilization, I suggest a strong case can be made for some form of food aid reserves, as distinct from any other type of reserve. I am sure that farm support could be more readily obtained for such reserves, as long as they are earmarked for specific assistance program purposes, taking them entirely out of the domestic market calculations.

This is the year of critical decision, on such policy issues. Now is the time everyone concerned must make their views known. Much is at stake on the outcome of policy reviews under

way. The fate of millions of people throughout the world --- and perhaps the fate of rural America itself --- may hinge on our nation making wise decisions and the world making wise decisions.

It is significant to many of us that our government realizes too much is at stake to leave the decision just to the judgement --- good or bad --- of the Department of Agriculture. Our State Department has taken the leadership in planning for the World Food Conference, because it recognizes all other foreign policy issues fade into insignificance if the world is unable to feed itself.

Secretary of State Kissinger called upon the United Nations to convene the World Food Conference, and the world community of nations is supporting the effort. Secretary Kissinger has chosen an able and capable and compassionate man in Ambassador Edwin Martin to direct preparations for our country's participation and to be coordinator for the U.S. delegation.

But it is to you, and others like you, that Secretary Kissinger and Ambassador Martin must look for guidance --- and moral commitment.

How concerned are the American people? How willing are they to share part of their food with the world's poorest? How strongly are they dedicated to the principles of compassion and brotherhood and respect for human dignity that have uniquely marked our nation, since its emergence from the American Revolution?

These are the questions many of us have been posing around the country, as we seek support for the struggle for Freedom from Hunger.

Is this wealthiest of all nations --- despite all our own trouble --- ready and willing to mount a far greater development effort for struggling areas of the world --- or are we going to hide our head in the sands of selfishness and turn our backs on our fellow man?

Can we start celebrating our nation's bicentennial by showing to the world that the Spirit of '76 is alive and well and includes freedom from hunger as among the freedoms for which it stands.

Or must we shamefacedly admit that the lustre of the American Dream has tarnished with age and can no longer inspire hope for the oppressed and downtrodden, wherever they may be?

These are the questions that must be answered, as we explore how to achieve Freedom from Hunger.

And you, all of you, can help shape the answers.

# Next Steps

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## 5

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## Dr. John G. Stoessinger

First, I'd like to talk to you about the "world of Henry Kissinger", the forthcoming Rome Conference on Food, and which I'd like to describe as problems of planetary management.

Let me divide the first part of this address, "the world of Henry Kissinger", into three main segments: first, where did Kissinger get his ideas on foreign policy; second, how do we transplant these ideas into the present time; and third, how effective have they been?

What really interested Henry Kissinger was the secret of peace. He wrote a dissertation on this and came up with three answers, and these are the key to his foreign policy today: (1) the peace at Vienna (1815) was a negotiated settlement -- no one dictated anything to anyone. Compromise, negotiation was principle number 1; (2) convert the adversary -- not kill; (3) have a balancer, so when the balance gets out of whack someone is there to rectify the equilibrium and keep peace.

In short, there was a deliberate design which he has put into practice. There is a conceptual architecture in the back of it all, carefully thought through and worked out over 20 years. Let's look at how he has applied these three insights: (1) negotiation and compromise -- that's how he took the U.S. out of the Viet Nam War: a standoff between two opponents equal; and how he dealt with the Middle East Conflict.

The second principle gets a little closer to home, to the food problem -- conversion of the adversary. You cannot tell them -- do as I say or I'll kill you -- you have to say -- do as I say or I'll kill both of us. Which is a very different matter, so you prefer not to say it at all. So what do you do? You have a vast network of financial transactions between the Russians and the Americans going on at this time, ranging all the way from not tradeable wheat sales up to petroleum, etc. They all have one thing in common, the U.S. lends and the Russians borrow.

Kissinger knows that we will probably not get our money back, but he figures it's an investment in the strategic security of the U.S. because he feels that have-not nations, once they become fat cats, will give up their revolutionary ardor and become parts of the establishment.

Thirdly, the balancer -- this was the concept behind the trips to China. Before the trips to China by Nixon and Kissinger, we had a bi-polar world -- the U.S. on one side, the Soviet Union on the other. Now the Chinese came in and we had a triangle and the U.S. began to play the role of the lady. In short, as long as the Chinese and Russians detest each other, they vie now for the good will of the capitalistic power of the U.S., the lady in the triangle, the balancer between communist China and communist Russia.

The great strength of this system is, of course, that we seemed to have tamed the atomic bomb. Atomic war really seems remote today. That is a major accomplishment of Kissinger's approach.

The weaknesses, however, have to be looked at because we haven't expected it. In the first place, you have to admit that Henry Kissinger has always been better with adversaries than with friends. This is a very serious problem. There is also the problem that little guys don't know how to fit into this system. He now has to adjust to this, and that means he has to become an economist. In the past many problems of international relations have become problems of international economics.

Then there is a sort of ethical question -- a balancer rarely asks who is right and who is wrong. He will generally ask the question who is weak and who is strong. When the strong is right and weak is wrong you're okay. But when it's the other way around, you have problems. Sometimes you have to choose between two evils. And the last weakness is that until very recently he hadn't paid very much attention to us at the UN. 38 Now this is changing.

This brings me to the second part of my address, which I would like to call problems of planetary management -- including the food crisis and the coming food conference in Rome.

Now something new is happening. We have a new generation at the UN. The first generation of the UN has run its course. We now have to move beyond this period when the UN did its job to keep nations passively apart into the new era where we will try to bring the nations actively together in problems that can only be solved on a global, on a planetary, basis.

This younger generation is impatient. I have never seen so many resolutions passed in one year at the UN, that have this theme in common -- planetary management.

Let me cite what some of these problems were: problems of the human environment; problems of resources, energy, and raw materials; problems of the laws of the sea; problems of population; problems of food at the forthcoming conference in Rome; and problems of the UN university. They all have in common the theme of planetary management.

We recently set up at the UN a new global environment office -- its job is as an early distant warning system, an earth watch program. National interest now has to be combined with planetary interest. Who has the right to decide who can and cannot emulate the high American standard of living, and use of energy?

We recently adjourned a six week special session on raw materials and resources and energy. It all came out. How can we redistribute the world's finite resources with a greater degree of attention to social justice? In short, we tried to look at the problem on a global basis and see how we can cope with it on that basis.

If you look at population trends throughout the world, it is a fearful thing to compare the all time upward surge of population with food shortage. We need to see what can be done about leveling off population.

Unless there is a coordinated policy on food in Rome, there will be a coordinated disaster. In Rome we will deal with several major problems: first of all, we will have a diagnosis of how bad is it really, is it true? If it is, then what is the next step to rectify this matter, what can we do in the future? But we have to look at problems on a global basis.

We now find that the split in the UN is not capitalist and communist, but between the rich and poor.

As a teacher, I believe that education is the most important of all problems. We are now starting a UN university where these problems will be taught from a global perspective. We need good people, men and women, who are interested in this field, who are willing to study and teach them. You discover that it's no longer enough to be a specialist in one area, you have to be a good renaissance generalist; a good general education person, and most of all, possessing a sense of humanity.

These are the main areas we are concerned with. We no longer think it's enough to keep these nations passively apart, but we've got to bring them somehow actively together in the common business of mankind. That is the striking news of the UN today.

We are dealing with a long term process which will go on for generations. And in this fight, which I think is a good fight, one must not lose his courage.

## Hubert H. Humphrey

We are standing today at the crossroads of a world food crisis. This problem is comparable to the years following the end of the Second World War.

During the past 25 years, we have been waging a battle to improve the quality of life in the developing world. Today, that battle against global poverty and disease is in danger of being lost.

The threat of widespread famine already is at hand. The developing countries cannot obtain adequate amounts of fertilizer, and, at the same time, the affluent continue to consume a disproportionate share of the world's resources.

In the Sahel, famine already has resulted in starvation for countless thousands. And South Asia is poised on the precipice of disaster. UNICEF estimates that as many as four to five hundred million children face the prospect of malnutrition.

Worldwide inflation continues to take a heavy toll on the developing and the developed countries alike. It erodes political stability. And it depletes what little hard currency the poor nations have amassed.

The rich and poor nations alike are in danger of entering a new era of confrontation fueled by economic desperation. All realize that they are vulnerable to economic blackmail. The situation is causing a breakdown of the traditional rules of the game governing access to the supplies and raw materials.

These meetings here have an important role in highlighting these problems. But the need is to do more than convince the participants here today.

We must marshal the resources and the leadership of the United States and the Western World in dealing with this crisis. The oil exporting countries and the developing world must also play a central role.

The problem to be dealt with cannot be solved by a program of charity, for this is not the way to foster a viable world.

I do believe, however, that the United States must provide strong leadership in dealing with these life and death problems. With only 6 percent of the world's population, we account for about 40 percent of the world's annual consumption of natural resources.

The fact that the affluent, developed nations consume a large share of the world's scarce resources is an important part of our present dilemma.

These consumption patterns compound the problem of food availability.

The developed countries continue, in spite of recent price increases, to obtain a disproportionate share of the available petroleum products. They have been able to produce and procure the needed fertilizer to ensure adequate food supplies for their people.

These countries also have bought large quantities of food on the world market, thereby helping drive up the prices.

The poorest countries have not been able to procure the needed fertilizer to meet their food requirements. Adequate

fuel to operate the tubewells for irrigation has not been available. And the cost of food on the world market has increased so that they barely can afford to buy.

We also have become increasingly aware of the different standards of consumption in the developed and the developing countries.

In poor countries, the availability of grain per person averages about 400 pounds per year, or about one pound per day.

In the United States and Canada, on the other hand, per capita consumption of cereal grains is now approaching 2,000 pounds per year, most of which is converted into meat, milk, and eggs.

Briefly stated, this means that the amount of such resources required to support an average North American are nearly five times those required to support the average Indian, African, or South American.

I have taken a number of steps which, hopefully, will help in meeting the food crisis.

On May 9th at the Rensselaer Conference, I recommended a four point program. This program included increasing United States food assistance, taking steps to increase world fertilizer production, establishing national and international food reserves, and making a renewed effort to increase food production.

On May 22, three of my Senate colleagues and I introduced a World Food Resolution in the Senate. A similar Resolution since has been introduced in the House. The purpose of these Resolutions is to step up food aid and increase the availability of fertilizer on an urgent priority basis.

On May 21, I introduced additional modifications to my food reserve bill, S. 2065. The need for this legislation, in my view, is more critical than ever.

In spite of wishful thinking on the part of the Administration, we still are subject to a large part of our anticipated bumper crop being raided by foreign nations. These purchases could well take place at bargain prices as the harvest occurs, thereby depriving the United States of the opportunity of responding to this crisis.

The role of the United States, as the world's primary food surplus nation, is critical if additional food is to be available to meet food crisis needs.

The response of Administration spokesmen that we now have a commercial agricultural market is not accurate, helpful, or realistic. Appropriate steps to establish a sound reserve program are needed and without further delay.

An international food reserve system also is needed. The World Food Conference will provide the appropriate forum to deal with this important need.

A food reserve program, both national and international, also will provide critically needed stability in the world food economy.

I would, however, be doing a major disservice to this forward-looking group by focusing mainly on the present crisis.

What we need is a longer term program to bring into balance the world's agricultural production and the rate of population increase.

This important relationship was discussed during the late 18th century by Thomas Malthus. He warned of the prospect of war, famine, and disease coming into play to control rapid increases in population.

While this pessimism may be over stated, we cannot ignore the basic relationship between food and population.

To deal with the first part of this situation, we need to make every effort to step up the World's food production. In any program designed to expand world food production, we must also begin to pay closer attention to the energy input required and the product output derived.

The second part of the food population balance appears most difficult to solve. The level of population has gone up rapidly in this century as major diseases have been brought under control, and the general level of health has improved.

Barring a major disaster, the die --- in terms of population growth --- already is cast for most of the remainder of this century.

My concern is that we not try to duck the problem. Public relations is no substitute for food.

It is time the Administration faces up to this problem.

Famine already is with us in many parts of the world. And rapid population increases continued unabated.

Responding to this crisis is warranted on moral grounds. But it also is in our own self interest.

A chaotic world with one-half affluent and well fed will not long survive while the other half faces starvation and malnutrition.

We cannot expect to remain an island of prosperity surrounded by an ever growing sea of famine and despair.

As Albert Schweitzer stated "you don't live in a world all alone. Your brothers are here too."

The American people will respond positively and with generosity if they are given the facts. But, they need to see leadership which candidly outlines the problem and, at the same time, proposes reasonable, realistic answers.

This conference already has made a major contribution in terms of providing recommendations for action.

It is urgent that we now move quickly to seize the initiative in dealing with this world food crisis.

# Open Hearing

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## 6

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## Rep. Bob Bergland

There are those in the Congress and there are those across the United States that would, if they could, divide the farmer from the working man; split us up politically, split us up economically, drive a wedge between us wherever they can so that we can both be controlled and regulated to suit their purposes.

When we were in the midst of fashioning the farm program coalition we found that we were able to work very closely with men and women who represented working constituencies across the U.S. because we do have things in common. We who farm know that unless the American working man and woman has a job at a decent wage they're not going to buy the milk, the meat, the eggs, the bread, and the products grown on the farms of the U.S. It's also a fact that unless the farmers of the U.S. are able to recover a decent price for the products they sell, they're not going to be able to pay for the \$0 billion dollars in articles required to run modern farming. We therefore have much in common; neither of us can survive unless the other prospers.

We wonder whether or not the technical capability of farmers here in this land and other parts of the world will be sufficient to keep up with this increase in demand.

Who knows what the policies of the Soviets will be? Who knows what the weather in India is going to be? These are the kinds of elements with which we are confronted in attempting to devise a global food policy that has within it great risks. For if we miscalculate and produce more than the world's market can consume, the prices will fall to disaster levels. If production should fall short because of weather factors or a change in the feeding policies of the mainland Chinese, there could be shortages. We're now wrestling to find some kind of reasonable balance so that all those in the world who can be fed will be fed.

We are attempting to persuade our colleagues in the Congress that we need to develop some kind of reserve policy for the U.S. and the world because of these uncertainties in weather that no one can predict with any degree of accuracy. Our proposal

would call for reserves into which surpluses would be put so we don't have catastrophic price drops, and from which we could draw to feed those people in the world should that need arise.

We must develop a policy that provides stability; that eliminates the booms and busts of agriculture, that work to the disadvantage of the working man and woman, their families, and the producer.

## Rep. Frank Denholm

I think a real problem at this time is marketing and transportation. You have to be able to get to the market when the market is right.

Many of the problems that we've got today came when we struck the massive credit grain sale to Russia. We were then on the threshold of a real food disaster around the world when that occurred. If we had had the intelligence reports, and had properly evaluated them, we would never have had that massive credit grain sale to Russia at the time that we made it.

There are two things that make this country stand out above all other people, one is the tremendous capacity of the farmers to produce food; it would do us little good if we didn't have the kind of situation that would put purchasing power in the pockets of the working people so that they could buy that food.

As a result of that cooperation of the working people being able to increase their purchasing income, we have built the highest standard of living known. So, we have these two basic principles: 1. the capacity to produce; and 2. the capacity to purchase.

We must produce more; we must sell more; we must distribute more, if we're really going to be our brother's keeper. These issues are not political partisan issues. It is a challenge to the American people; to us, the working people and producers alike, to join the ranks of the common people of this country and move America ahead.

## Views Of Midwest Food Conference Participants

KASPER KERNER  
Dickinson, North Dakota

Our moral obligations are greater than ever before to do everything possible to provide sufficient food, clothing, and everything needed for a decent and comfortable living.

Mrs. Kerner and I have done quite a bit of traveling throughout the world and are somewhat familiar with poverty and hungry people.

In traveling through Mexico, one can find some poverty and hunger. In 1956, in the days of Batista, we traveled Cuba and found there was a great deal of evidence. Poverty was at its peak. Many of the fathers and mothers were constantly begging for either food or money for the much needed medical attention for their children.

In 1960 we spent three full months touring Europe. We traveled through sixteen countries. Two of these, Yugoslavia and Rumania, were behind the Iron Curtain.

The most noticeable malnutrition was in the Russian Satellite countries. Spain and Portugal had a great deal of poverty and some malnutrition.

In 1970 we traveled the entire length of Israel and spent a week in the Holy Land in which many thousands of Israelis, along with many of the adjacent countries, indicated a food shortage.

In living in a country of plenty it is hard to visualize that we, too, have so many people in the ghettos that are undernourished and suffering of a malnutrition where a balanced diet is unknown.

There is no good reason for anyone in this world to be without a balanced diet. We have the knowledge and the resources to provide an abundance of food and fiber for everyone.

It is our Christian moral obligation to overcome the injustice to these people. They are God's children. They have a body and soul like all of us and deserve everything that keep the body and soul together and keep them healthy and happy.

MRS. CLARENCE HAGEN  
Dunsmuir, North Dakota

Hunger and the food supply is a reality we must face. It is frightening to learn there is only a food reserve now to feed the world population for less than one month.

Since it is the farmer who is depended on to feed the world, we must unite and do everything in our power to stop up production and to order to do so. This we must receive a fair price for produce in accordance with the cost of producing.

It was great to see labor and farmers joining forces because this unity can lead to stronger influence.

We must be doing everything possible to promote the desperate need of building up the food reserve to help feed the world.

HERBERT HARELDSON  
Mabel, Minnesota

A great many dairy farmers in our area have discontinued milking, not only for health reasons, but mainly because of the rising food costs and low return on their investment. We are one of these farmers.

We made more money when the milk prices were lower, but then feed prices were lower also. Now they are lowering milk prices to the farmers, but prices for the stores remain just as high for the consumer. Cheese and ice cream prices have gone even higher than they were before.

Grocery prices are constantly on the rise

and scaring everyone that there will be shortages. Canning supplies are said to be in short supply and get higher every time we shop. We spend more on food with three in our family than when we had five people (two teen-age sons) at home.

A lot of the town workers get a raise in wages when the cost of living goes up. This does not happen on the farm. Nor does it happen on lots of jobs in small towns such as common laborers or workers at a local implement dealer.

We drive 40 to 50 miles once a month to shop at a discount food store to save money. With what we save, we can afford a few things they otherwise couldn't have if we shopped locally. Two of us take turns driving so it cuts down on expenses. We cannot afford to shop at the small local communities, which is a terrible shame as soon they, too, will fall by the wayside.

Fertilizer was also in very short supply. We were fortunate enough to get what we ordered as spring approached. Many of the farmers in this area could not get the fertilizer they needed or only received part of their order.

As corn planting arrived, fertilizer was abundant from certain sources, if you could afford the terribly high cost.

The farmer is constantly being squeezed from high prices of the goods he buys, and on the other side by low prices he received for goods sold.

WILFRED KOBILKA  
Pierz, Minnesota

Remember, imports gave us lower gas prices, but it also created a situation that we're all paying for. Has anybody an idea how many private operated gas station owners were pushed off their places? Now dairy and meat imports are crowding small and/or medium sized farmers out of business. This gives the big corporations a chance to buy land. Then in a few years the city people will be paying prices they never dreamed of.

The farmers have never been so threatened of losing their livelihood and the consumer in next, as it is written on the wall now.

MARION FOGARTY  
Belle Plaine, Minnesota

Food is a vital need for all the people of the world. I am a farm wife and mother and our farm is situated in a highly productive area of south central Minnesota.

Let me tell you how a commercial utility company plans to use our rich black soil. This plant is designed to supply 16,000 megawatts, comparable to the plant at Four Corners, New Mexico.

It will use up to 3,500 to 5,000 acres of land. Furnaces of the plant will burn 23,000 tons of low-sulfur western coal per day. Water consumption would be about 21 million gallons a day. Perhaps as much as 170 tons of sulfur dioxide would be released into the atmosphere daily, affecting as much as an area of 200,000 acres.

Somebody has said that we need more electricity and that it must be produced the old way by burning fossil fuel.

Is this the only solution? There must be better ways. We need research on clean energy, particularly on using solar energy — something on which almost no serious research efforts are under way.

We need to redirect our energy research away from processes which result in serious pollution.

We need management and conservation of our existing energy supplies — some have said that as much as 40 percent of our existing electrical energy supplies are wasted. That is said if it is true.

We need land use policies that are concerned with both rural and urban land use, which will emphasize the use of land for the purpose for which it is ecologically best suited. This means keeping productive farm land for agricultural purposes.

A nation and a world facing serious food shortages must find the way to produce needed energy supplies in a clean and safe way.

BOB WISETH  
Goodridge, Minnesota

If these farming costs keep going up, I won't be able to keep on as I have in the past. Total operating cost has increased. What bothers me is there is not any relation between the need when wheat got to \$5.00 per bushel and the need now, and between the supply in December and the supply today. Doesn't seem to be any relation between the need and the supply. We must have some protection for the primary producer.

URBAN AUGUSTIN  
St. James, Minnesota

The American people can rest assured that American farmers are willing to go all out to produce all the food they need. However, it must be understood by the consumer that for the farmer to go all out they need adequate protection for their time and money expended. There are programs in the United States Department of Agriculture, but they are minimal guarantees of levels and in many instances behind the times.

TOM SCHAFER  
Rosemont, Minnesota

Costs have really gotten out of hand; it's really ridiculous. I wish that farmers, consumers, and labor people could get together a little more often to talk about their problems.

LETA BURTON  
Minneapolis, Minnesota

By the time seniors pay for food costs, there's nothing left for medical costs. The big item now is how can we get the money spread around so that it's more evenly. We have been trying to get smaller packaging for singles, people alone. Seniors need more help in Medicare bill; they need to be allowed more for medical and doctor bills. Many now can get by on \$20.00 a week, half their total income.

DENNIS SJODIN  
Cambridge, Minnesota

Our farm is a typical family farm, it is our living. We're proud of it as part of the industry. But it's alarming, our milk prices — the bottom fell out. This has happened at a time when our production costs have gone up an all time high. If this trend continues we're going to see a shortage of dairy products in the near future.

BRUCE ANDERSON  
Goodridge, Minnesota

First of all, a person's value is only secondarily derived from his productivity; what makes a man important is not how much he can produce, but that he carries the image of God. Secondly, I know that all men are brothers.

I've become very uncomfortable, because I feel dumb and powerless when I get involved in something this complex. We face a tough moral dilemma — who is it that's going to sacrifice a standard of living to affirm the brotherhood of all men in the world? There is some comfort that other people know what I don't know about food policy.

Farm and labor people had best keep listening to each other and then get on with the task of dialoging with these enemies and villains we've identified here. I'm disturbed a bit that these villains, big business, conglomerates, etc., are not here to defend themselves. It makes me wonder if we've been honest enough to identify our own selfishness. I have the feeling that the men who sit on the boards of these conglomerates and big corporations are no more immoral than the rest of us.

JACK CLARK  
Dawson, Minnesota

In October and November, 1973, I purchased 196 pigs at a 40-pound average at a cost of \$39 a pig.

My total cost of bringing these hogs to market weighed averaged \$89.24, but when I sold them in May, my average return on the animals was \$63.57 — a loss of \$25.67 per hog.

ARCHIE GIESE  
New Salem, North Dakota

If we expect the farmers to produce at 100 percent of capacity and continue to live on the land, we have to pay them 100 percent of parity.

Our land can only produce so much. If we keep taking out more than the land out of production by strip mining, canals, roads, etc., there will be a shortage of land and food.

Family farmers are a must. We have to keep them. Producing citizens with good morals, initiative and individual leadership is still the greatest single product of family farming in America.

We will have to set up a food reserve. Cereal grains are easy and inexpensive to store. We should store as much of our surplus grain as feasible.

We must update our transportation system so goods and services can be moved the best possible way.



**PAUL SYMENS**  
Amherst, South Dakota

We the family farmers of South Dakota are fully aware of the world food crisis and we recognize the responsibility of our state and nation to do our level best to increase our agricultural production to deal with that problem.

We realize that, as family farmers and stewards of the land, we have a moral responsibility to produce a maximum amount of food.

However, if we are to achieve our maximum production we must successfully deal with a number of obstacles that currently lie in our way. It is those obstacles which I would like to discuss with you here today.

A major hurdle facing South Dakota farmers is the availability and price of items involved in production. As you may be aware farm production costs have skyrocketed during the past year and there appears to be no end in sight to this spiraling inflation.

Production costs have been moving steadily upward for the past five years, but during the last year what we as farmers have to be jumped on the average by more than 50 percent.

These costs include such things as motor supplies, machinery, fertilizer, pesticides, herbicides, building and fencing supplies, feeder livestock, feed, seed, general farm supplies, land, interest, taxes and wages.

If we are going to provide food for the hungry world at a price it can afford, then we are going to have to have adequate supplies of all of these items and at reasonable price levels.

That has not been the case. The way costs have increased during the past year it seems that industry is out to gouge the farmer for every dollar of added income he has received in higher farm prices.

The Energy Council has been a shame to the Federal Energy Office has promised the farmer top priority in receiving 100 percent of his needs. But we have seen no noticeable shortage. What we have seen is ridiculously high prices.

And the fertilizer situation has been much the same. In this case, it appears that there were adequate supplies available, but since overseas prices are so high, American companies have taken advantage of that fact to fatten their own profits. Meanwhile the American farmer has been left with a woefully inadequate supply of fertilizer. And if you are able to get enough to fill your needs it's only at price levels which are double or more than those of a year ago.

Thus if South Dakota farmers are to do their part they must have some help. Oil and other corporations must abandon their short-sighted efforts to maximize their own profits at the expense of the farmer and the American and international consumer.

Transportation is another problem standing in the way of increased production. In South Dakota, our rail network has been woefully neglected. Track on lines

currently in use are in such a state of disrepair that the maximum speed on most is but eight to 10 miles per hour. During the past nine years about 13 percent of the total track in the state has been abandoned and removed. That's 540 miles of track.

And now The Chicago and Northwestern Railroad is proposing additional abandonments which if approved will mean the loss of another 300 miles of line.

In addition to abandonments most wheat-farming areas are plagued with periodic boxcar shortages which always seem to coincide with periods of highest prices.

All these factors combine to slow the movement of South Dakota farm commodities to market.

If we indeed have an energy crisis and even if we don't it is a simple fact that grain can be moved more economically by rail than by truck. Recently escalating fuel costs have meant that the difference can be as much as 40 cents a bushel more in transportation costs if the farmers' grain must be trucked to market. And this cost is always assessed against the prices received by the farmer.

What can be done to more efficiently move our agricultural production to market? Well, the South Dakota Farmers Union supports the Rail Revitalization and Energy Conservation Act of 1974, recently introduced in Congress by Senator McGovern. This act would provide 1) a program to prevent abandonment of rail lines where the service is needed by farmers and other shippers; 2) a federally guaranteed loan program to assist railroads with the purchase and modernization of rolling stock; 3) establishment of a Railroad Equipment Authority to acquire and operate a reserve pool of rolling stock; and 4) a national system of information to maximize utilization of existing rolling stock.

We think that it is essential that a national transportation policy be enacted which would assure the best service to farmers and other users against the profit picture of the individual private carriers.

Farmers can and will produce food for the hungry people of the world. But, like every other segment of our economy they need to have a fair return on investment. The farmers of South Dakota and the nation aren't asking to "get rich," all we want is a decent living.

That is something which the family farmer has seldom had. It appeared last year that we were headed for a new age with farm prices at near parity levels.

However that seems to have been an illusion. Prices of farm commodities have been tumbling for the last several months and have now reached a level of about 80 percent of parity.

The family farm has seriously declined over the past 20 or 30 years and make no mistake about it: if the family farm disappears it does so, go all the way. The entire economy of South Dakota and many other states is based to a large degree on agriculture.

As has already been apparent in the decline of many of our small towns, their survival is healthy of the state. During the rounding family farm because farmers are also consumers. If corporate agriculture triumphs in the end, it will mean the total demise of dozens of South Dakota communities. Every business on main street depends to a large degree on the patronage of small farmers and their families. The grocer, the hardware store, the lumber yard, the barber, the drugist, all need the patronage of small farmers.

And further down the line the churches suffer. Dwindling congregations may eventually mean that they can no longer support a pastor or must share one with several other churches.

The schools also suffer. Even though the tax base is still there, there are less young people in the community and the school population declines often bringing on further painful school consolidations.

And where will our rural people go if they can no longer remain on the land. There is only one place. The city. And this will further aggravate already existing problems.

Yes, America can go ahead and sacrifice the family farmer on the altar of supposedly greater efficiency and increased production. But, the nation and the world will, in the long run, pay the price in higher food costs and aggravated urban problems. We believe a better solution to the food crisis lies in guaranteeing the family farmer a decent income so that he can concentrate on increasing his production in the knowledge that he will be justly rewarded for his efforts.

**HAROLD WILLIAMS**  
Wing, North Dakota

If we are to assume that it is our moral obligation to feed the hungry people of the world, then the risk involved in over production should be the responsibility of all our people. Therefore, since all the inept production have resulted since our last farm bill was written, the support price on wheat should be raised to \$3.50 a bushel, with feed grains raised in like amounts with loan and resale provisions.

**RICHARD STEINBACH**  
New Rockford, North Dakota

We must devise means of sharing and providing the basic needs of people the world over.

We believe the churches have left much to be desired by their past non-involvement and lack of input in the food distribution area. We have heard it said that most people have received such small doses of Christianity that they are incapable of the real thing. We think it is important that churches, clergy and people begin to apply our Christian principles to the solving of these problems!

We believe it is a scandal of the greatest proportions that the people of Christendom the squandering of hundreds of billions of dollars in the name of defense.

**STATE REP. WILLIS EKEN**  
Twin Valley, Minnesota

I have had the privilege and opportunity to be associated with agriculture as a farm operator for the past 25 years and with rural life my entire life. In that period of time we have seen more changes in agriculture than have taken place since man learned to till and plant seed in the soil to supply his basic need for food. As a young boy growing up on a farm I remember the use of horse power to pull our farm machinery on 160 acres of land with 10 cows to be milked by hand with a lantern hanging in the ceiling of the barn. We had about 150 chickens to produce eggs for our own consumption and to be sold to pay the grocery bill for our family and 5 or 6 sows to raise enough hogs to use up the skim milk that was produced from my milk cows. The total gross farm income of that farm operation on a normal year would be around five to six thousand dollars.

Today that family farm operation for our family has changed to a farm size of 1180 acres of land owned and another 400 acres rented. We have over the years changed our farm operation from producing the chickens, hogs, and dairy cattle in that order, now specializing in grain production and beef cattle, with about 100 beef cows producing calves for market as feeder cattle. The greatest change in the efficiency of man hours needed to produce food to feed the consumers of our farm products has changed dramatically.

Through the decades of the '50's and '60's we witnessed technical advances in American agriculture that outpaced the supposed consumer needs for food that created a surplus supply and low feed prices to the consumers subsidized by the Federal Government and the American farmer. In the year 1972 we saw, in a very short period of time, the almost complete reversal of the decade of surplus and price depression to food scarcity and price speculation. The impact also brought home to many people the myth of unlimited resources to produce food and a reminder of the power of the elements to provide the weather that can produce or destroy crops in a world becoming overpopulated by people.

The year 1972 was a start of a very turbulent and confusing time for myself and other farm operators as we witnessed dramatic price fluctuations fueled by commodity speculators, attempting to make a fast buck on the rising cost of food. I sold wheat in June of 1972 for \$2.45 per bushel which was the best price I had received for many years and yet saw that price advance to a high of \$3.60 at our local elevator during the following month to a selling price today of somewhere around \$4.00 per bushel with large price fluctuations on a day to day basis making it very difficult to make intelligent decisions on just when to sell for the best price. The increased prices paid for cash grain based not on cost of production plus a reasonable profit for producers, but rather on an uncontrolled speculators market, has added fuel to a dangerous increase in the rate of

inflation that is now adding greatly to the farmers production costs. The price of 18-18-17 analysis fertilizer has increased in cost in one year by 38 percent, straight nitrogen has gone up from 9.5 cents per unit to 18.1 cents, almost double in price.

Many of our farm chemicals are up about 30 to 35 percent in the same period of time. On the farm, diesel prices have increased a whopping 66.4 percent and diesel fuel 56 percent, with new farm machinery up 30 percent on the average and many replacement parts an even larger percentage increase. These price increases are as of June 4, 1974.

Land values have also increased in our area almost double in some instances this past year with fixed or capital gains that a farmer must figure in his operating budget. The result of this tremendous increase in production cost has made it necessary that they have been in the past if the family farm operator is going to be able to continue to stay in business.

The unrealistic speculator price of feed grain has also created very real problems for those farmers who have a cattle feeding, hog, or dairy operation by increasing feed costs and undercutting their marketable commodity. The livestock segment of agriculture is also being adversely affected by our federal government policy of allowing unlimited importation of subsidized and, in many instances, inferior quality commodities into this country in an attempt to lower food costs to the American consumer. This planned supervised policy has the dangerous effect, in my opinion, of attempting to trade off our domestic livestock industry for expanded exportation of cereal and feed grains to foreign countries. The greatest danger to our American consumer is that the attempt for short term cost reduction of these food products may well force our American citizens to become more dependent on foreign production facilities and force our government policy for their food supply as we see less and less livestock and dairy products produced domestically.

When we enter into a discussion of setting goals and policies to provide a way to retain the American family farm system and assure our American consumers a continued abundant and reasonable supply of food, several things enter our mind as priority items for discussion. I think we must first face up to the real threat of our unwise and unplanned use of our land resources. The United States we are gobbling up about two million acres of plowable land every year for other than agricultural use. This fact makes it imperative that we enact a realistic land use policy that provides for the future as well as the short term economics that have dominated these decisions in the past.

We must also attempt to provide a realistic and workable credit policy for young people who are interested in farming that will provide some way for the transfer of ownership of our land resources to those who will continue to till the soil in the future.

We must enact federal legislation that will place some controls on the wild speculation that has taken place in our commodities market during the past two years.

We must have legislation for a food reserve set aside that is in such a way that it will not be used to depress prices below cost of production, but rather that will provide protection both to farmers who are unable to control their production on a year to year basis, but also the consumer by sharing an adequate supply of food based on a cost of production factor rather than scarcity and speculation.

We must update our national farm programs target prices from the unrealistic low level at which they are currently set to more accurately reflect the 40-60 percent increase in farm operating costs that we have experienced in this past year.

I am sure there are many other problems and solutions that should be discussed as we wrestle with this question of setting out goals for a food policy that will give the farmers price protection and the consumers food available at a reasonable price, but I believe that several points I have commented on are some of the basic concerns that need resolution if our present standard of living in this country is going to be maintained.

**ART JOHNSON**  
Ryder, North Dakota

I am writing in defense of the farmer. All the necessities of life come from the land which the farmers work to supply.

There are very few rich farmers. Yes, a few reaped the \$8.50 a bushel price for some of their durum last fall, but most in our area couldn't get a bushel sold due to transportation and elevators filled to capacity. Grain buyers wouldn't buy unless they could find a sale for it at a Terminal Market.

Cattlemen were in the same position. They sold their cattle for the first time in years. Then the truck strike came on and when the strike was over, the market had slipped so much that most producers held their cattle waiting for a better price. Many of the feeder cattle are still in the farmers lots — feeders which should have been sold last winter.

Prices were good last fall. Consequently, everyone seemed to be in a good mood as prices have dropped considerably, but the consumer prices are nearly the same. Farmers get the blame.

Let us labor really understand the farmer's problems! The farmer is not the farmer's operational costs are tremendous. His outlay in equipment and operating costs have more than doubled in less than a year.

Our only son, a college graduate, would not take over our 1230 acre farm and ranch as he could see the uncertainties of making a living on a farm with the high costs, hard work and long hours. The farmer can't farm in with no guarantee of price he would receive at the end of the year.

Consequently, he entered the business field where he works 8 hours a day with a substantial guaranteed wage.

Farmers should have it so good!

#### MRS. JOHN E. LONG Berlin, North Dakota

We have a moral obligation to feed the hungry of the world by helping them to help themselves. This is not the obligation of farmers alone, therefore, cannot be accomplished at the farmers' expense. The farmer can and will produce the food if he can be assured of a reasonable price (100% of parity) for a given number of years. Education in food nutrition is an important part of this obligation.

#### MRS. LLOYD JORDRE Oberlin, North Dakota

We, the Benson County, North Dakota Farmers Union, believe the consumer should be advocating a long range farm program to alleviate the ups and downs in farm prices.

#### WILFIS C. J. GODDARD Mitsis, City, North Dakota

Directly related to policy on food production is the heated controversy on land use in North Dakota, now generating lots of emotional, legal, moral, social, and economic steam.

This controversy concerns the advisability of using farm and range lands for strip mining of coal and building gasification plants to produce energy. Our North Dakota Governor, Art Link, has so far withstood major pressures by vested industrial interests which have, so far, not been granted all they ask, but legislation has not permitted the construction of at least one such plant.

**Questions:**  
Why lease surface rights for coal underlying much of North Dakota's "most beautiful land"? How to prevent the Federal government, which owns much of the mineral rights, from running roughshod over surface landowners' rights? How to save our precious water, which is used at the rate of millions of gallons by coal gasification plants?

Is North Dakota the only coal-rich state? Is there not much marginally rocky and other non-food producing land which contains underlying coal?

Have you ever lived in or closely looked at any area which has been stripped?

Have you seen the Baskin-Norman region of North Dakota, or any of Appalachia?

Have you seen maps of the craters of the moon?

Have you ever listened, 24 hours per day, to a drangle operation?

Have you ever tried in vain to get all the coal dust off your face, out of your ears, and clothing, even if you never worked at mining but merely lived in the area? Have you ever seen clean clothes, hung outdoors on a line, quickly get gray, then black-specked? Have you seen the thick coating of coal dust all over the grass, trees, gardens — the whole world, for many thousands of feet near a strip mine? And it winds blow, for miles away?

Have you ever seen the black ink which is the water run through a gasification plant? And the dead fish and other wildlife along stream and lake banks where this effluent had been dumped, supposedly for "harmless" dilution?

Why is it that most of the people in favor of this strip mining and coal gasification seem to be either absentee landowners, or city slickers, or occasionally a "not citizenship" oriented farmer or rancher who states that "if they pay me enough, we can always move away."

How many pieces of advice would you take to be the bit of Mother Earth under your control?

What if you'd rather NOT "move away," but stay and continue to breathe clean air, drink clean water, grow the clean surroundings of your family farm, and go right on raising your family, your gardens and grain crops, livestock and other food?

NO WONDER OUR GOVERNOR, HIMSELF A FARMER, SAYS:  
"STRIP MINING. REMEMBER, IS A ONE-TIME CROP."

#### CURTIS ANDERSON Epping, North Dakota

The question of helping feed the starving millions of humans on our planet has to be put at the top of our problems which need immediate attention and concern by every citizen in the world.

The problem of feeding the world is not an unsolvable question. There are answers such as setting up a world food reserve and this is being worked on by people in the United Nations and developed people in Washington, D.C., such as Senator Hubert Humphrey.

But before we set up a world food reserve we must make sure we will be able to produce a reserve. We must start at the crux of the problem, the family farmer. We have to first solve his problems. I believe his problems are basically two in nature. First, we must return the land to the family farmer and eliminate the corporate giant in farming. Secondly the family farmer must be guaranteed a decent return for his investment in producing food.

The time of our feeding food to starving millions does not lie so much with the farmer but with the consumer. Some of the people at the conference tried to convince the farmer he had an obligation to produce food even if he couldn't make a profit from doing so. I take serious question with this. If the farmer cannot make a profit he will leave the farm and we saw what problems that created in the thirties. No my friends, it is the moral obligation of every citizen in town to join the minority farmer to help enact legislation to give the family farmer a fair return for his efforts. Then and only then will we be able to feed the millions in the world.

I believe we did a good job of telling our city friends of two major problems and most agreed with us. But the battle goes on and we must continue convincing our friends in the city that we have some of the answers, but we need their help in getting the point across in Washington, D.C., and to the biggest adversary, Earl Butz.

#### LEONARD PIKAL Brownton, Minnesota

We must look ahead. If civilization is to survive we must look to the land—its soil, water, plant and animal life—with renewed interest and a will to support comprehensive programs of environmental management.

We should also look back and understand the errors of others in past history, to know what directions we should take. Civilizations have flourished and then disappeared because of unwise use of resources. One of the main problems was erosion of the soil.

Soil and water are basic in our civilization's "life support system." We must step up our conservation work to maintain and increase the productivity of the land; to support the pressure of the growing population and increased standard of living.

Our soil and water conservation districts are busy taking inventory of resource needs and problems, then analyzing agricultural, economic and other trends. This inventory is the basis for a long range plan of action that records the facts about resources — including erosion, pollution, types, land capabilities, and other environmental facets. This is all necessary for wise land and other resource use and planning.

Lately there has been administrative moves to cut funds for conservation activities (both programs and manpower). This is costly, false economy. An example is the cost of removing the sedimentation from harbors, streams and lakes — it would cost only about one tenth as much to keep that eroded sediment at its source.

Food produced on our land is a most important resource and main energy; that we should never forget and also the interrelationship of the many facets of life. If any segment of our population is in economic difficulty it adversely affects the others. Anyone in economic difficulty or shacks, can not contribute properly to society and may likely be a burden.

#### MERREL KJOSEN Weir, North Dakota

In order to insure a food supply for other parts of the world and our own country, we as farmers must have a government control farm program that will create a surplus and will return a fair profit in relation to cost of production. Also we must have an international trade bill that will not allow our produce to be resold by another country, but be used to feed hungry people in the country to which the produce is exported.

I feel that if agriculture can be stabilized so that we are able to preserve and maintain farm families, then laboring people will prosper, the environment will be unspoiled and plenty of food and fiber at a fair price.

Farmers have been proven to be the biggest spenders in our volatile economy, and we must continue convincing our friends in the city that we have some of the answers, but we need their help in getting the point across in Washington, D.C., and to the biggest adversary, Earl Butz.

#### FRANCIS SEARS Petersburg, North Dakota

Writing out of experience as a farmer from the North Dakota prairie and having lived the life of uncertainty in relation to politics and weather, I find much that is worthy of comment, relative to the production and consumption of food.

It is most distressing to witness the revolution which has transpired over the span of a few short years in the manner in which the average citizen, generally, and the farmer, specifically, views the land. Where the lands once represented opportunity and challenge for family farmers — albeit risky and uncertain — it is now a commodity that exists only for the so-called agribusinessmen to use as a tax benefit or to be plundered in the short-term yield of dollars.

The methods employed in an earlier era produce food and fiber were far from ideal to be sure and changes had to come and needed to come, but the tragic neglect on the part of government to manage so vital a resource as land is surely condemning now and in the decades ahead, it is said that two hundred thousand acres of land go under concrete for roads, airports, parking facilities, etc. — in this country every year. If this figure is even nearly correct, we would seem it would be alarming enough to cause us to pause and weigh the mathematical ramifications of this nation's policies. It often seems that man possesses a force within him which drives him to destruction. One is reminded of those little animals of the Arctic — the lemmings — which at a given signal within their biological clocks causes them to rush pell-mell into the ocean. Man has so much going for him with his power of reason and sophistication of technology to transform his earth abode into a garden.

With carelessness and irresponsibility we are rapidly changing this earth into a wasteland.

In the 1970's and beyond there are crashing imperatives which we must heed, and we ignore them to our peril. These imperatives consist of management of the natural resources of this earth. It seems to me that time to land must take on a new meaning. Perhaps when we purchase that title which has meant transfer of ownership, it should read transfer of stewardship. Surely society possesses some stake in the land and hence a responsibility to future generations for its preservation. Couldn't we retain the good aspects of private enterprise by allowing extended tenure to responsible operator-lessees?

There certainly is something to be said for private ownership and the incentive that accrues, therefore, should not be lost sight of. But in the modern world there needs to be a new ingredient. Call it stewardship, environment, or responsibility, simply be meaningless. What I say here is really not new but it is never more crucial. Those prophetic voices out of the past have apprised us of our alternatives. Perhaps now is the time when their insights will save us.

We must begin now as never before to feed the hungry of the earth and to forthrightly apply brakes to economic growth and bring population to zero. Even though we were to find vast energy sources we would be faced with the expanding destructive uses to which this energy would be put. What other unheeded of desire is waiting to be cultivated in the consumer breast for the use of energy? What other gadgets are awaiting the ingenious mind of man for the sake of profit-taking?

Let us at this Conference assess the plight of the world where so many of its citizens are deprived of a chance to deliver their worth to the stream of humanity from the very day they are born because of the denial of food. Let us in this great, good country, which is the United States, accept our "rendezvous with destiny" by freeing simply desert their child, or children, to be raised by a grandmother or relative if not adopted out.

Who takes care of these innocent creatures known as children? Welfare. And I do not mean that their welfare does not have its merits. It is doing a tremendous job in the right places.

What question is, do grandmothers, 14 year old mothers or baby sitters (whose ages range from 12 to 16 years) make good mothers? I think it is time we take a good look at ourselves before we criticize other nations. How long will it be before we are facing the same kind of starvation?

Alcoholism, drugs, laziness and sex all play a part in this dilemma. People want only to be entertained, not learn to work.

Even our churches can be blamed for our low morals. They preach that the world is changing and that what was once immoral is now acceptable. Who is making these changes that are acceptable?

I believe it is time for us to wake up and do something about these problems that can do no less than lead to greater problems. Yes, even starvation in our great nation.

#### MRS. JOHN SHADON Bowman, North Dakota

I am convinced that we are overlooking one very important part of our problem in feeding the hungry of the world. That missing part is our low morals that have developed in our own great nation. Before we criticize other nations for being overpopulated and illiterate and low in morals, we need to take a long, hard look at our own low morals. Marriage has become unimportant among many classes of people. Divorce has become an easy way out for the newly weds to shed responsibility whether they have one child or a dozen.

Then there are the unwed mothers (all from the very day to 14 years old) who bring the countless numbers of children into this world every year. Next I would mention the working mothers and the mothers who simply desert their child, or children, to be raised by a grandmother or relative if not adopted out.

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#### OSCAR AUSTIN New England, North Dakota

Problem number one — people! Without them we would have no problems since nature, when left alone, can take care of itself.

I have talked to a lot of people about limiting the size of their families, only to be told it's nobody's business but their own. That is OK to a point. No one, if he can't support a family, should increase its size.

This is all I am going to say about the population explosion at this time. As we know if we don't find a solution soon, starvation will take care of it for us.

Now on the other side of the ledger, we could go a long way toward relieving the situation immediately by being more concerned. We could save, for example, the use of I like to travel, but 30 to 40 million miles is not necessary, since there are plenty of things and ways to enjoy life in one's own neighborhood.

It disturbs me to think of people starving, while our deep freeze is overflowing.

**ROBERT SIVERTSON**  
Wheeler, North Dakota

I have very mixed emotions on such a complex problem. There were discussions on moral, social, inflation, consumer and producer issues. What more could scare most any person about half to death. Statistics were shocking, yet many times deceiving. I surely agree with National Farmers Union President Tony Dechant's statement that it's about time all people get in the act. I don't know if parity is the key to solving the hunger war, but I feel we have to have some sort of guaranteed parity prices for farmers.

From a personal standpoint, I am willing to sacrifice for the hungry. We all must, but just how far we have to go? It appears to me that my father and his father have been sacrificing for others all their life. I realize the question doesn't pertain to their generation and this complex problem is now which I have to get involved with. I can't pass it on to someone else nor can anyone else in other walks of life. What will be done, I don't know. I do know, I can't increase production without fertilizer and other materials. I can't increase production when I have to pay such outrageous prices for such materials that I need and then be asked to give it away, but I would at a reasonable sacrifice. I don't think that there is a farmer around here that is asking for unreasonable returns.

I feel that the United States does have a moral obligation. By the same token, I think that all of us from top to bottom could do a little sweeping at our own doorstep. A statement was made during the conference — "We have two alternatives, either we are going to feed them, or we are going to fight them." Sadly speaking this is ever so true. I do feel one of the most important single issues is population control. Getting down to the nitty gritty, I believe with God's will, we and other countries can and will raise the food, but I feel there has to be some sort of population control.

**MRS. OSCAR AUSTIN**  
New England, North Dakota

As I see it, we in the United States cannot be expected to feed the whole world, but if the farmer could get 100 percent of parity at all times he would be willing to grow food at full capacity. It would go a long way in helping to grow the food needed. We in America are a very wasteful nation. I wonder how much food is wasted everyday in America, and how many starving children it would feed?

A lot of our good farm land is going to waste. A lot of it is under cement and asphalt for roads. These we need, but why waste so much land in making them? There's waste everywhere you look and now they want to dig up some of the most productive land in southwestern North Dakota for the coal to be used for gasification plants and electricity. Can't we explore other sources of energy before tearing up these lands?

We all pay taxes. A lot of it goes to the military and to policing the world. The moon exploration was very costly. The

money involved would have gone a long way in helping to produce food and setting up a food policy program.

We have to urge leaders of the over populated countries to set up a family planning program. This alone is a big task. We should see that our food producers and those of the rest of the world use the most modern technical know how to produce the food.

Ever normal granaries should be established and maintained by a world wide organization.

We in America have been very fortunate, but we also have problems. I believe we can solve these problems and also help the people of the less fortunate countries with the cooperation of our people and our government.

**MRS. MERREL KJOSEN**  
White Earth, North Dakota

As a producer and consumer, it is my feeling that food prices are not really out of line according to cost of clothing, fuel, machinery, fertilizer, barbed wire, automobiles, and other such products. The trouble lies in the rapid rate at which food prices rose and who is making the profit on it. It is quite evident it is not the producer or the retailer but someone in between.

I am concerned in a fair profit to all who have a part in getting the products to market from producer to consumer. Prices must level off with a fair rate of return for services rendered along the production and distribution lines, enabling the consumer to be better able to purchase the products.

We must find some way of caring for the needs of our elderly. They must have an income on which they can live comfortably and also take care of their health needs.

I feel the wage earner today who is paying the maximum into Social Security, and has done so all his or her wage earning years, will be drawing a much more realistic Social Security payment according to today's prices, unless they continue to soar. Those people who are now drawing Social Security were wage earners on a much lower scale and their payments are based on what they paid in on their past wage earnings. Their payments cannot begin to meet today's prices.

We need a farm program and a government-controlled, farm-stored grain reserve.

I would like to see a way found to provide employment for the hungry so that they might be able to provide for themselves. Until this is possible I am wondering if maybe a small fraction of each ones income tax paid wouldn't be a fair way to provide for the hungry of the world if this is what's really necessary. The farmers can produce the food, but not without a fair return for their labor and investments.

We of North Dakota must work hard to preserve our natural resources, mainly land and water. We must not allow any more land to be destroyed by coal mining. It must be reclaimed and restored to productive land.

**HELEN L. PORTH**  
Ambrose, North Dakota

Why should speculators on the commodity market make themselves wealthy by manipulating the commodities markets?

Is it supply and demand that cause the wild fluctuations in the grain and cattle market, or is it the speculators?

Does the Canadian government take a direct hand in providing a stable market?

Could groups exert pressure on government to create a more stable American commodity market?

Is speculation on food by men who have neither sweated nor toiled in the fields really a legitimate and honorable business?

**DOROTHY DVORAK**  
Gladstone, North Dakota

As a producer listening to the speakers, they all want cheap food with the farmer footing the bill. The farmer has footed the bill for years — now I think it's time someone else did.

Also, taking our area into consideration, take 20 farmers, and you find the age is over 55 for half and between 45 to 50 for the rest of them, with the exception of probably 4 younger ones. The young farmers especially will not raise food without a profit.

## **Six Hungry Men And Six Unapproachable Loaves**

Man can circle the earth without touching the ground.

Man can kill other men many miles away.

Man can weigh the stars of the heavens.

Man can drag oil from the bowels of the earth.

Man can compel an icy waterfall to cook his meals  
hundreds of miles from the stream.

Man can print a million newspapers in an hour.

He can breed the seeds out of oranges.

He can get hens to lay 365 eggs a year.

Man can persuade dogs to smoke pipes and sea lions  
to play guitars.

Man is quite an ingenious and remarkable package of  
physical and mental machinery, but when this astonishing  
person is confronted with one problem he retires to his  
hut defeated.

Show him six men without money and six loaves of bread  
belonging to men who cannot use them but who want money  
for them, and ask him how the six hungry men can be put  
in possession of the six surplus loaves and then watch him.

It is then that man attends conferences, appoints com-  
mittees and cries out that a crisis is upon him. He does  
a score of useless things and then retreats, leaving in the  
shimmering twilight, the tableau of the six hungry men and  
the six unapproachable loaves.

Author Unknown

(As retold by Rev. John J. McRaith)

[1975]

# american freedom from hunger foundation

1625 Eye Street, N.W., Suite 719 • Washington, D.C. 20006 • (202) 254-3487

*If you don't care about the*  
**NATIONAL WEEK OF CONCERN  
FOR WORLD HUNGER, SEPT. 21-28**  
*then throw this paper away...*

*but if you think you might be interested, please read.*

Freedom from Hunger. When your stomach is full it is hard to think hungry. But today there are more hungry people in the world than ever before--and the gap between the well-fed and the hungry, the rich and the poor, widens steadily. At least half of the world's population suffers from nutritional deficiencies. Almost half a billion of these suffer from acute, chronic malnutrition, and 40% of them are children. Some experts estimate as many as 10,000 deaths a day due to starvation or hunger-related diseases. And yet the U.S. gives less than 1% of its budget in humanitarian aid to the poorer nations while spending 30% for defense. In terms of Gross National Product, the U.S. ranks 14th--behind Canada and Sweden--in development assistance. And here at home millions of Americans go without adequate nutrition, housing, and medical care.

What can you do? By joining together with others during the National Week of Concern for World Hunger (September 21-28) we can let our leaders know that we care about world hunger and poverty. Begin to make plans for the Week of Concern NOW. You CAN make a difference!

THE WEEK OF CONCERN (SEPTEMBER 21-28, 1975)

## WHAT YOU CAN DO

1. Sign the Freedom from Hunger FOOD PLEDGE, which will be sent to the President and Congress. Pass it along to your friends and mail it to the address above.
2. Contribute a percent of your yearly income to the hunger agency of your choice. (The American Freedom From Hunger Foundation accepts contributions for self-help projects throughout the world, and there are many other organizations which can channel your donations to the hungry here and abroad.)
3. Skip a meal and contribute the money saved to help the hungry.
4. Write your own personal letters to your elected representatives, telling them of your concern for the food-hunger issue. (Write: Senator \_\_\_\_\_, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510 and Representative \_\_\_\_\_, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515.)

FOR MORE SUGGESTIONS, TURN THIS PAGE OVER



## *More Action Ideas for the Week of Concern (September 21-28)*

5. Educate yourself on the hunger question. Check to see if current books and journals on the subject have been stocked in your public or school library. Form a study group and introduce hunger material into your local book club. Write AFFHF for a bibliography.
6. Set up a literature table on campus, in a library, or at a shopping center near you. Display posters and appropriate literature throughout the Week of September 21-28.
7. TEACHERS: Encourage elementary school students to draw posters on the theme of "World Hunger: What it Means to Me." Send a few samples to Freedom From Hunger. Display the rest of the posters at PTA meetings during the Week of Concern. Last year children's posters were displayed in store-front windows throughout Pittsburgh to great effect. Write AFFHF for a sheet of Action Ideas for Teachers.
8. AFFHF has written to the governors and mayors throughout the U.S., requesting that they issue a proclamation declaring September 21-28 the Week of Concern for World Hunger in their state or city. Write or contact your governor and mayor asking them to follow up on this invitation.
9. Get your church or synagogue to hold special worship services at the beginning and end of the Week of Concern. (Some sample worship materials are available from Freedom From Hunger.)
10. Organize a Hunger Banquet or a Fast to help underscore the food gaps that exist in many parts of the world of 1975.
11. Hold a Hunger Vigil in your community, at a conspicuous location. Invite speakers and public figures to address the gathering during the Week.
12. Radio and T.V. stations are required to air public service announcements during the week, free of charge. Contact your community's stations and ask their cooperation in announcing the purposes and activities of the Week of Concern in your locale. Perhaps you can type a few suggested public service announcements for their consideration.
13. Encourage your civic or community club or other organizations to take some time out to talk about and/or hear about the world hunger problem. Perhaps you can get them to circulate the FOOD PLEDGE and pass a resolution of concern. (Send the resolution to your elected officials in Washington.)
14. Organize a "Hunger Film Festival" during the Week of Concern for your school or religious group. (AFFHF has a list of suggested films for your use.)
15. Organize a Hunger Action Group in your town or city. Begin plans now for making Thanksgiving a DAY OF THANKFUL GIVING. (Write to AFFHF for a list of cooperating agencies and further ideas for Thanksgiving projects.)

\* \* \* \* \*

As America gets ready to celebrate its 200th birthday it seems appropriate for us to remember the ideals of liberty and justice for all that guided our founding fathers. Let's DO SOMETHING so that all people really can be equal, with the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, free from hunger.

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The National Week of Concern for World Hunger is sponsored by the American Freedom From Hunger Foundation (AFFHF), a nonprofit organization founded in 1961 at the suggestion of President Kennedy to combat hunger through education, action, and fund-raising. (In the last decade AFFHF has raised \$12 million for thousands of self-help projects in the U.S. and overseas.) The American Freedom From Hunger Foundation is also the American citizen support arm for the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations.

1776

1976

# Declaration: A Good Pledge



**Finally, we call upon the President and the Congress to assert their leadership in keeping with the American tradition of generosity to the less fortunate of the world. We recognize that while we cannot feed the whole world, *WHAT WE DO CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE.***

Name \_\_\_\_\_

### Address

This image shows a blank sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There are approximately 20 lines in total, divided into two columns by a central vertical crease or fold line. The lines are dark gray or black. The paper appears slightly aged or off-white.

**Please return to American Freedom From Hunger Foundation,  
1625 Eye Street, N.W., Suite 719, Washington, D.C. 20006.**

# WORLD HUNGER!

## *Who will survive?*

A PBS Special Report on the World Food Crisis  
Underwritten as a public service by Hoffmann-La Roche Inc.

WORLD HUNGER! WHO WILL SURVIVE?, a special 90-minute report, with Bill Moyers, on what might be done to alleviate the world food crisis, will be presented on the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) on Monday, January 27 from 8:00 to 9:30 PM, ET. (Please check local PBS station listings to be certain of the time and date.)

The special report will focus on three areas where millions of people are subject to gross malnutrition if not outright starvation.

INDIA. India, with 580 million people, will double its population in twenty years. The broadcast reports that in the Punjab, India's "breadbasket," wheat production has fallen by as much as fifty per cent because of a prolonged drought and costly fuel and fertilizer shortages. And in Bihar, the broadcast shows that while landless peasants toil in bondage, the government has not even begun to make use of the rich agricultural resources of the region through which the life-giving Ganges River flows.

NIGER. In sub-Saharan Africa, four million people live in an area larger than Texas and California combined. Ravaged by a six-year drought and subsequent torrential rains, Niger has yet to cultivate the banks of the Niger river, which had water throughout the drought. The broadcast tells how, with low cost irrigation projects along the Niger river, the country could reach a level of what its President terms "food equilibrium."

COLOMBIA. Colombia, a nation of 23-million people, has a birth rate higher than India's. An estimated sixty per cent of its children are malnourished. The broadcast details how Colombia's Cauca Valley, where vast areas are used for cattle grazing and the growing of sugar cane could be developed with improved agricultural techniques.

Moyers, in the special report, questions whether the nations of the world -- including our own -- have the political will and determination to solve the deepening crisis of mass malnutrition and starvation.

Dick Hubert, who has won numerous awards for his television documentaries, is the executive producer and writer of WORLD HUNGER! WHO WILL SURVIVE? Mary Rose is producer. Paul Galan is the director.

Gateway Productions, Inc., is producing the special report with Health Science Information International under the editorial supervision and control of Connecticut Public Television.

Ben Kubasik Inc. 25 West 43rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10036 (212) 354-7835



## MINNESOTA FAST DAY

February 16, 1975

**GOAL -** Give the people of Minnesota an opportunity to vote against hunger by fasting for one day or one meal--to symbolize their concern for world hunger in a tangible way--and by giving at least \$1.00

**PLAN -** 1. Build a coalition.

2. Get information to Coalition groups.

3. Arrange for feedback.

**Why would your organization want to be part of the Coalition?**

1. It will provide a means to set your own goals in relation to hunger, and begin a long range effort.
2. Be a channel for cooperative action to meet humanitarian and technical needs.
3. To ensure adequate production and equitable distribution of food at home and abroad by working with the farmer and on National policy.

**How do you become a part of the Coalition?**

1. By providing one person to serve on the Steering Committee.
2. By contributing information to the Coalition.
3. By distributing information to your own membership.
4. By helping to underwrite the cost of the campaign. (Minimal contribution)

**What are your responsibilities?**

1. Send us your action plan by Jan. 22, 1975. We realize that this is a short time, but we feel it can be done--and your plan may be of help to other groups.
2. If you are collecting money, what do you plan to do with it?
3. Contact your Senator, Congressman, Legislator, and municipal officials to ask for their support.
4. Encourage sermons and/or discussions on Hunger Crisis in your own organization.

**What are responsibilities of the Steering Committee?**

One member from each participating organization, co-ordinator and secretary.

Office located at 3121 Groveland School Road, Wayzata, 55391

Our phone number is 473-2038. My phone number is 473-6104--Gwen Luhta

Ask the Governor to proclaim Minnesota Fast Day.

(over)

Send letter to the Mayors asking them for support and to be in City Hall Feb. 16 from 5-7 p.m. on Sunday to receive reports from organizations indicating money amounts received by groups.

Send letter to other elected officials requesting support.

Work with advertising firm involving mass media for education and participation.

Arrange for collection of money from people not part of an organization.

Provide sample ballot for duplication and distribution by groups.

Provide 4 hunger projects to fund if organizations do not have one of their own.

Provide co-ordination function for the Fast Day.

How do you become a part of the Coalition?

1. By providing one person to serve on the Steering Committee.

2. By contributing information to the Coalition.

3. By distributing information to your own membership.

4. By helping to underwrite the cost of the campaign. (Minimal contribution)

What are your responsibilities?

1. Send us your action plan by Jan. 31, 1975. We realize that this is a short time, but we feel it can be done and your plan may be of help to other groups.

2. If you are collecting money, what do you plan to do with it?

3. Contact your Senator, Congressman, legislator, and municipal officials to ask for their support.

4. Encourage others and/or discuss on hunger trials in your own organization.

What are responsibilities of the Steering Committee?

One member from each participating organization, co-ordinator and secretary.

Office located at 4111 Cleveland School Road, Weyant, 55231  
Our phone number is 475-1025. My phone number is 475-4154 (New Light)

Ask the Governor to proclaim Minnesota Fast Day.



## SOME RECENT STATEMENTS CONCERNING HUNGER IN MINNESOTA, IN AMERICA, AND IN THE WORLD

"Since the developed countries are better off both economically and technologically, and since the consumption patterns stemming from our affluence contribute significantly to the pressure on limited world food supplies, we must take primary responsibility for relieving present and guarding against future scarcity, even to the point of limiting our own escalating standards of living.

In seeking to discharge this responsibility, we must recognize (a) that the right to eat is fundamental to human life, (b) that our own hungry people are an integral part of the world problem, and (c) that any program designed to relieve world hunger must protect the farmer's right to a fair return on his investment and labors as well as the rights of the consumer." Between You and Hunger, A Report on the Midwest Conference On Food Policy. June 6-7, 1974.

"The same amount of food that is feeding 210 million Americans could adequately feed 1.5 billion Chinese on an average Chinese diet." Jean Mayer, Harvard Nutritionist.

"...poverty, scarcity of food, fuel and fertilizer and drought as well as excessive rain producing climate shifts could combine to destroy through starvation in a single year, more lives than were lost in World War I and II...perhaps as many as have been lost in all the wars of this century." Dr. J. Robert Busche, Assistant Executive Secretary, Lutheran World Relief

"Food is going to be the overriding issue for the rest of our lives." Tony T. Dechant, President of the National Farmer's Union

"...From a purely nutritional point of view, animal protein is not essential, and large numbers of the world's people are already existing on diets that are largely and sometimes wholly vegetarian." Technology Review, December 1974, Dr. Nevin Scrimshaw.

"The world is face to face with its most dreaded disaster...famine." Tony T. Dechant, President National Farmer's Union

"only our most morally conscious decisions can divert imminent starvation and change the amoral global politics that overshadow the human family." Hunger Information Sheet issued by the Community for Creative Non-Violence, from the National Catholic Reporter, December 13, 1974.

"We overeat as a culture--much of our protein intake is wasted surplus." Same source as above.

"It takes 8 lbs of grain to produce 1 lb of steak; and 44 lbs of malt, barley, and other grains to produce one barrel of beer." Catholic Welfare Services Fact Sheet.

"In the Southern Saharan drought area, as large an area as the United States, 5 million people are expected to die of starvation next year." UNICEF

"In the poor countries it will be much more difficult to achieve population stability within an acceptable time frame, at least as things are going now. For one thing, the historical record indicates that birth rates do not usually decline unless certain basic social needs are satisfied...a reasonable standard of living, an assured food supply, a reduced infant mortality rate, literacy and health services...providing the basic motivation for smaller families." Lester R. Brown, Senior Fellow, Overseas Development Council.

"The destiny of humanity is in danger, and the voice of the people condemned to death by hunger grows louder and louder." Jaime E. Estrello, Ecuador, World Food Conference.

"The housewife is aghast when she sees price tags over \$2 a pound on the meat in the supermarket...and the farmer has the same feeling when he is asked to pay \$2 per pound for seed to put in the soil." Cy Carpenter, President, Minnesota Farmer's Union.

Last year 30 people died in Minnesota due to effects of malnutrition. This does not include suicide deaths due to hunger. Minnesota Department of Health.

165,875 people in Minnesota, representing 56,043 households, purchased food stamps in July, 1974. Minnesota Department of Welfare.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture has proposed regulations which would raise the price of food stamps for most purchasers on March 1, 1975. For most recipients in Minnesota, this means they will have to pay \$45 to receive \$46 in food stamps. News Release from Congressman Donald M. Fraser, December 13, 1974.

In Ramsey County last year, 3,000 families sought emergency services. The majority of these services were to provide food. This was an increase of 25-30% over the previous year. Ramsey Action Program.

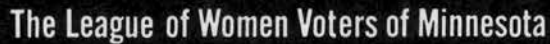
"Americans spend \$2.5 billion a year on commercially prepared pet food--more than six times as much as they spend on baby food, and more than enough to nourish the 1/3 of the world's population that goes hungry." Time December 23, 1974.

"Half of the fish catch of the world goes for cattle feed. Much of this high protein food comes from poor countries. (Peru, Chile)" Community for Creative Non-Violence.

"I do believe, however, that the U. S. must provide strong leadership in dealing with these life and death problems. With only 6% of the world's population, we account for about 40% of the world's annual consumption of natural resources." Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, June 6-7 Midwest Conference on Food Policy.

"...as the world is caught in a critical shortage of fertilizer for food production, and as we restrict our exports of food and fertilizer, Americans are applying some 3 million tons of nutrients to lawns, gardens, cemeteries and golf courses--more than used by all farmers in India, and half again as much as the current shortage in developing countries." James P. Grant, President of the Overseas Development Council.

"Per capita consumption of beef in the U.S., directly related to growing affluence climbed from 55 pounds in 1940 to 116 pounds in 1972. Per capita poultry rose from 18 pounds to 51 pounds in that same time. Paper from the Office of Adult Religious Education, Archdiocese of Washington.

[illegible]

February 11, 1975



## STATEWIDE COALITION PLANS "MINNESOTA SHARES FOR HUNGER DAY"

The most extraordinary statewide election in the history of Minnesota will be held on March 9, providing millions of citizens a chance to cast their vote against hunger.

The coalition comprised of leaders in business, education, government, industry, religion, labor and community organizations is spearheading the massive vote to yield \$4,000,000 for world food coffers.

It begins on February 24 with a major educational campaign throughout the State: a campaign that will rally the people of Minnesota in response to the problems of hunger at home and throughout the world. Through such groups as the AFL-CIO, Minnesota Farmers Union, First Bank System, League of Women Voters, Cargill Leasing, church organizations and others, residents will have an opportunity to find out for themselves the depth of the current crisis. Minnesota Shares for Hunger will send out packets of information to persons and organizations throughout the State in hopes of making them aware of both the problems of hunger and the potential solutions to these problems.

The educational campaign will culminate on March 9 - The day to be proclaimed by Governor Wendell Anderson as "Minnesota Shares for Hunger Day". On this day Minnesotans will be asked to fast or give up a meal or more and take \$1.00 from their pockets to be placed through Minnesota Shares for Hunger into the mouths of the hungry. They will cast a ballot to indicate the recipient of the contribution. These ballots will be sent to P.O. Box 1976, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55400.

Last year, Minnesota recorded 30 deaths caused by the effects of malnutrition, according to the Minnesota Department of Health. That figure does not include the elderly who died quietly at home, the badly nourished who succumbed to hunger-related diseases, nor the suicides of desperation. A concerted effort on behalf of all Minnesotans on March 9 can bring an end to statistics like these.

\* \* \* \* \*

### SAMPLE BALLOT

#### MINNESOTA SHARES FOR HUNGER

March 9, 1975

I cast my vote against  
hunger. Send my  
contribution to:

☐

UNICEF/CARE

☐

Metro Area Emergency  
Food Shelves

Return to P.O. Box 1976  
Minneapolis, MN 55400

Make checks payable to  
Minnesota Shares for Hunger

If you have an organization in your area able to distribute food to the hungry, that name may be added to the ballot. In that case you will have to collect the contributions yourself and keep track of the amounts so that information can be sent to the Minnesota Shares for Hunger address.

It was not possible to find a single Minnesota organization capable of distributing food in the Metro area and out state as well.

Each local League or other organization will be expected to print and distribute their own ballots. It is hoped that you will take the responsibility of educating your community on the problem of hunger. Contact other organizations and churches, write a letter to the editor, use your bulletin and have the ballots at your Unit meetings. The goal is to get a ballot to every person in Minnesota.

If an organization wants more information have it write MINNESOTA SHARES FOR HUNGER, 3121 Groveland School Road, Wayzata, MN 55391.

Following March 9, 1975, the number of ballots returned, the amounts contributed, and the organizations receiving the contributions will be tallied and these totals reported to the citizens of Minnesota. Please let the State LWV office know how you participated and how many ballots you distributed.

## MINNESOTA SHARES FOR HUNGER

### I. Selected Recent Books and Articles on the World Hunger Crisis

- Alexander, Tom. "Ominous Changes in the World's Weather." Fortune, February 1974, pp.90-ff.
- Alves, Ruben A. A Theology of Hope. St. Meinard, Indiana: Abbey Press. 1972
- Brown, Lester R. 1) In the Human Interest: A Strategy to Stabilize World Population.  
New York: Norton and Company. \$6.95.
- Brown, Lester R. 2) (With Erik P. Eckholm) By Bread Alone. New York: Praeger, \$3.95  
(Paperback) Comprehensive, Recent.
- Bryson, Reid A. "World Food Prospects and Climatic Change." Testimony before Comm. on  
Agriculture U.S. Senate, Oct. 18, 1973.
- Ehrlich, Paul R. The Population Bomb. New York: Ballantine Books, 1968.
- Ewald, Ellen Bushman. Recipes For a Small Planet. New York: Ballantine Books, 1973.
- Falk, Richard. This Endangered Planet: Prospects and Proposals for Human Survival.  
New York: Random House, 1971.
- Gheddo, Piero. Why Is The Third World Poor? Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Press, 1973.
- Lappe, Francis Moore. Diet for a Small Planet. New York: Ballantine Books, 1971.
- Mayer, Jean. U.S. Nutrition Policies in the Seventies. San Francisco: W.H. Freeman & Co. 1973.
- McNamara, Robert. One Hundred Countries, Two Billion People: The Dimensions of Development.  
New York: Praeger, 1973.
- Moomow, Ira W. Crusade Against Hunger. New York: Harper & Row, 1966. \$3.95.
- Myrdal, Gunnar. The Challenge of World Poverty. New York: Pantheon Books, 1970. \$8.95.
- Paddock, Wm. and Paul. Famine, 1975. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967. \$2.65.  
(paperback)
- Simon, Paul and Arthur. The Politics of World Hunger: Grassroots Politics and World  
Poverty. New York: Harpers Magazine Press, 1973. \$8.95.

### II. Suggested Speakers. No date reservations or specific commitments have been sought in advance from these potential speakers.

- Dr. Martin Abel, Director, Economic Development Center, University of Minnesota. Tel. 373-2851
- Mrs. Martha and Mr. Abner Batalden, Recent Representatives of Church World Service and  
Lutheran World Relief in Korea, Vietnam, India and Bangladesh. Tel. 724-8406
- Rev. David Brown, Recent Director, American Freedom from Hunger Foundation. Now in  
Waverly, Iowa.
- Dr. J. Robert Busche, Assist. Executive Secretary, Lutheran World Relief, 315 Park Avenue  
South, New York, 10010. Tel. 312-677-3950.
- Dr. Willard Cochrane, Prof. of Agriculture & Applied Economics, Univ. of Minnesota.  
Tel. 373-2851.
- Fr. Edward Flahavan, Dir. Urban Affairs Comm. Archdiocese of St. Paul. Tel. 227-8731.
- Dr. Harry Foreman, Dir., Center for Population Studies, Univ. of Minn. Tel. 227-0849.
- Rev. George H. Gerberding, Assist. to Pres., Synod of Minn., Lutheran Church in America.  
Tel. 871-1485.
- Dr. Melvin A. Hammerberg, Pres., Minn. Synod, Lutheran Church in America. Tel. 371-1691.
- Mr. Robert Handschen, Economist, Farmers Union, Grain Terminal Assoc., 1667 No. Snelling,  
St. Paul. Tel. 646-9433.
- Dr. Carl J. Hemmer, Chief, Policy Division, Office of Population, US/AID, Washington, D.C.
- Mr. Peder Hendry, Officer at FAO Liaison Office for North America, 1776 "F" Street, N.W.,  
Washington, D.C. 20437
- Dr. James Houck, Prof. of Agriculture and Applied Economics, Univ. of Minn. Tel. 373-2851
- State Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, III, Attended Rome Food Conference in November 1974,  
Minneapolis, Tel. 341-3800.
- Dr. Elmer Learn, Assist. to the Pres., Univ. of Minn., Tel. 373-2851.
- Mr. Alan Moore, President, Experience, Inc., Mpls. Tel. 333-5231.
- Dr. Frederick Schiotz, Pres. Emeritus, American Lutheran Church, Hunger Task Force of the  
ALC. Tel. 338-3821.
- Dr. Robert Tetro, Senior Economist, FAO Liaison Office for North America, 1776 "F" Street,  
N.W., Washington, D.C. 20437.
- Dr. Wm E. Wright, Dir., International Programs, Univ. of Minn. Tel. 373-2851
- Dr. Barbara Younoszai, Assoc. Prof. of Spanish, Hamline Univ., Tel. 641-2800.



III. Films and Filmstrips. Most films and filmstrips on this issue are usable but dated.  
Write or call the following offices for information on the latest available  
on hunger.

American Baptist Films  
Box 23204  
Oakland, Calif. 94623

Catholic Relief Services  
1011 First Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10022  
Tel. 212-838-4700

Film Distribution Unit  
Room 837, United Nations  
New York, N.Y.

Augsburg Films  
417 So. 4th Street  
Minneapolis, MN. 55415  
Tel. 332-4561

Church World Service  
475 Riverside Drive  
New York, N.Y. 10027  
Tel. 212-870-2061

Lutheran World Relief  
315 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010  
Tel. 212-677-3950

Bread for the World  
602 E. Ninth Street  
New York, N.Y. 10009  
Tel. 212-228-5230

Mennonite Central Committee  
Akron, PA.

#### IV. Groups That Can Be of Special Assistance.

Bread For The World 602 E. Ninth Street, New York, N.Y. 10009. Tel. 212-228-5230

Seeks to build in every Congressional District a nucleus who will lobby on major issues affecting hungry people, as those issues come before federal administrative and legislative decision makers. \$10 a year membership includes monthly newsletter which links movement and provides key information on specific issues. Will provide quantity brochures "Bread for the World" and "Alternative Diets" for bulletin inserts.

Overseas Development Council 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., No. 501, Washington, D.C. 20036. Tel. 202-234-8701. Good source of publications on development, world trade, hunger, and population issues.

World Hunger Action Coalition c/o American Freedom from Hunger Foundation, 1100 17th Street, N.W., No. 701, Washington, D.C. 20036. Tel. 202-254-3487. Provides information and materials on hunger. Will arrange workshops to stimulate American consciousness of immediate food crisis in many nations.

IMPORTANT: Hunger and Famines may be with us for a long-term, continued emphasis on a new and more circumspect life-style, one that is more concerned for all members of the human family.

Prepared by A.B. Batalden.

\* \* \* \* \*

DON'T FORGET - - -

NOTE

- to involve as many people as possible in your educational efforts.
- to distribute ballots to all your members and as many other citizens as you can contact.
- to urge other organizations and churches to participate in this project.
- to include your elected officials in your plans.
- to write your legislators requesting their support and involvement. State and National food policies and laws to implement them will be needed to solve the problems of food distribution.
- to continue this effort after March 9, 1975. This is just the kick-off. Fasting is to call attention to the crisis situation. Casting a ballot against hunger and making a contribution is a beginning. Make it your responsibility to see that measures are taken to assure that no one goes hungry in your area.

NOTE

## SOME QUOTES ABOUT HUNGER

1. The average Asian consumes 400 pounds of grain a year. The average American consumes more than a ton, only 150 pounds of which is consumed in direct grains and cereals. The resources needed to feed an American are five times those needed to support the average Nigerian or Indian. The overall American energy consumption is 60 times greater than that of Nigeria or India. An affluent New Yorker, for example, consumes 25,000 times as much energy as a Javanese peasant.
2. The 1972 summer Russian-American wheat deal of 422 million bushels was the largest wheat deal between two countries in history.
3. Of the 1973 U.S. wheat harvest of 1.7 billion bushels (a bumper crop) only 780 million bushels were domestically consumed. Of the 1973 corn crop of 5.5 billion bushels almost 4.7 billion bushels were domestically consumed.
4. The great plains of North America provide 60% of the total wheat of the world trade markets and almost all of the animal feed.
5. A 3.5% increase in fertilizer utilization per acre only adds a 1% per acre yield increase. It now takes the equivalent of 88 gallons of gasoline to produce one full acre of corn.
6. In the U.S. it is estimated that processors add 10 calories of artificial energy for every one calorie of energy of food that reaches the consumer's table.
7. In 1973 more than \$670 million worth of chewing gum was sold in the U.S.
8. Peking is expected to import \$1.2 billion worth of farm goods from the U.S. in 1974.
9. U.S. agricultural exports have risen from \$8 billion in June 1972 to an estimated \$20 billion in June of 1974. The U.S. exports more soybeans and wheat than any other country in the world.
10. Prices of fertilizer in the U.S. have risen 81% since October 1973. A world shortage of fertilizer is now estimated at more than 10%.
11. The Sahelian drought, has witnessed the deaths of almost 60-80% of the livestock directly threatening the lives of 25 million people living in the 2500 mile band that stretches across the Sahara running from the Atlantic to the Red Sea, a land mass larger than the Continental U.S.
12. The Sahara desert, cause of the terrible Sahelian drought and famine, is moving southward by 30 miles a year.
13. One recent UN study predicted that at current rates the developing countries may have to import 85 million tons of grain per year by 1985 merely to maintain their present marginal level of per capita consumption. This would represent a three fold increase in the present import level for grains.
14. Normally some 400 million people in the world suffer from malnutrition (half of them children). This year that number may double to some 800 million people of the world's population. Approximately 1/2 the world's population is underfed.
15. To add a mere 250 more calories per day to the diets of the 400 million people who are malnourished would require an extra 10 million tons of cereals per year.
16. The U N's Food and Agriculture Organization projects a 3.6% increase in food demand for the developing countries in the 1980's assuming an annual GNP increase of 5.4%. The FAO projects less than 3.3% increase in food output in those countries in the 1980's.

17. The U.S. exports 73% of its wheat, 50% of its rice and 21% of its corn each year. 80% of the world's soybean supplies come from the U.S. The average American farmer produces enough food to feed 53 people.
18. World grain reserves are at their lowest in 30 years - less than 27 days reserve of essential grains. A bad crop in North America could impair the ability of the world to feed its hungry millions for the next 5 to 10 years.
19. The Current growth in world population of 2% per year will require the doubling of world food production in little more than a generation.
20. It is estimated that of the current world grain increase of 30 million tons some 22 million tons are claimed by expanding populations and the remaining 8 million tons are absorbed by increased affluent demands.
21. Per capita consumption of beef in the U.S., directly related to growing affluence, climbed from 55 pounds in 1940 to 116 pounds in 1972. Per capita poultry consumption rose from 18 pounds to 51 pounds in that same time span.
22. Since 1970 the total world fish catch, a primary food source for many nations, has declined steadily by almost 8 million tons. This from a high in 1970 of 70 million tons of fish to a 1973 estimate of just under 62 million tons. In Japan the average yearly per capita consumption of fish is 70 pounds - the highest per capita fish consumption of any country in the world.
23. Almost all of the 50 million acres of farmland idled in the U.S. in the 1960's are now under plough - thus eliminating one of the world's last potential grain reserves.
24. World food demand is growing at an annual rate of 2.5%. The current levels of world grain reserves of less than 105 million metric tons represent less than 8% of annual world grain consumption.
25. Most food experts agree that world food increases must come from the developing countries themselves. For example, India has about the same amount of crop area as that of the U.S. If India's per acre yield equaled that of the U.S. it would annually produce 230 metric tons of cereal as opposed to its current 100 million metric tons. If Bangladesh rice farmers achieved Japanese per acre rice yields that starving nation would produce 39 million tons of rice per year compared to its present 12 million tons. A doubling of Brazilian cultivated land would add some 22 million tons of grain a year even without increasing per acre yields.
26. The United States controls a greater percentage of the world's grain than the Arab countries do of world oil supplies.
27. North America (Canada and the U.S.) and Australia are the only geographic areas current producing regional food surpluses (i.e. enough extra with which to export.)
28. Harvard nutritionist Jean Mayer has estimated that the same amount of food that is feeding 210 million Americans could adequately feed 1.5 billion Chinese on an average Chinese diet.

Date: 3/7/75

MAR 12 1975

To: League of Women Voters of Minnesota

From: League of Women Voters of Wells (East Faribault County)

Subject: "Minnesota Shares for Hunger Day"

The League of Women Voters of Wells has acted upon this project by putting the ballot and pertinent information in the Wells Mirror and the Kiester Courier. We felt that by putting the information in the newspapers we would be able to reach the greatest number of people.

Mrs. Larry Haukoos, pres.  
League of Women Voters of Wells



**League of Women Voters of Hibbing**

**HIBBING, MINNESOTA**

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MAR 17 1975

Report to: L. W. V. of Minnesota  
From: Judy Matonick, Pres. L. W. V. of Hibbing  
Re: L. W. V. participation in "Minnesota Shares for Hunger"  
Campaign.  
March 1975

The League of Women Voters of Hibbing distributed 200 copies of a ballot with an explanation of "Minnesota Shares for Hunger" campaign. Most of these were mailed with monthly bulletins to L. W. V. and A. A. W. members. Others were distributed at church groups and a Welcome Wagon meeting. Also a ballot with pertinent information was printed in the Hibbing Daily Tribune.



MAR 21 1975

Re: Minnesota Shares for Hunger

The Board of the Red Wing League of Women Voters supported Shares for Hunger and through a letter to the Editor ( very effective in our community) and publicity to the local radio station, we asked the community to join us in participation.

An editorial in the paper later questioned the concept behind this; the food-agriculture-hunger problem. Without a League position on this problem - a complex one - it was difficult to follow through effectively.

*Ellen Dunn*

Ellen Dunn  
Human Resources Chairman  
Red Wing League of Women Voters

The League  
of the Excelsior-Deephaven Area  
Women Voters

MAR 31 1975

Serving the  
Communities of:

Chanhassen  
Deephaven  
Excelsior  
Greenwood  
Shorewood  
Tonka Bay

Attention: Helene Berg

We carried an item in our  
Bulletin on Minnesota Shores for  
Hunger and also in the two  
local papers. We encouraged  
teachers and students at one  
junior high school to participate  
and some participation took place -  
although nothing to brag about.

Shirley Rice

APR 11 1975

2234 Kelly Avenue  
Cloquet, Minnesota 55720  
April 10, 1975

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota  
555 Wabasha  
St. Paul, Minnesota 55102

Report to: State L W V Office  
From: Cloquet L W V -- Doris Bishop, Action Chairman  
Re: Minnesota Shares For Hunger

An article including ballot which could be clipped and sent in with donation was printed in the local paper, "The Pine Knot," during the week of March 3.

Action chairman presented the material at the Chamber of Commerce Annual Dinner Meeting on March 3.

Announcements on local Radio WKLK Public Service program on March 4.

Ballots were printed and delivered to the following groups:

- The Chamber of Commerce of Cloquet
- The Cloquet Rotary Club
- The Cloquet Kiwanis Club
- The Cloquet Exchange Club
- The Cloquet Jaycees
- The AAUW of Cloquet
- The VFW Auxiliary  
Churches
- All League of Women Voters Units

The Rotary Club in response to our appeal gave up a good part of their weekly luncheon and donated the remaining money to MSFH.

Members of one local church held a collection at coffee hour after service giving up their usual cookies and donating to the hunger campaign instead

As far as I know the local League was the only group doing any publicity on MSFH in our city

I understood that this was to be a Statewide major educational campaign. Publicity in this part of the State was almost nil. We neither read in our papers or heard on our radios or TV's whether Governor Anderson ever proclaimed March 9th. as "Minnesota Shares For Hunger" Day or not. We worked hard on it in Cloquet but it was rough going with no back-up information in the papers or other Media.

How much money was realized I do not know but the Hunger Situation was brought to the attention of as many people as possible in our community.

# League of Women Voters of Northfield

April 17, 1975

Ms. Helene Borg  
P. O. Box 5  
Mound, Minnesota 55364

Dear Helene,

RE: MINNESOTA SHARES FOR HUNGER

I'm sorry about this late response to your S.O.S. As president of League, I spoke to the mayor about MSFH. He officially proclaimed March 9th as MSFH day. This proclamation was buried at the bottom of the city council report in the newspaper. I contacted the mayor to discuss the city's plans. He did not plan to be in his office on Sunday afternoon. He agreed to write a Letter to the Editor of the paper urging support. I contacted the Northfield National Bank who agreed to accept donations. They received only about \$10 which was sent to the First Bank System in Minneapolis.

I contacted the Ministerial Association. They had already received information about the day. The mayor was concerned that we indicate that we weren't trying to interfere or supercede their own fund raising efforts. The United Church of Christ, for instance, had already designated the first Sunday of each month for a special offering for food for the hungry. I think most churches were already concerned and were taking some sort of offering during Lent for the hungry. The president of the ministerial association told me that March 9th had been chosen because it is the National Council of Churches' traditional "One Great Hour of Sharing" Sunday.

Information came too late to be included in our local League bulletin although I had alerted Leaguers to watch for information in the local paper.

Some complaints: The February '75 information we received from LWVMN said, "MSFH will send out packets of information to persons and organizations through the state...." We did not receive any further information and neither did the mayor nor the ministerial association. The only radio publicity I heard over WCCO (which I listen to with some regularity) was on March 9th itself. I heard none on TV. I didn't see any publicity in the Mpls. Tribune. It seems that churches are already well aware of the problems of hunger in the world and are trying to do something about it. It doesn't seem quite right to ask for an additional donation over and above what members are already donating through their own churches' special appeals. Finally, the timing was such that I ended up doing all of the coordinating among League-city-churches-bank personally!

Two other organizations in Northfield did have special events to raise money but I'm sorry that I didn't keep a record of them. One, I think, was a rummage sale sponsored by Carleton College students. A woman who is associated with MCCL wrote a long letter to the editor in support of MSFH quoting much of the same data which we were supplied with.

Our total local effort was almost fruitless in terms of money raised specifically for MSFH. The League, in fact, never had its name mentioned since the mayor's letter did not refer to our support.



Sincerely,

*Ann Ness*  
Ann Ness, President  
4 Walden Place  
Northfield, MN 55057





# LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

APR 30 1975

WILLMAR, MINNESOTA

April 28, 1975

Helen Borg, Action Chairman  
League of Women Voters of Minnesota  
555 Wabasha  
St. Paul, Minn. 55102

Dear Helen:

Recently I was appointed by the Willmar League of Women Voters to be the Action chairman for our League.

I have written to the State Ethics Commission requesting a form for registering as a lobbyist, as you requested.

In the April State Board Memo, you requested information on what we did in our community to promote Minnesota Shares For Hunger. Although it may be too late for your purposes, I will answer your question, as I learned at the first board meeting I attended since my appointment that this had not been done.

The board felt that it was too late to organize anything on a large scale by the time they got the information. Richard Falk, a local businessman, and several other local citizens had already organized a community project to ask people to give up one noon meal a week, preferably on Thursday, during Lent, and donate their lunch money to a fund for starving Ethiopians. Containers were placed in public places around the community, and much publicity was given to this campaign. Mr. Falk has flown to Ethiopia on church business and will personally see that the money is distributed where it will be of help.

The Willmar League had publicity about the Minnesota Shares for Hunger in its local bulletin, the Kaffe Times, giving individual members a chance to send in a contribution and designate where they wanted the money to go. Since these did not come to a local person or board first, we do not know how great the response was.

Sincerely,

*JoAnn Wright*  
JoAnn Wright (Mrs. Dale)



# HUNGER



No. 4

APRIL 1976

*World hunger, itself a critically serious problem, is a symptom of an even deeper malaise: the maldistribution of the world's resources. People are hungry primarily because they are poor; and they are poor primarily because the present international economic order simply does not facilitate the just distribution of even minimally required resources to all.*

*How the economic system can be changed most equitably is now the subject of intense international and national debate. The Interreligious Taskforce on U.S. Food Policy has not yet developed policy recommendations on the key issues of the debate. We offer this paper as our initial effort at clarifying the issues of the debate and solicit the comments of readers as we proceed to formulate policy recommendations based on the analysis reflected here.*

George A. Chauncey, Chairman  
Interreligious Taskforce on U.S. Food Policy  
110 Maryland Avenue, N.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20002

## THE UNITED STATES AND THE CHANGING INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

The world community in the mid-1970s is at a critical and decisive point in its development. The crisis is articulated in the growing demands by the developing countries for membership as equal partners in the world community. It is reflected in the heightened perception by developed countries of the reality of global interdependence.

The world food crisis and energy shortage are but catalytic agents. Endemic poverty and chronic malnutrition, inflation and unemployment, and the allocation of scarce resources for military armaments rather than for human social needs are warning signals which call into question the assumptions and values underlying our national and global societies. They reflect systemic injustices which are perpetuated by many political, economic, and social institutions, and they call for fundamental changes in relations between rich and poor at both domestic and international levels.

A series of international conferences in recent months has focused on now one, now another, of the principal features of global interdependence and structured inequities: the Sixth Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on Raw Materials and Development (New York, April 1974), the World Population Conference (Bucharest, August 1974), the World Food Conference (Rome, November 1974), the third U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea (Geneva, March-May 1975 and New York, March-May 1976), the International Women's Year Conference (Mexico City, June 1975), the Seventh Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly on Development and International Economic Cooperation (New

York, September 1975), and the Conference on International Economic Cooperation (Paris, December 1975).

Although the focus of these conferences differed, each reiterated the same basic theme: **the poor nations of the world, with 70 per cent of the people and 30 per cent of the income, demand major rather than marginal changes in an international economic order which works to the advantage of the already developed countries.**

In April, 1974, the poor nations summarized their demands in the call for a New International Economic Order (NIEO). They had voiced similar demands before, but never with sufficient economic and political clout to persuade the rich countries to respond seriously to them. Their new "bargaining power" is another indication that indeed the old order is passing. But the outlines of the new order are yet unfolding; the final outcome remains to be determined.

This paper, prepared for the general reader, attempts to set the call for a NIEO in its historical perspective and to clarify the basic issues involved. The first section reviews the principal characteristics of the prevailing world market economy and some of its failures as the developing countries perceive them. The second outlines the central issues of the NIEO and the progress of the debate in the Sixth and Seventh Special Sessions of the U.N. General Assembly. The final section indicates some limitations of the NIEO resolutions and looks ahead to arenas in which further negotiations on the implementation of these resolutions will occur.

## THE WORLD ECONOMY AND STRUCTURES OF DEPENDENCE

The international market economy that has prevailed since the end of World War II is based on four fundamental premises: (1) open and expanding patterns of trade; (2) the free movement of investment capital and technology; (3) readily available supplies of raw materials; and (4) international institutions and practices of cooperation. This system rests on the international financial and monetary institutions which were established by the Bretton Woods Agreement of 1944: the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank). The growth of the world economy and the dominant role of the United States in the "Free World" assured the viability of the system throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

### In defense of the system

Supporters of the system point to three trends since World War II as evidence of its success:

- The unprecedented rates of growth in the world economy;
  - The integration of large areas of the underdeveloped world into the international market economy;
  - The extended period of world peace, stability, and prosperity.
- On theoretical and empirical grounds they argue that the allocation of economic resources in response to competitive market forces leads most directly to economic prosperity, political integration, and a world community of free societies.

### Criticism of the current system

On the other hand, critics assert that the world economy is directed and controlled to benefit the advanced industrial economies. Tariffs, controls on financial and credit institutions, and a maze of patent regulations and laws restrict the free movement of goods, investment capital, and technology. Moreover, they charge, the successes claimed are often more illusory than real. As evidence they cite the growing gap in living standards between rich and poor, the worsening plight of countries unaffected by global economic prosperity, the destruction of the environment, and the depletion of nonrenewable resources. Some argue further that these inequalities and imbalances are not coincidental but rather the inevitable result of the dynamics of the present world economic order.

### Signs of disorder

What is the evidence to support these charges? Among the more striking facts are the following:

- The gap between rich and poor countries continues to widen. One hundred fifty years ago the per capita income in the developed countries was about twice that of the developing areas. Today it is nearly 20 times as great (Hansen, 1975, p. 168).

- Economic growth tends to benefit the already rich. During the 1960s the world economy expanded by nearly \$1 trillion, but nearly 80 per cent of this increase went to countries with annual per capita incomes of more than \$1000. Less than six per cent went to the poorest countries, with over half the world's population and per capita incomes of less than \$200 (*New Internationalist*, October 1975).

- For countries comprising nearly two thirds of the world's population, the increase in per capita income has been less than \$1 a year over the past two decades (Parram, 1975, p. 12).

- Developing countries tend to be producers of agricultural commodities and other primary goods; twelve major commodities (excluding oil) account for roughly 80 per cent of their export earnings. In the last two decades they have increased the volume of their exports by more than 30 per cent, but their export earnings have risen by only 4 per cent. Final consumers pay some \$200 billion for these goods; producers receive only \$30 billion of that total (ul Haq, 1975, p. 159).

- The terms of trade continue to turn against the developing countries. For example, in 1960 the revenue from 25 tons of rubber exports would purchase six tractors; today it will purchase only two (*New Internationalist*, October 1975, p. 13).

- Although the developing countries have little industry, the industrialized countries, by discriminatory trade practices, impede the diversification of low-income economies. For example, unprocessed cocoa from Ghana can enter West Germany with a four per cent import duty, but cocoa manufactured into chocolate bars faces an import duty of more than 12 per cent (*New Internationalist*, October 1975, p. 14).

- Almost \$102 billion of international monetary reserves were created by international monetary and financial institutions between 1970 and 1974. The developed countries received nearly \$98 billion; the poorer countries received less than \$4 billion (ul Haq, p. 160).

- The outstanding debt of the developing countries today is about \$130 billion, almost double their total long-term debt only two years ago in early 1974 (*Business Week*, March 1, 1976, p. 54).

However these facts are interpreted, it is evident that the poorer countries have not shared proportionately in the benefits of the present world economy. Their primary products (excluding oil) flow to the industrial countries in exchange for fewer manufactured goods. Their heavy debt burdens frequently force them to adopt policies that result in the further impoverishment of their people, for example, expanding agricultural exports to meet debt payments in the face of domestic food shortages. Their lack of access to international capital on favorable terms impedes their economic growth.

### The structure of dependence

The theory of competitive markets assumes that the participants in a market are of nearly equal strength and that they enter the market to their mutual advantage. This results in an economic relationship of *symmetrical dependence*. When the participants are of unequal strength, however, the stronger can determine the terms of entry into the market, creating relationships of *hierarchical dependence*. In such a market

condition the stronger economic powers tend to subordinate the weaker in a type of economic bondage.

Critics of the present world economy assert that because of the poverty and generally weaker economies of the developing countries, world market structures serve as a "transmission belt" that further enriches developed countries. Thus, they charge, the affluence of the rich is based on the poverty of the poor; the present international system links affluence and poverty in a cause-and-effect relationship.

## THE NORTH-SOUTH DEBATE AND THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

The protagonists in this debate are drawn along hemispheric lines, loosely defined. The *North* (sometimes called the First World) includes the developed market-oriented economies of Western Europe, North America (Canada and the U.S.), and Asia (Japan, Australia, and New Zealand). The United States, as the leading industrial nation, is the most articulate spokesman for the North. The *South* encompasses the developing countries of the so-called Third World (now sometimes divided into the Third and Fourth Worlds), countries which are poor and struggling to develop an industrial base.

Although neither category is homogeneous, the South admits of much greater diversity, including the revenue-rich members of OPEC (the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries), countries that are semi-industrialized or endowed with abundant natural resources, and a number of extremely poor countries. The centrally planned economies of the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and China (sometimes called the Second World) have generally supported the South politically but remain largely outside the international market economy.

### Group of 77

In the 1950s the South began to ally themselves as the group of nonaligned countries with allegiance neither to the First nor to the Second World. In the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD I) in 1964, the 77 developing countries (which continue to be termed the "Group of 77" although they now number more than 100) attempted to define and express their common interests in negotiations with the North. They pressed for the reform of various elements in the international economic system, particularly for stable and more equitable prices for their commodity exports and for greater control over their natural resources. Because the Group of 77's bargaining position was weak, however, the North tended to dismiss their demands as ideological and political rather than economic. Only marginal responses were forthcoming in the subsequent sessions of UNCTAD in 1968 and 1972.

Political and economic events in the late 1960s and early 1970s raised questions for many about both the viability of the system and the validity of its basic premises. After two decades of sustained economic growth, Japan and the European Economic Community (EEC) were beginning to challenge the

dominance of the U.S. in the world economy. Burdened with the war in Southeast Asia and confronted with mounting trade deficits, the U.S. devalued the dollar in 1971. At the same time, the industrial nations experienced growing shortages of raw material supplies, rising prices, and concern over possibly irreversible damage to the environment.

### More radical demands

As the cold war subsided, the nonaligned nations asserted more radical demands for an equitable share of the world's limited resources and greater participation in the international arena. In 1973 and 1974 the relative strength of the North and South shifted dramatically when the oil exporting countries of the Middle East embargoed the shipment of petroleum to the North and then organized a producers' cartel (OPEC) to raise unilaterally the prices of crude oil. The non-oil producing countries of the South united in support of the OPEC action, despite the impact of higher oil prices on their own economies.

The United States proposed that the North act in concert to break the embargo, but Japan and Western Europe opposed confrontation because of their greater dependence on Middle East oil supplies. The South reacted by demanding a broad range of reforms of the international economic system. At the request of Algeria, the U.N. General Assembly convened in special session in April, 1974, to consider the state of the world economy.

## THE SIXTH SPECIAL SESSION: THE CALL FOR A NEW ECONOMIC ORDER

A special session of the U.N. General Assembly is an extraordinary meeting of the full membership. It is convened by the Secretary at the request of either the Security Council or a majority of member nations. Prior to 1974 only five special sessions had been called and all had dealt with political or peace-keeping operations. The Sixth Special Session on Raw Materials and Development was the first to consider an economic problem.

At the conclusion of this Special Session, the General Assembly unanimously adopted two resolutions which

incorporated the basic principles for a New International Economic Order (NIEO): the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (General Assembly Resolution 3201, S-VI) and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (General Assembly Resolution 3202, S-VI). Later in that year the 29th regular session of the General Assembly adopted a General Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States (A/Res/3281, XXIX), which elaborated standards to protect the rights of all countries, particularly the developing countries, and specified the norms which should govern international economic relations. If implemented, these three documents would change the "rules of the game" by which the world economy now operates.

#### Principles of the New International Economic Order

The New International Economic Order proposed in these documents embodies the following general principles:

**National sovereignty:** countries would have full control over their own resources, including the right to nationalize foreign-owned properties and investments according to domestic laws.

**Trade:** terms of trade would improve in favor of the developing countries so that the prices for their commodities would rise faster than the prices of manufactured imports. There would be stabilization of prices for commodities, removal of tariffs, and preferential access to Northern markets for developing country exports.

**Transnational enterprises:** host countries would be entitled to regulate and control the activities of multinational corporations and transnational enterprises.

**Technology:** all countries would promote the transfer of technology from the North to the South in accordance with the needs and conditions of the South.

**International monetary reform:** international institutions would ensure an adequate flow of financial resources to the South to promote development, assisting particularly those countries most seriously affected by the international economic crisis. There would be fuller effective participation by the South in international monetary institutions.

#### The initial Northern reaction

Although most nations of the North could support many of the proposals for change, the United States, West Germany, and Japan expressed strong reservations about the central elements of the NIEO resolutions. They opposed the following:

- The claim to "permanent sovereignty" over natural resources and the right of states to nationalize foreign-owned property without a corresponding duty to pay compensation in accordance with international law.
- The demand that "restitution and full compensation" be paid by states that exploited and damaged the resources of other countries.
- The proposal that producers' associations like OPEC be considered a viable and acceptable means to promote national development.
- The call for regulation of transnational enterprises without specifying that such regulation be in accordance with international law.

The Sixth Special Session ended in hostility and confrontation. U.N. Ambassador to the U.N. John Scali decried the "tyranny of the majority" of developing countries which supported the resolutions. Another member of the U.S. delegation termed the session "the first great confrontation between the North and the South."

In the summer of 1974 the U.N. Economic and Social Council proposed another special session for the fall of 1975 to discuss the major problems of development and to move the North-South confrontation to dialogue and negotiation. The Council requested the Group of 77 to specify their proposals and the Northern countries to review their policies toward the South with a view toward negotiation.

#### A change in attitude

In the intervening months a number of factors encouraged both the North and the South to resume the dialogue. The South recognized that the North's cooperation was required to implement the NIEO resolutions. The North in turn realized that it depended on the South for assured supplies of energy and raw materials. Moreover, many Northern countries were sympathetic to the general demands of the South.

The turning point came in April, 1975. A U.S.-sponsored meeting of oil producing and consuming countries broke up in disagreement when the OPEC delegates demanded that the conference agenda also include the issues of NIEO. The U.S. now found itself in danger of becoming isolated from the rest of the North and of solidifying the South around its more radical voices. The U.S. began to formulate a position responsive to the demands of the South. Secretary of State Kissinger signaled this shift in policy in speeches to domestic and international groups in May, and under his leadership the Administration began to develop a set of proposals for the special session scheduled to begin in September. A group of Senators and Representatives encouraged the Administration in this.

The Group of 77 prepared and circulated its proposals for negotiations. Its final working document omitted the more controversial elements of the NIEO resolutions, namely, the right to form producers' associations and to compensate nationalized foreign firms according to domestic law. But these concessions did not represent a departure from their commitment to the implementation of a new economic order.

The Western European countries responded directly to many of these proposals. The United States, however, did not indicate the wide scope of its response prior to the address Ambassador Moynihan delivered at the opening of the Seventh Special Session on behalf of Secretary Kissinger. The delegates responded warmly to the "Kissinger" speech because it indicated a much greater sensitivity on the part of the U.S. to the grievances and demands of the South.

Much has been made of the comprehensive package of proposals advanced by the U.S. To many they represented significant progress toward building a constructive long-term relationship between the North and the South. Other analysts, however, suggested that their basic thrust was to strengthen and expand existing international institutions while not addressing the major underlying economic problems confronting many developing countries.

The Special Session proceeded in a spirit of dialogue and cooperation, although serious disagreements remained on essential questions such as integrated commodity agreements. The U.N. General Assembly unanimously approved the final resolution, entitled "Development and International Cooperation." The U.S., by officially recording its reservations, denied an obligation to implement certain of the resolution's commitments.

#### THE SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION: PROPOSALS AND COUNTERPROPOSALS

**Commodities and trade:** The Group of 77 proposed an integrated commodity policy to stabilize the markets in the commodities of greatest importance. This policy included two controversial mechanisms—*indexation*, whereby the price of exports would be linked to the price of a "basket" of manufactured imports; and *multilateral commodity agreements*, which would bind producer and consumer countries to long-term purchase and supply commitments.

The North opposed and continues to oppose these mechanisms on the grounds that they fuel inflation, interfere with world market forces, and involve complex stocking and financial arrangements. The U.S. proposed instead that a separate consumer-producer forum be created for each key commodity and agreed to discuss individual commodity arrangements on a case-by-case basis. The final resolution omitted reference to an integrated commodity policy but directed the UNCTAD IV Secretariat to review options designed to preserve the purchasing power of the South.

The Group of 77 also urged the removal of tariff barriers, particularly those which discriminated against their processed goods. The North agreed in principle to allow the South to have greater access to Northern markets, with the specifics to be negotiated later.

**International monetary reform:** The Group of 77 proposed reforms that increased the flow of financial resources to the developing countries and gave them a greater voice in the decision-making processes of the international financial institutions. These proposals included the following:

- An international monetary unit, termed Special Drawing Rights (SDRs), to replace gold and national currencies as the central reserve asset of the IMF;
- Linking of SDRs to development assistance by allocating a greater share of any increases in SDRs to the South as one means of automatically transferring real resources from North to South; and
- Alleviation of the debt burden of the South.

The North agreed to expand the role of the SDRs in the IMF, but opposed the linkage of SDRs to development assistance. Moreover, the North in general objected to debt relief measures undertaken to alleviate balance-of-payments problems. The U.S. proposed instead that the IMF administer a "development security facility" fund to compensate those countries which had shortfalls in their export earnings. The final resolution referred the issue of linking SDRs and development aid to the IMF, where the U.S. has power of veto. It also deferred until UNCTAD IV the consideration of debt relief.

The IMF has since taken steps to liberalize lending terms and to increase the amount of funds available for loans to

developing countries. Its Interim Committee in January, 1976, agreed to sell one sixth of the IMF gold reserves, with the profits to assist poor countries experiencing balance-of-payments problems. U.S. officials have stated that they do not anticipate further reforms, but the Group of 77 find these adjustments marginal and consider more loans and more debts inadequate solutions to the problems they face.

**Development aid, investment, and transnational enterprises:** The Group of 77 proposed that the developed countries commit themselves to a level of 0.7 per cent of their GNP in official development assistance by 1978. The United States opposed such a commitment on the grounds that economic and political conditions were not propitious for increased government-to-government aid, and proposed instead that private capital be mobilized through international banks and trust funds to meet the needs of the South. The final resolution urged the developed countries to meet the target level by 1980; the U.S. expressed formal reservations.

The developing countries do not reject private foreign investment in principle but desire such capital on better terms and on conditions suited to domestic development needs. The final resolution stated only that consideration should be given to creating an international trust fund and to expanding the role of the International Financial Corporation, an affiliate of the World Bank that provides venture capital to private companies for investment in developing countries. It also encouraged transnational enterprises and the North in general to promote development consistent with the policies of the South.

**Other issues:** Both North and South agreed on many less controversial features of the final resolutions, such as research and development programs to increase food production in the developing countries, the International Fund for Agricultural Development, and support for the World Food Conference resolutions. The final document also urged greater cooperation among developing countries in advancing their own development and called for the restructuring of the U.N. system to make it more responsive to the implementation of a New International Economic Order.

## NIEO: PROGRESS TOWARD GLOBAL JUSTICE?

The call for fundamental corrections in the world economy must be viewed as part of an ongoing historical process. The demands by the South for a New International Economic Order have many parallels with the demands of present and earlier generations for political rights, universal suffrage, and collective bargaining rights. Many countries with colonial histories view the struggle for economic independence and greater equality of opportunity as a continuation of the battle for political independence that they waged during the 1950s and 1960s and continue to wage in some parts of the world today.

It is unlikely that the legitimate demands of the poorer countries will disappear until the global community commits itself to achieving a more equitable distribution of the world's resources and the fuller participation of all nations as equal partners. The South insists that its call for a NIEO is not a request for charity based on the uncertain generosity of the rich, but a demand for justice based on the real needs of the poor. In this sense, the need is not only for larger transfers of resources from richer to poorer nations, but for changes in the workings of the global economy to make such continuing transfers unnecessary.

### Some limitations of the NIEO resolutions

While the demands of the South deserve a sympathetic reception, they must also be evaluated critically, even when those demands are supported by many Northern countries. Not all developing countries have governments dedicated to improving the lives of the majority of their people. Higher commodity export prices and better terms of trade may benefit national elites rather than lower income groups. Moreover, despite the rhetoric of some advocates, the NIEO resolutions do not address the fundamental premises of the old economic order. For example:

- Price stabilization agreements do not alter the principle of free world trade (as opposed to some form of rational international economic planning to meet essential needs).
- Policies designed to achieve higher prices of primary products do not question the principle of an international division of labor, which, for all its economic benefits, implies that some countries are the world's financial and commercial centers and others the "throwers of wood and drawers of water."
- Reliance on foreign stimuli for development—i.e., trade, aid, investment, and technology—does not necessarily result in the mobilization of domestic resources in the pursuit of self-reliant development.

A serious shortcoming of the NIEO guidelines is that they do not contain any norms or inducements for the transformation of social structures at either the national or the international level. They do not specify minimum living

standards for the world's poor in terms of such basic necessities as food, clothing, housing, or medical services, nor do they propose effective mechanisms whereby the benefits of economic growth might reach the poor. Thus the principles of the old order remain the cornerstone of the new.

Nevertheless, many believe that the implementation of the NIEO resolutions would allow progressive regimes to pursue policies of self-reliant development for the benefit of their people. Control by developing countries over their own resources would end foreign exploitation. Stable prices for commodity exports and better terms of trade would provide more reliable incomes for planning development expenditures and more foreign exchange to meet basic import needs. The Group of 77 unquestionably view the implementation of a NIEO as a principal means of advancing their own development.

### Major arenas for future negotiation

Many of the issues on which the North and the South could not agree at the Seventh Special Session were referred for further negotiation to UNCTAD IV, which convenes in Nairobi, Kenya, May 3, 1976. The North and the South also continue their dialogue in a second forum, the **Conference on International Economic Cooperation (CIEC)**, and its four working Commissions on energy, raw materials, development, and financial and monetary issues. This Conference, which met in Paris in December, 1975, grew out of earlier initiatives by France and the United States to bring together oil producing and consuming countries to discuss energy questions. At the insistence of OPEC, participation was broadened to include twelve non-oil exporting Southern countries, and the agenda to include non-energy issues. The four working Commissions will continue to meet throughout the coming year.

Some observers suggest that progress in negotiating further agreements favorable to the South will depend on the degree to which the Group of 77 can develop a "common strategy" for negotiation in various arenas despite their diversity of interests. Meeting in Manila in February, the Group of 77 agreed to present a limited number of issues for negotiation, with priority given to an integrated commodities agreement, expanded markets for processed goods, and debt relief. The Group of 77 presented these issues at the regular March session of the UNCTAD Trade and Development Board in Geneva and requested the North to respond positively to these proposals in the spirit of the promises made at the Seventh Special Session. Except for Norway and the Netherlands, the industrialized countries were unwilling to commit themselves to an integrated commodity program and were unwilling to disclose their negotiating positions for Nairobi. Unless negotiations are completed in the Nairobi meetings, many will judge UNCTAD IV a failure. Although the relationship between the CIEC Commissions and UNCTAD is indirect, the negotiating issues are almost certain to be related.

### Other arenas for discussion

The issues raised in the NIEO resolutions will provide the background for deliberations in other international conferences as well.

**The U.N. Law of the Sea Conference** reconvened in New York on March 15 to examine various issues, including the creation of an international seabed authority to develop the open-sea resources "for the benefit of all people."

**The U.N. Habitat Conference** (Vancouver, British Columbia, May 31-June 11) will consider problems relating to "human settlements," the environment, and the allocation of national and global resources to improve the quality of human life.

**The World Employment Conference** of the International Labor Organization (Geneva, June 4-17) will review domestic and international problems of labor utilization and income distribution.

### The formulation of the U.S. response

Some countries of the North already have indicated a willingness to negotiate an integrated commodity agreement and to respond affirmatively on some of the other issues. As of early March the position which the U.S. will take in these negotiating sessions remains uncertain. Within the Administration, the State and Treasury Departments appear to disagree on the desirable limits of negotiations on the questions of trade, commodity agreements, and further monetary reform. Secretary of State Kissinger generally takes a broader view of the U.S. interests in cooperating with the South to meet the realities of a rapidly changing world. Secretary of the Treasury Simon, on the other hand, publicly opposes negotiated commodity and price stabilization agreements on the grounds that they weaken market forces, undermine the U.S. role in world trade, and in the long run are far too costly.

It seems clear that from the perspective of its own self-interest, the U.S. has much to lose, both economically and politically, in returning to a policy of confrontation. The North depends on the South for many raw materials in addition to energy supplies. The South has the ability to cripple the industrial economies of the North by interrupting the flow of these supplies. Moreover, the United States by a policy of confrontation would encourage even the more moderate countries of the South to develop new political alliances, and would alienate many other Northern nations.

At the same time, the realities of interdependence suggest that the U.S. has much to gain by cooperating with the South to implement a new economic order that will work to the mutual advantage of all. New structures which advance the self-sufficiency and development of the South nourish hopes for world peace that increased armaments do not.

Congressional advisers, nongovernmental organizations, and concerned citizens were an important factor in developing a positive U.S. approach to the Seventh Special Session. Continued advocacy for a positive response in the forthcoming UNCTAD IV and CIEC negotiations in Nairobi and Paris is crucial. Dr. Kissinger has stated that the principal challenge of our time "is to build a stable and just international structure." The implementation of the major elements of the NIEO resolutions appears at this time to be a step toward the creation of such a structure.

### Our responsibility to listen

Those of us who share the affluence of the developed world and who take seriously the biblical mandate to listen to the voice of the poor and dispossessed must be alert to the issues raised in the call for a New International Economic Order. Not every feature will advance the desired goal of a better life for the world's poor, but clearly the inequities of the present international order call for major changes in the relations between the North and the South. We must encourage our national leaders to respond affirmatively to those demands of the South which are legitimate and to negotiate changes that will enable developing countries to become more self-sufficient and to improve the living standards of their people. This is in the spirit of the highest ideals of the American people. It is also doubtless the best way that the U.S. can address the root causes of world hunger and advance peace and justice in an interdependent global community.

*The principal author of this paper was*

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## HELPFUL RESOURCES ON THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

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U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

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Department of State  
Washington, D.C. 20520

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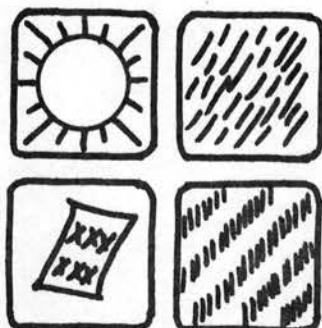
Independent Sources:  
Center of Concern  
3700 13th Street, N.E.  
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Overseas Development Council  
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.  
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## FOOD AND FAMINE

A DIALOGUE PRESENTATION ON THE WORLD FOOD SITUATION

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## FOOD AND FAMINE

### A DIALOGUE PRESENTATION ON THE WORLD FOOD SITUATION

THIS IS A DIALOGUE SCRIPT TO PROVIDE SOME OF THE BASIC FACTS, STATISTICS, AND OPINIONS ON THE CURRENT WORLD HUNGER SITUATION. NEITHER THE AMERICAN NOR THE MALIAN IS REAL. THEY ARE A SYNTHESIS OF WHAT MANY AMERICANS AND MANY CITIZENS OF LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES MIGHT SAY. THE SCRIPT PORTRAYS THE MANY MISCONCEPTIONS, PREJUDICES AND IDEAS WHICH ARE POPULAR HERE AND IN THE LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. FOR MOST EFFECTIVE PRESENTATION, SELECT TWO PEOPLE WITH LOUD, CLEAR VOICES; PLACE THEM SOME DISTANCE APART TO SYMBOLIZE THE RIFT BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES AND THE POOREST OR "FOURTH WORLD" NATIONS; AND GIVE EACH A SCRIPT. HAVE EACH READER UNDERLINE IN RED ALL THAT HE WILL SAY; THIS HELPS IN MAINTAINING A FAST PACE AND MINIMIZES FUMBLING WITH WORDS FOR ANY WHO MAY NOT BE ESPECIALLY EXPERIENCED AT PUBLIC SPEAKING. HAVE AT LEAST ONE RUN-THROUGH, MORE IF NEEDED, BEFORE PRESENTATION TO AN AUDIENCE.

THE DIALOGUE SHOULD BE FOLLOWED BY THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT'S SLIDE PRESENTATION ON DROUGHT IN THE SAHEL, AFRICA, WHICH MAY BE BORROWED FROM THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF OHIO, 65 SOUTH FOURTH STREET, COLUMBUS, OHIO 43215.

(INTRODUCE YOURSELF, EXPLAIN HOW YOU BECAME INTERESTED IN THE FOOD CRISIS-- NO MORE THAN TWO MINUTES. INTRODUCE YOUR PARTNER. BEGIN.)

A-I AM AN AMERICAN, AN OHIO FARMER TO BE EXACT. I'VE GOT ABOUT 300 ACRES NEAR COLUMBUS I PLANT IN CORN AND SOYBEANS, AND A FEW OTHER THINGS TO HELP KEEP MY WIFE AND THREE KIDS. AND I AM CONCERNED ABOUT ALL THE PEOPLE STARVING IN PLACES LIKE INDIA AND BANGLADESH AND AFRICA. ESPECIALLY ALL THOSE KIDS. IT'S REALLY UPSETTING TO SEE PICTURES OF BABIES AND LITTLE CHILDREN WITH SKINNY LEGS AND DISTENDED STOMACHS AND BIG, SAD EYES.

B-I AM A MALIAN, A WEST AFRICAN, FROM THE SAHEL. MY FAMILY AND MY BROTHER'S FAMILY LIVE ON A FOUR ACRE FARM NEAR TIMBUKTU. WE RAISE A FEW VEGETABLES AND GRASS AND MILLET TO FEED OURSELVES AND OUR CATTLE AND GOATS. WITH OUR TWO FAMILIES WE HAVE 17 PEOPLE TO FARM THE LAND. WE TRY TO GROW ENOUGH THAT WE CAN SELL SOME AND BUY THE OTHER THINGS WE NEED. OF COURSE, THE DROUGHT HAS MADE IT VERY DIFFICULT. BUT WE ARE FORTUNATE. WE HAVE LAND AND A HOUSE IN WHICH TO LIVE. THE REFUGEES IN THE CAMP IN TIMBUKTU HAVE ALMOST NOTHING. THE SIX DRY YEARS HAVE KILLED ALL THEIR CATTLE AND GOATS AND CAMELS. THEY MUST DEPEND ON THE GOVERNMENT FOR FOOD. THEY HAVE LITTLE SPACE IN WHICH TO LIVE.

A-THAT'S REALLY AWFUL. THAT MUST BE TERRIBLE TO HAVE TO LIVE LIKE THAT. I CAN IMAGINE WHAT IT MUST BE LIKE.

B-CAN YOU?

A-TO WATCH YOUR CATTLE DIE. THAT'S LIKE LOSING YOUR JOB, OR, IN MY CASE, SEEING 200 ACRES OF CORN AND SOYBEANS GO IN LATE, THEN GET DRIED UP, AND THEN FROSTED OUT--LIKE LAST YEAR. WE'VE HAD SOME PRETTY BAD WEATHER HERE TOO, YOU KNOW.

B-YES, BUT YOUR CATTLE DIDN'T DIE, DID THEY?

A-WELL, NO, BUT THAT'S NOT REALLY WHAT I RAISE. JUST A FEW HEAD FOR MEAT AND MILK.

B-YOU DIDN'T SEE YOUR FARM DIE FOREVER, OR YOUR CHILDREN STARVE AND DIE FROM SICKNESSES THEY WERE TOO WEAK TO FIGHT. YOU DIDN'T LOSE EVERYTHING, DID YOU?

A-WELL, NO. BUT SOME OF THOSE THINGS COULD HAVE BEEN PREVENTED, IF YOU AND YOUR PEOPLE WERE A LITTLE MORE PRACTICAL AND ORGANIZED.

B-YOU MEAN WE SHOULD HAVE LEARNED TO MAKE RAIN MANY YEARS AGO BEFORE WE HAD A CRISIS?

A-OF COURSE NOT. BUT I READ THAT THE NOMADS CUT DOWN TREES SO THEIR STARVING CATTLE COULD EAT THE LEAVES. THAT KEPT THOSE ANIMALS ALIVE FOR MAYBE A WEEK MORE. AND NOW THERE ARE NO TREES FOR THE FUTURE. NO TREES TO KEEP THE DESERT SANDS BACK. NO TREES FOR FUTURE FORAGE. AND NO CATTLE EITHER.

B-I AGREE. THAT WAS NOT SMART. BUT IF YOUR HOUSE WAS BURNING, WOULD YOU STOP TO THINK YOU WERE USING UP YOUR WELL AND WOULD HAVE NO DRINKING WATER OR WOULD YOU TRY TO PUT OUT THE FIRE? IT IS NOT EASY TO WATCH ALL YOU OWN IN THE WORLD SLOWLY DIE IN FRONT OF YOUR EYES AND TO BE PRACTICAL. IT IS DIFFICULT TO EDUCATE A DESPERATE MAN. WHERE WE LIVE, IT IS DIFFICULT TO EDUCATE ANY MAN. THERE ARE NO SCHOOL HOUSES IN THE DESERT. MANY ARE ILLITERATE. HOW CAN YOU TEACH PEOPLE, EXCEPT MAN TO MAN? THAT TAKES MORE TIME THAN WE HAVE. AND NOBODY CARES!

A-THAT'S NOT TRUE. I CARE ABOUT YOU AND WHAT HAPPENS TO YOU.

B-BUT NOT ENOUGH TO GIVE UP ANYTHING, DO YOU?

A-WHAT DO YOU MEAN?

B-WHILE OUR ANIMALS DIE, YOUR FARMERS KILL ANIMALS AND THEN BURY THEM TO GET MORE MONEY. WHAT IS PRACTICAL ABOUT THAT?

A-WAIT A MINUTE. FARMERS HAVE A RIGHT TO MAKE A DECENT LIVING, AND OTHER PEOPLE IN AMERICA NEED TO SEE THEY CAN'T HAVE A CHEAP FOOD AT THE FARMER'S EXPENSE.

B-AND WHAT WILL THE FARMERS DO WITH THEIR MONEY ONCE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE LEARN THEIR LESSON? BUY ANOTHER TELEVISION? BUY ANOTHER CAR? BUY NEW MACHINES? NEW CLOTHES? NEW GADGETS?

A-OTHER PEOPLE IN AMERICA HAVE THOSE THINGS. WHY SHOULD THE FARMER BE DEPRIVED? I AGREE WE COULD ALL GIVE UP SOME OF OUR LUXURIES, BUT WOULD THIS ACTUALLY BENEFIT YOUR PEOPLE?

B-THE AMERICANS AND EUROPEANS AND JAPANESE--THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES--USE ABOUT 92% OF THE WORLD'S ENERGY FOR ABOUT 30% OF THE WORLD'S PEOPLE. WHAT IF THE AMERICANS HAD TO BE PART OF THE 70% OF THE WORLD'S PEOPLE EXISTING ON 8% OF THE WORLD'S ENERGY? YOU MIGHT HAVE TO WATCH OVER HALF YOUR BABIES DIE TOO.

A-LOOK--A BIG PART OF YOUR PROBLEM IS THAT YOU HAVE TOO MANY PEOPLE NOW. IF YOU COULD DO SOMETHING TO CONTROL YOUR BIRTH RATE A LOT OF THE STARVATION WOULDN'T BE HAPPENING.

B-YES, BUT WE CAN HAVE FOUR CHILDREN FOR EVERY ONE OF YOURS AND THEY STILL DON'T USE AS MUCH OF THE WORLD'S RESOURCES. AND DON'T FORGET WE NEED OUR CHILDREN TO LOOK AFTER US IN OUR OLD AGE. OUR GOVERNMENT DOES NOT GIVE US MONEY OR RETIREMENT PLANS. WE MUST HAVE ENOUGH CHILDREN TO FEED AND HOUSE US WHEN WE ARE TOO OLD TO WORK. HOW MANY IS ENOUGH WHEN OVER HALF DIE?



A-YOU SAID THERE ARE 17 OF YOU TO WORK YOUR FARM. THAT MEANS, AT LEAST 13 CHILDREN BETWEEN YOU AND YOUR BROTHER. ISN'T THAT MORE THAN OLD-AGE INSURANCE?

B-TWELVE CHILDREN. MY MOTHER IS STILL ABLE TO HELP IN THE FIELDS SOMETIMES AND WE SUPPORT HER. REMEMBER, TOO, SHE HAD EIGHT CHILDREN, AND ONLY MY BROTHER AND I REMAIN TO TAKE CARE OF HER NOW.

A-BUT IF YOU HAD FEWER CHILDREN, THEY COULD BE TAKEN CARE OF BETTER AND YOU WOULDN'T LOSE SO MANY.

B-FIRST YOU TAKE CARE OF THEM--THE FOOD, THE DOCTORS, THE CLINICS, THE JOBS. THEN WE WILL HAVE FEWER CHILDREN.

A-ACTUALLY YOU COULD TAKE BETTER CARE OF THEM YOURSELF IF YOU DEVELOPED SOME INDUSTRY; DIVERSIFIED, LEARNED GOOD FARMING METHODS. THEN THERE'D BE FOOD AND MONEY FOR THE REST.

B-CERTAINLY. I'LL FARM MORE EFFICIENTLY IF YOU GIVE ME THE SEEDS THAT PRODUCE BUMPER CROPS HERE--IN MALI--NOT THE HYBRIDS THAT WORK IN THE UNITED STATES OR INDIA. GIVE ME THE IRRIGATION FOR ALL THE WATER THOSE GOOD SEEDS NEED TO GROW. GIVE ME THE FERTILIZER THOSE SEEDS NEED TO PRODUCE BUMPER CROPS. YOUR SEEDS DON'T WORK, YOU KNOW, WITHOUT THE EXTRA WATER AND FERTILIZER, AND MANY CAN'T RESIST OUR LOCAL PESTS AND BLIGHTS WITHOUT PESTICIDES.

A-WE GIVE AID FOR IRRIGATION SYSTEMS, DON'T WE? WE HELP TO PROVIDE EXTRA WATER.

B-YES. BUT EVEN AMERICA AND THE OTHER COUNTRIES CAN'T BUILD DAMS OR ALTERNATE WATER SYSTEMS ALL OVER THE WORLD SIMULTANEOUSLY. THINK OF THE TIME, MONEY, AND EFFORT. MALI HASN'T BEEN HELPED MUCH YET.

A-SO THERE MUST BE OTHER SOLUTIONS. DIFFERENT SEEDS, DIFFERENT KINDS OF PLANTS. TEACHING PEOPLE TO EAT NEW THINGS. I READ SOMEPLACE THERE ARE 80,000 EDIBLE PLANTS IN THE WORLD, BUT PEOPLE GROW ONLY ABOUT 50 OF THEM ON A LARGE SCALE. SOMETHING'S WRONG SOMEWHERE.

B-PEOPLE HAVE HABITS. YOU DON'T EAT SORGHUM DO YOU, OR MILLET?

A-NO. ACTUALLY, I GUESS WE DON'T EVEN KNOW HOW TO FIX IT.

B-PEOPLE LIKE TO EAT WHAT THEY ARE USED TO, EVEN WHEN HUNGRY. AND EVEN WHEN SOMETHING THEY'RE USED TO IS CHANGED TO MAKE IT BETTER--LIKE CORN WITH MORE FOOD VALUE--PEOPLE WON'T ALWAYS ACCEPT IT.

A-OH, YOU MEAN THAT NEW HIGH-LYSINE CORN THAT HAS ABOUT 2/3RDS MORE PROTEIN, BUT IT MAKES THE KERNELS SOFT, SO IT CAN'T BE MILLED?

B-THOSE SPECIAL SEEDS YOU DEVELOPED IN THE UNITED STATES TAKE LOTS OF FERTILIZER AND PESTICIDES, AS WELL AS WATER.

A-YOU CAN GET THOSE, CAN'T YOU?

B-YES. BUT NOT ENOUGH. WE NEED FACTORIES TO PRODUCE FERTILIZER HERE. WE CAN AFFORD ALMOST NONE NOW. OIL PRICE INCREASES HAVE MORE THAN DOUBLED THE PRICE OF FERTILIZER AND PESTICIDES. YOU IN THE DEVELOPED NATIONS LOSE PROFIT. WE CAN'T AFFORD FERTILIZER AT ALL. OUR YIELDS DROP TERRIBLE. MUCH OF THE TIME WE CAN'T EVEN BUY FERTILIZER; THERE JUST ISN'T ENOUGH TO GO AROUND.

A-I SUPPOSE THE THREE MILLION TONS OF FERTILIZER WE USE TO MAKE OUR LAWNS AND GOLF COURSES AND CEMETERIES BEAUTIFUL IS A LUXURY WE COULD GIVE UP.

B-IT MIGHT DO SOMETHING FOR SOME STARVING CHILDREN ALSO.

A-YOU PEOPLE ARE IN A BAD SITUATION, I AGREE, BUT WHEN WE DO SEND FOOD TO HELP, IT DOESN'T EVEN GET TO THE STARVING. THE RATS OR BLACK MARKET PEOPLE GET IT.

B-SOME OF IT. BUT WE HAVE STORAGE PROBLEMS, OUR ROADS ARE TERRIBLE AND OUR TRUCKS ARE ANCIENT. AIR LIFTING IS SOMETHING FOR DEVELOPED NATIONS. EVEN OUR RIVERS ARE DRIED UP. I HAVE HEARD OF ONE PORT THAT BECAUSE OF THE DROUGHT IS NOW 15 MILES INLAND.

A-DOES THAT MEAN YOU THINK SENDING YOU FOOD IS HOPELESS?

B-No. THERE IS WASTE, BUT MUCH GETS THROUGH AND HELPS. WHAT IT MEANS IS THAT WE MUST WORK TO IMPROVE THE BASIC SITUATION. WE CANNOT SAVE EVERYONE OF THE 10 MILLION DESTINED TO STARVE TO DEATH THIS YEAR. BUT WE CAN SAVE MANY OF THOSE WHO MAY STARVE IN THE FUTURE.

A-IT SEEMS TO ME YOU MUST PUT MORE LAND INTO FARMS. THERE IS STILL LAND LYING IDLE IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WHICH COULD BE PRODUCTIVE, AND LAND PRESENTLY IN USE WHICH COULD BE FARMED MORE EFFICIENTLY TO GROW CROPS TO FEED YOUR PEOPLE. YOU NEED BETTER STORAGE FACILITIES, SO YOU CAN SAVE ALL YOU HAVE AND UTILIZE EVERY PART OF EVERYTHING THAT GROWS. THEN YOU NEED TRANSPORTATION; FERTILIZER PLANTS, IRRIGATION SYSTEMS, SEEDS DEVELOPED FOR YOU THAT CAN FIGHT YOUR BUGS AND USE YOUR SOIL AND PLEASE YOUR PEOPLE.

B-WE ALSO NEED EDUCATION TO TEACH NEW WAYS, SO WE CAN EVEN LEARN TO READ OF NEW WAYS. WE MUST STORE UP ESSENTIALS AGAINST THE YEARS THERE MAY BE OTHER DROUGHTS. IF THE WHOLE WORLD SHARED EVERYTHING, TODAY, THERE WOULD STILL BE SHORTAGES.

A-YES, BUT I STILL THINK YOU NEED TO TRY TO CONTROL YOUR BIRTH RATE. WHY BRING CHILDREN INTO THE WORLD KNOWING YOU WILL NOT BE ABLE TO FEED THEM?

B-MIGHT I REMIND YOU AGAIN THAT OUR CHILDREN DO NOT USE UP THE WORLD'S RESOURCES AS YOURS DO? WE ONLY EAT ABOUT 2000 CALORIES A DAY HERE, WHILE YOUR PEOPLE AVERAGE OVER 3300. AND YOU EAT MEAT IN LARGE QUANTITIES; IT TAKES EIGHT POUNDS OF GRAIN TO MAKE ONE POUND OF MEAT. IF YOU WOULD CUT DOWN ONLY 10% ON YOUR MEAT CONSUMPTION, 60 MILLION PEOPLE COULD BE FED.

A-STILL, YOU MUST ADMIT THAT PEOPLE IN SOME DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HAVE ODD PRIORITIES. AT LEAST WE DON'T SUPPORT SACRED COWS ROAMING OUR STREETS.

B-No. JUST DOGS AND CATS ROAMING YOUR RICH, GRASSY YARDS. IF ONLY YOU COULD SEE HOW YOUR GRAND STANDARD OF LIVING DEPLETES THE WORLD. YOU PLAY POLITICAL GAMES, WORRYING ABOUT OIL PRICES AND PROFITS, WHILE WE STARVE. AND WHAT IS THE OIL YOU WANT USED FOR? GADGETS--MAKING THEM OR RUNNING THEM. AND IF YOU DON'T HAVE THE MONEY FOR A NEW GADGET EVERY YEAR YOU WRITE THE GOVERNMENT. YOU ARE SO CONCERNED WITH STANDARD OF LIVING. WE ARE SO CONCERNED WITH JUST LIVING.

A-BUT IF YOUR'D ONLY CUT DOWN ON THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN THE WORLD, EVERYBODY COULD LIVE DECENTLY.

B-THAT'S A SIMPLE ANSWER. BUT IS IT THE ONLY ANSWER? I KNOW THAT ALL THE FOOD AND TECHNICAL HELP IN THE WORLD CANNOT SAVE MY PEOPLE UNLESS WE MALIANS LEARN TO HELP OURSELVES. WE NEED YOUR HELP TO DO THAT, AND WE NEED IT NOW. BUT I THINK WE CAN ACCEPT OUR RESPONSIBILITIES AND WORK TO OVERCOME THE PROBLEMS WE FACE TODAY, ESPECIALLY IF YOU CAN ACCEPT YOURS TOO.

SPEAKING NOW AS A MEMBER OF THIS GROUP, AND NOT A MALIAN, I THINK THERE ARE A FEW OBJECTIVE THINGS THAT MAY NEED SAYING. NEITHER OUR AMERICAN NOR OUR MALIAN ARE QUITE REAL. THEY ARE A SYNTHESIS OF JUST ABOUT EVERYTHING EVERY AMERICAN OR EVERY CITIZEN OF A LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRY MIGHT SAY IF LUMPED TOGETHER. NO ONE PERSON OF EITHER MALI OR THE U.S. COULD POSSIBLY HAVE ALL THE ATTITUDES OR MISCONCEPTIONS OR PREJUDICES PORTRAYED HERE. BUT SOME OF THESE IDEAS ARE VERY POPULAR BOTH HERE AND IN THE LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. AND IT IS ALL TOO EASY TO STATE THE SITUATION IN TERMS OF BLACK AND WHITE.

I DOUBT IF THERE ARE ANY ABSOLUTE SOLUTIONS TO ANY CLEAR-CUT PROBLEMS. JUST AS SURELY AS THERE ARE MALIANS STARVING, THERE ARE AMERICANS -- WHO'VE NEVER PLAYED GOLF -- LOSING THEIR FARMS TO THE CURRENT ECONOMIC DILEMMA. AND THERE ARE STARVING AMERICANS, AS WELL AS SOME RICH CITIZENS IN THE LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES TOO.

I DOUBT ALSO IF THERE ARE ANY ABSOLUTE SOLUTIONS TO THESE PROBLEMS. THE SOLUTIONS, IF THEY EXIST, ARE PROBABLY SOMEWHERE IN THE MIDDLE BETWEEN LOWER CONSUMPTION AND LOWER POPULATION. THE UNITED STATES, ALTHOUGH IT IS IN A BETTER POSITION THAN MOST COUNTRIES, EVEN WITH INFLATION, CANNOT SOLVE THE DILEMMA ALONE. EVERYONE IN THE DEVELOPED WORLD IS GOING TO HAVE TO GIVE UP SOMETHING -- ESPECIALLY IF THE SOLUTION IS TO BE A MORAL ONE.

OF COURSE, THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN GIVING UP SOME -- AT LEAST IN THE FORM OF MONEY. AND OTHER NATIONS HAVE TOO. THE U.S. CANNOT KID ITSELF THAT IT IS THE ONLY NATION DISPENSING HELP TO THE UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES. AS A MATTER OF FACT, IN TERMS OF PERCENTAGE OF GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT, THE U.S. RANKS A POOR 15TH AMONG THE 17 MAJOR AID GIVERS, AND IN 1975 WILL GIVE 20 CENTS OF EVERY \$1000 WE PRODUCE.

STILL, SOME STEPS HAVE BEEN TAKEN, SOME IN THE FORM OF BILATERAL AID (ONE NATION GIVING DIRECTLY TO ANOTHER NATION) AS THROUGH THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, AND SOME AS GOVERNMENT AID TO INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES, SUCH AS THOSE OF THE UNITED NATIONS. AMERICANS ALSO CONTRIBUTE TO A NUMBER OF PRIVATE AGENCIES, SUCH AS CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICES, CHURCH WORLD SERVICE, AND CARE, WHICH ESTIMATES IT CAN GIVE ABOUT \$6 WORTH OF HELP FOR EVERY \$1 CONTRIBUTION.

IN ADDITION TO GIVING MONEY, WHAT CAN YOU DO AS AN INDIVIDUAL ABOUT THE FOOD CRISIS? TO BEGIN, YOU CAN BE CONCERNED OVER THE NUTRITIONAL QUALITY AND QUANTITY OF FOOD EATEN AT YOUR TABLE. CAREFUL FOOD BUYING CAN SAVE YOU MONEY, IMPROVE YOUR HEALTH, AND CUT DOWN ON THE IMMENSE WASTE OF FOOD IN THIS COUNTRY. OF COURSE, ONE OR TWO MEATLESS DAYS A WEEK IN YOUR HOME WILL NOT AUTOMATICALLY PUT FOOD IN THE MOUTHS OF HUNGRY MALIANS, OR HUNGRY AMERICANS, BUT LETTERS TO YOUR CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS, TELLING THEM THAT YOU ARE CONCERNED ENOUGH ABOUT THE FOOD SITUATION TO CHANGE YOUR OWN DIET CAN HAVE A REAL EFFECT IN WASHINGTON. YOUR REPRESENTATIVES ARE LISTENING, AND YOUR LETTERS CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE.

NOW, FOR SOME IDEA AS TO HOW AT LEAST ONE SEGMENT OF AMERICAN AID MONEY IS SPENT, LET'S LOOK AT THIS SLIDE PRESENTATION ON THE SAHEL -- WHICH INCLUDES MALI -- FROM THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

#### SOME POSSIBLE DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF PUBLIC LAW 480 MUCH OF UNITED STATES FOOD AID HAS POLITICAL STRINGS ATTACHED. IN 1973, FOR EXAMPLE, ALMOST HALF OF OUR FOOD AID WENT TO INDOCHINA, WHILE IN 1974 LARGE AMOUNTS OF P.L. 480 FOOD WERE SOLD TO THE MIDDLE EAST. SHOULD THE U.S. CONTINUE TO USE FOOD AS A FOREIGN POLICY TOOL, OR SHOULD OUR FOOD BE SENT TO THE NEEDIEST NATIONS, REGARDLESS OF POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS?



2. THE WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE IN ROME ENDORSED A PROPOSAL TO ESTABLISH AN INTERNATIONAL GRAIN RESERVE TO HELP FEED HUNGRY NATIONS DURING FUTURE FOOD SHORTAGES. SOME CRITICS, HOWEVER, WARN THAT SUCH A RESERVE WOULD DISCOURAGE DEVELOPING NATIONS FROM COMING TO GRIPS WITH THEIR FOOD PROBLEMS THEMSELVES, BECAUSE THEY WOULD RELY ON THE WORLD GRAIN RESERVE AT THE EXPENSE OF CONTROLLING THEIR POPULATION AND DEVELOPING THEIR OWN AGRICULTURE. WHERE DO YOU STAND ON THIS ISSUE?
3. SOME PEOPLE, NOTABLY SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY, HAVE SUGGESTED THAT AMERICANS COULD FREE SEVERAL MILLIONS OF TONS OF GRAIN FOR EXPORT BY REDUCING THEIR CONSUMPTION OF MEAT BY ONE HAMBURGER A WEEK. OTHERS, LED BY SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE EARL BUTZ, RETORT THAT A DRASTIC REDUCTION IN AMERICA'S PET POPULATION WOULD DO MORE GOOD. SHOULD EITHER OR BOTH OF THESE SUGGESTIONS BE IMPLEMENTED?
4. CAN WE JUSTIFY THE USE OF 3 MILLION TONS OF FERTILIZER ANNUALLY TO BEAUTIFY OUR LAWNS, CEMETERIES, AND GOLF COURSES, WHEN THE SAME AMOUNT OF FERTILIZER COULD PRODUCE FOOD TO FEED MILLIONS OVERSEAS?
5. EXPERTS AGREE THAT: (1) WITHOUT POPULATION LIMITATION THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY OF FEEDING EVERYONE IN THE WORLD; (2) POPULATION LIMITATION CANNOT BE ACHIEVED WITHOUT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE POOR NATIONS. SHOULD THE UNITED STATES LIMIT ITS FOOD AID TO THOSE COUNTRIES DEMONSTRATING REALISTIC EFFORTS TOWARDS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND POPULATION CONTROL?
6. A RECENT SENATE STUDY SHOWED THAT IN LOW INCOME AREAS OF THE U.S., ONE OF EVERY THREE CANS OF PET FOOD IS PURCHASED FOR HUMAN CONSUMPTION BY THE ELDERLY AND POOR WHO CANNOT AFFORD OTHER PROTEIN PRODUCTS. SHOULD WE SOLVE OUR OWN NATIONAL HUNGER PROBLEMS BEFORE WE HELP THE REST OF THE WORLD?
7. AS HEAD OF GOVERNMENT, IF SHARING OUR FOOD RESOURCES IN AMERICA COULD SAVE 10 MILLION STARVING PEOPLE, WOULD YOU DO IT? IF IT DOUBLED THE COST OF FOOD FOR AMERICANS SO THAT AN AVERAGE FAMILY OF FOUR HAD TO SPEND \$80 - \$100 PER WEEK ON FOOD?
8. WOULD YOU BE WILLING TO LOWER YOUR STANDARD OF LIVING IF BY DOING SO YOU KNEW THAT MORE OF THE WORLD'S STARVING PEOPLE COULD BE FED? WHAT DO YOU THINK A LOWER STANDARD OF LIVING WOULD MEAN FOR YOU AND YOUR FAMILY?
9. WHAT WILL YOU DO THIS WEEK AS AN INDIVIDUAL TO EASE THE WORLD'S FOOD CRISIS? WHAT WILL YOU DO THIS YEAR?

CHURCH LIFE, THE BI-MONTHLY JOURNAL OF THE EPISCOPAL DIOCESE OF OHIO LISTS POSSIBLE STRATEGIES TO COMBAT THE HUNGER PROBLEM INTERNATIONALLY AND AT HOME. WHAT DO YOU THINK OF EACH SUGGESTION?

- WORK TO ENCOURAGE LEGISLATION WHICH IS BASED NOT ON NARROW NATIONAL INTERESTS BUT ON THE GLOBAL NECESSITIES FACING ALL OF US.
- WORK FOR LEGISLATION WHICH LETS THE DEVELOPING NATIONS COMPETE WITH US AS EQUALS IN THE WORLD MARKET.
- WORK TO SUBSTITUTE "EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH" FOR "CONTINUOUS ECONOMIC GROWTH" IN THE DEVELOPMENT FORMULA.
- WORK FOR REDUCTION IN AUTOMOBILE USE, FOR THE PRODUCTION OF SMALLER CARS AND FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF MASS TRANSIT TO LOWER ENERGY USE.



- WORK FOR THE ENACTMENT OF LEGISLATION WHICH RESTRICTS THE USE OF WASTEFUL PACKAGING.
- WORK FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ADEQUATE INCOME MAINTENANCE PROGRAM AND A NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE PROGRAM.
- WORK TO EXPAND AID FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND REDUCE MILITARY SPENDING. (TO DEVELOP THE B-1 BOMBER, THE COST IS \$50 MILLION.)
- CAMPAIGN TO GET U.S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND FOOD FOR PEACE FUNDS SEPARATED FROM MILITARY FUNDS.
- SPEND TIME WRITING TO LEGISLATORS.
- GENERATE COMMUNITY FOOD CO-OPS AND COMMUNITY GARDENS.

CHURCH LIFE IN THE SAME ARTICLE LISTS THE FOLLOWING FACTS. WHICH OF THESE FACTS DO YOU THINK NEED MOST TO BE CHANGED? MAKE A PRIORITY LIST.

- 60% OF THE WORLD'S 2½ BILLION PEOPLE ARE ESTIMATED TO BE MALNOURISHED, PHYSICALLY UNDERDEVELOPED, AND POORLY EDUCATED.
- 20% OF THE WORLD'S PEOPLE ARE BELIEVED TO BE STARVING AT THIS MOMENT.
- TWO YEARS AGO THE PEOPLE IN UNDERDEVELOPED NATIONS WERE PAYING 80% OF THEIR INCOMES FOR FOOD. THE PRICE OF FOOD HAS TRIPLED IN THE LAST YEAR.
- THE WORLD OIL CRISIS THREATENS THE WORLD FERTILIZER SUPPLY AND RAISES PRICES HIGHER THAN THE MOST NEEDY NATIONS CAN AFFORD. IT IS ESTIMATED THAT AT PRESENT PRICES INDIA WILL HAVE TO SPEND 80% OF ITS EXPORT EARNINGS ON OIL ALONE.

#### ROLE-PLAYING SITUATIONS:

1. A BANGLADESH MOTHER IN A REFUGEE CAMP WITH THREE CHILDREN AND A STARVING BABY FOR WHOM SHE HAS NO MILK MEETS AN AID REPRESENTATIVE WHO HAS JUST LEARNED HIS FUNDS FOR RUNNING THE CAMP HAVE BEEN CUT BECAUSE OF DECREASED FOREIGN AID SPENDING AND INFLATION. "CAN YOU GIVE ME MORE MILK FOR MY BABY?" SHE SAYS.
2. AN AMERICAN POLITICIAN ON A FACT-FINDING TOUR MEETS A NOMAD IN A REFUGEE CAMP IN CHAD. "HOW ARE THINGS GOING?" HE SAYS.
3. A HIGH GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL OF IRAN MEETS A GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL ON THE U.S. "WE NEED MORE MILITARY EQUIPMENT," HE SAYS. "AND HOW'S YOUR OIL SUPPLY?"
4. INDIAN OFFICIALS MEET OFFICIALS OF THE U.S. "IF YOU CAN'T GIVE US MORE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, WE SHALL HAVE TO GO TO RUSSIA," THEY SAY.



# Sociology of Rural Life

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## Food and Community Life

### "Side Effects" of the Expanded Food and Nutrition Education Program

Charles E. Ramsey and Mary Cloyd

After its initial years, it was clear from a variety of evaluational studies that the Expanded Food and Nutrition Education Program (EFNEP) was:

- Increasing knowledge of nutritional principles, although there seemed to be a plateau of learning.
- Changing eating habits, making them more consistent with current notions of balanced and adequate diets.
- Producing more effective results when conducted on a face-to-face basis, compared with other methods.
- Varying in effectiveness according to only a few characteristics of individual participants, and according to only a few characteristics of program assistants.

With these overall results, it seemed clear that the program's major goal of nutrition education was being achieved. There remained, however, the question: What were the program's side effects? In the evaluation reported here, two types of side effects were studied—food related behavior and community-related behavior.

The strategy of this study was to measure a participant's position on these side effects at a particular time and measure it again a year later. During the interim, the program assistants were to work with families in the "usual" manner, with decisions on methods being a function of the program rather than research requirements.

#### In this issue: Sociological Evaluation of Nutrition Programs

A continuing need of social development is systematic evaluation of action programs, including the extent to which programs are reaching their intended goals and factors that may explain why goals are or are not being reached. The first two articles in this issue of **Sociology of Rural Life** report results of evaluations of two different phases of the Expanded Food and Nutrition Program (EFNEP) which has been a major effort of the Agricultural Extension Service program at county and university levels recently, in

cooperation with the U.S. Department of Agriculture. EFNEP is a coordinated effort to provide nutritional education to families, particularly through training paraprofessionals who work directly with participating clients. Another aspect of the program in recent years has been a youth phase, including an educational TV series on nutrition for children. EFNEP was implemented in Minnesota in 1969 and currently involves 15 organizational units in 26 counties and the Red Lake Indian Reservation.

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In all, 100 participants in the program were interviewed, and their responses were compared with similar data from 24 nonparticipants. The nonparticipant group was matched with the program participants on residence (rural vs. urban) and economic status. In both groups, mothers with one child between ages 2 and 14 were interviewed. An effort was made to conduct the first and second interview during the same week of the year.

This evaluation was based, not on a sample, but on all participants in EFNEP in certain counties. Interviews with state and district level Extension personnel were taped and transcribed to decide which side effects should be studied. Implicit in these interviews were value judgments about which direction of change would be desirable. For example, professional Extension personnel didn't say that diets (or alienation or knowledge of community resources) would "change," but rather that they would "improve." The pattern of the findings is consistent with these "expectations of improvement."

Table 1 lists the changes desired by Extension personnel and the corresponding findings.

Since the main thrust of factors outside the before-and-after study was firmly in the direction of unfavorable results, and the pattern of findings of our study was clearly in the direction of favorable results, we can conclude that EFNEP may be given a positive evaluation.

Much informal discussion is still going on about whether the structure of the Extension teaching method that involves paraprofessionals should be retained. This discussion usually implies a negative response. Such skepticism isn't unique to Extension. Teachers at first were highly negative about including teacher-aides in the schools, and nurses are still critical of paramedics. But to the extent that a negative conclusion is reached about program assistants in Extension teaching, that conclusion clearly contradicts the research on effectiveness.

Table 1. Summary of EFNEP evaluation

Desired by Extension personnel	Findings in this study
1. Define food more in terms of nutritional value.	1. Slight increase among participants, no change among nonparticipants.
2. Shop for several days supply of groceries at a time.	2. No change in either group.
3. Plan meals for several days at a time.	3. Participants increased, nonparticipants decreased meal planning.
4. Increase nutritional value of diet.	4. Participants increased, nonparticipants decreased.
5. Decrease feelings of powerlessness.	5. Increase among all, but less increase among participants.
6. Increase knowledge of and orientation toward solving problems through organized community resources.	6. Increase among all, but more among participants.
7. Increase participation.	7. Slight increase among those in EFNEP and sizable decrease in comparison group.

#### Food-related changes

The side effects thought to be most directly related to this educational program concern attitudes and behavior related to food, since these factors are expected to be the main focus of conversation between program assistants and the clientele.

Two questions were asked concerning how the respondents "think about food" and the criteria used in purchasing one food as opposed to another. In virtually every case, the respondents rated such words as nutrition, health, and energy as "extremely important." A slight tendency existed for participants to rate nutrition higher in the generalized definition at the second interview, but the change was very small.

It is thought that if meals are planned, people will make decisions less on the basis of impulse and momentary appetite and more on the basis of nutritional requirements. The findings indicate increasing meal planning among participants during the year, and a slight decrease among nonparticipants. The decrease among nonparticipants may be due to such factors as the wide publicity given rising food cost and scarcity.

When people buy food on a day-to-day basis, whims are more likely to enter into consumer choice. At both interviews, shopping for several days' food supply at a time was characteristic of both participants and nonparticipants. No change in either group was noted.

Do diets change as a result of participation in EFNEP? To find out, both participants and nonparticipants were given a diet recall for the 48 hours before the first and the second interview. It was given for both the mother and one child. A nutrition score was developed for each person both times, using the same technique.

A nutrition specialist coded the diet recalls. The coding was also done separately on each of six food groups: meat, bread and cereal, milk products, fruits and vegetables, vitamin C, and vitamin A. One point was scored for adequate intake in any one of these food groups. Thus, a person who had an adequate intake in all six food groups on both days would be given a score of 12. By adding the mother's score to the child's, a family score, ranging from 0 to 24, could be assigned.

Possibly due to the "common" over food scarcity and prices during the time of the second interview (winter, 1973-74), over 60 percent of the nonparticipants had lower nutrition scores at the second interview and only about 30 percent had higher scores. The trend was reversed among participants, however, with slightly more than 50 percent having higher scores the second time, and 42 percent having lower scores (see table 2).

Table 2. Change in diet recall

	Participants (100 cases)	Nonparticipants (42 cases)
Diets "improved"	52%	28.6%
Diets the same	42	9.5
Diets less adequate	42	61.9
Total	100%	100%

While many mothers changed their scores during the year, this was mostly due to changes in the diet of the child. The areas of inadequacy were more often in vitamin A, vitamin C, and fruits and vegetables. When the amount of change rather than the number and percentage of people changing is taken into account, the findings also favor the program. Participants were twice as likely as nonparticipants to increase their scores from the first interview to the second by at least three points (33 percent compared to 16 percent).

#### Community-related changes

Several factors anticipated in areas less directly related to food were sociological and sociopsychological involvement in the community.

One anticipated community-related side effect was a change in the feeling of powerlessness, sometimes called alienation. This is a person's view of ability to have some control over his or her destiny. The scale used to measure powerlessness and alienation focuses on situations dealing with the day-to-day ability to control life circumstances.

The scale consists of 13 items involving the circumstance control in the areas of family living, economics, political decision making, church, and school. One point was given for each response that expressed a feeling of powerlessness. For example, in the item, "We can do quite a bit in keeping prices from going higher," a point was given for a "disagree." In "Decisions about the school are made by a few people at the top, and there is not much the rest of us can do about it," a point was given for agreement.

By the second interview, several social conditions (inflation, the fuel shortage, and Watergate) led to the hypothesis that feelings of powerlessness would increase. However, it was thought that the ability of the program assistant to suggest sources of help in solving problems would lead to decreasing feelings of powerlessness.

The former hypothesis prevails with 42 percent of the participants and 45 percent of the nonparticipants experiencing an increase in their feelings of powerlessness during the year. In the other direction, 40 percent of the participants and 36 percent of the nonparticipants experienced a decrease in feelings of powerlessness.

Although the findings indicate that EFNEP lessened the effect of the general social conditions promoting feelings of alienation and powerlessness, the differences between participants and nonparticipants were small. Perhaps these feelings among the poor are so strong and widespread that more time and more direct effort is needed to change these feelings.

According to the literature on feelings of powerlessness, such feelings stem from the mass society and therefore would be found more among urban than rural groups. Our study supported this (see table 3).

As in the case of the food-related changes, the pattern here extends the conclusion that participation in EFNEP helps the poor resist factors in society at large that inhibit their reaching middle-class goals.

Table 3. Rural-urban comparisons of change in feelings of powerlessness

	Participants		Nonparticipants	
Feelings of powerlessness	Rural (69 cases)	Urban (30 cases)	Rural (31 cases)	Urban (11 cases)
Decreased	47.8%	23.3%	45.2%	9.1%
Stayed the same	14.5	23.3	22.6	9.1
Increased	37.7	53.3	32.3	81.8
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

A logical outgrowth of changes in feelings of alienation is a change in the method of problem solving. This variable was developed from a series of questions in which problems that might be experienced were mentioned.

We found participants were more inclined at the second interview to think of agencies and organizations such as welfare, schools, and other agencies in solving their problems than at the first interview. This was more true of program participants than of nonparticipants. Some increase occurred among the nonparticipants (39 percent increased their orientation in this direction compared to 51 percent of the participants), and the decrease likewise was less among the participants than among the nonparticipants. Possibly, this effect was due to the participants generalizing the usefulness of EFNEP to other

agencies. Doubtless, information about agencies is passed along in the process of conversation between client and program assistant.

If people's feelings of powerlessness in the face of agencies and institutional organizations decreased, and their orientation toward the use of formally organized community resources increased, it might logically be expected that the highest step in this orientation would be an increase in the actual activity in organizations. A scale to measure membership in civic and service organizations was administered at both interviews.

The data show that the EFNEP participants had a much lower membership rate than did the nonparticipants at the first interview. In the second interview, participants reported a 2 percent increase in membership during the year, compared with an 11.4 percent decrease for the nonparticipant group. It is possible that the fuel shortage brought about the decrease among those not in EFNEP, with the contrast indicating the ameliorating effect of the program.

#### Implications for Extension

Taken individually, the contrasts between participants and nonparticipants are not overwhelming. Rather, it is in the consistent build-up of differences between the two groups that an impressive accumulation of comparisons can be found. To appreciate the pattern, it is necessary to lay a groundwork for interpretation. One element of this groundwork is the many factors "outside" the study that seemed to work against the kinds of changes noted. The second element is a part of the research design introduced at the beginning of the study to determine what would be desirable and undesirable changes, independent of our values.

- Several factors might prevent desirable change:
1. The variables measured here reflect fundamental cultural patterns and are therefore difficult to change. Food and its associated factors are possibly as fundamental to ethnocentrism and cultural beliefs as any single factor in man's behavior. Many sociologists who have gone abroad have said: "You need not learn their language, but you must eat their food." In American culture and society, the voluntary association is also central. . . . Americans solve problems this way. Yet, the poor are reluctant either to join these associations or "take their problems to strangers."
  2. The design of EFNEP does not place either money or food in the hands of the poor; it is an education program depending on indirect effects.
  3. The teaching is done only by paraprofessionals, not professional nutritionists.
  4. We allowed only one year for change to occur, a long enough time for complete loss of anything like experimental control, but all-too-short for the expectation of significant change in such fundamental culture patterns.

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# Can ETV Programs Change Dietary Habits of Children?

—Only when there is organized support of the ETV program, according to a Minnesota study

Clarice N. Olien, George A. Donohue, and Phillip J. Tichenor

Encouraged by "Sesame Street" and "The Electric Company," parents and educators often look to dramatic programs on educational television (ETV) as a way of changing behavior to correspond with dominant standards of health and social attitudes. Just as "Sesame Street" may improve the preschooler's knowledge of vocabulary and the surrounding world, so might other creative programs be designed to accomplish other ends, such as improving knowledge about food and changing eating habits.

"Mulligan Stew" is a highly dramatized ETV series on nutrition for 9 to 11-year-olds. It is a national effort by the U.S. Department of Agriculture and land grant institutions, tied in with the Expanded Food and Nutrition Program of the Agricultural Extension Service.

The principal objective of "Mulligan Stew" is to create a situation in which young people will be better able to acquire and apply nutritional principles for healthful, productive, individual development. The series features five youngsters between 9 and 12 years old who confront and solve nutritional problems and related social adjustment problems of other persons, detective style. They "save" a pair of students whose improper eating had led to sluggishness, poor grades, and rejection by their former friends. They rebuff a conspiratorial food faddist who is attempting to persuade them and other youngsters that a "miracle diet" of pills will keep them healthy. They salvage the career of a race car driver by getting him to slim down enough to fit into his car. In dramatizing these episodes, the films employ a variety of cinematic techniques, including catchy, original slogans and songs that emphasize proper eating and which appeal to middle class values.

## An integrated program and systems evaluation

The series was designed as an integrated program to be broadcast on educational and commercial stations, with simultaneous group enrollment through schools or 4-H clubs. Supporting materials include a comic book version of the films, exercises, and a book of original songs about nutritional topics. The series was promoted and distributed by information specialists of state universities, county agents, TV program directors, 4-H leaders, and grade school teachers. Final outcomes, then, depended on a complex pattern of interrelationships among key groups, which are treated in the evaluation as distinct but interdependent subsystems.

These films were accepted by sponsoring groups and institutions in an atmosphere of high promise. Ten TV channels that broadcast in Minnesota aired the series in fall 1973 and more than 100,000 fourth through sixth grade Minnesota children enrolled in classes where teachers received supporting materials.

Evaluation of the series was based upon a social systems approach that goes beyond the more frequent method, which concentrates primarily on individual learning alone. The systems approach to evaluation is based on the principle that any program for modifying information, attitudes, or behavior depends to a great degree on how the program is developed, perceived, and delivered by groups and agencies. Therefore, the evaluation concentrated on:

- Expectations of audience reaction by groups involved in planning, distributing, and teaching with the films;
- The way schools organized the presentation of the programs and related materials; and
- Measures of results among young people exposed to the program, in terms of learning and change in eating habits.

## Expectations of other groups

To measure the expectations of audience reaction among the others involved in planning, distributing and teaching with the films, four groups were contacted. One was 37 specialists in nutrition research and extension in eight universities, chosen for their representation of the kind of experts who initially took part in planning and advising for the content of the series. The second group was eight university information specialists who organized promotion and scheduling of the series with TV stations and schools. The third was 11 midwestern TV program directors who previewed and scheduled the series for broadcasting, and the fourth was 17 teachers in schools where reaction of children to the series was studied.

All four of these groups were asked to estimate levels of student interest in the series. The information specialists made the most optimistic estimates (table 1) followed in order by TV representatives, nutritionists, and teachers. The nutritionists were only slightly less conservative in their estimates than the teachers, who were least optimistic. The high optimism expressed by the information specialists is consistent with the

Table 1. Estimates of student evaluations of "Mulligan Stew" by four groups of specialists

	University Teachers (N:17)	TV station information specialists (N:8)	repre- (N:10)	Nutri- tionists (N:37)	School children ratings (N:62)
Percent who estimate children would rate Mulligan Stew as more interesting than other TV programs	11.7%	87.5%	36.4%	16.2%	30.5%
Specialist-school difference	-18.8	+57.0	+5.9	-14.3	

fact that they were institutionally committed to the series and were involved in promoting and distributing it.

These groups were also asked to predict the reaction of the youth audience to the Mulligan Stew programs. The results indicated very little support for the hypothesis that teachers would give the most accurate estimates as a result of their specialized training and their being in a position to control certain aspects of audience reaction. Instead, the TV personnel gave the most accurate estimates of student interest in the programs, with nutritionists second most accurate, teachers third, and information specialists fourth.

It is not entirely clear why nutritionists, in spite of their remoteness from elementary school students, were more accurate than teachers. One possibility is that many of the nutritionists are college faculty members, a structural fact that maintains their awareness of the learning process.

## Evaluation among school children

Impact of the Mulligan Stew series was studied among a total of 1,006 children in grades 4, 5, and 6 in six different school conditions. These included:

- School A, a "control" school in which children were measured before and after the series but were not shown the films or any supporting material;
- School B, measured before and after, with the series on TV channels but without classroom supporting materials;
- School C, measured after the series only as a check on whether the "before" measure introduced an experimental effect;
- School D, a "moderate support" school with some in-class viewing; and
- Schools E and F, which were "high" support schools with regular in-class viewing and more than ten exercises per class.

School A was outside the area where the televised "Mulligan Stew" could be received. For schools B through F the series was broadcast on Saturday mornings, Thursday evenings, and Monday afternoons on TV channels, October 6 through November 11, 1973. Project staff members pretested students in their classrooms the week before the series began and post-tested them within three weeks after the series ended. Both questionnaires, in large primer type, measured nutritional knowledge and nutritional behavior (food eaten yesterday). The post-test also measured interest in the films.

Although the schools varied somewhat in proportion of children from rural and farm homes, reports of total TV viewing time varied little from one school to another. The children reported an average of more than five hours of viewing each weekday and more than six hours for Saturday.

There were, however, sharp differences in "Mulligan Stew" viewing, according to how the series was structured within the schools. In school B, which had before-after control without classroom support but with at-home viewing possible, only two percent watched four or more of the six Mulligan Stew programs. In school C, the after-only school without in-school viewing, only 14.3 percent viewed four programs or more. However, in schools E and F, with highly organized use of videotapes and supporting materials, more than 97 percent saw four or more of the six films. In school D, where the school's videotape broke down after the first program, less than 40 percent of the children saw four films or more.

Students in school D gave higher evaluation ratings to Mulligan Stew than in any other school. In spite of the videotape failure and lower level of viewing, these students apparently reacted as though they were missing something good. Initially, teachers in school D were highly enthusiastic about

the series and their classroom walls were heavily adorned with Mulligan Stew posters throughout the study period. But the enthusiasm of both teachers and students, without adequate organization, did not carry over into home viewing. Enthusiasm alone was not enough; the goal-directed organization of schools E and F resulted in higher levels of viewing, in spite of the fact that these students didn't evaluate the series as highly as those of school D.

On the other hand, there was strong evidence indicating that the more the school environment is organized to support the Mulligan Stew program, the more the youth audience will learn from it and the more likely they are to change their diets as a result. The effect of organizational support is most clear in schools E and F, where the most exercises were used. In each school, only 1.4 percent were able, before seeing the series, to state the number of servings required daily in the four basic food groups (table 2). On the test after the series, 72.9 percent in school E and 81.7 percent in F gave correct answers. By comparison, under 7 percent gave correct answers following the series in schools A and B where there was little or no organizational effort.

Table 2. Knowledge and diet change before and after "Mulligan Stew"

	School A only control (N:190)	School B broadcast moderate support (N:148)	School D high school only support (N:143)	School E high school only support (N:140)	School F high school only support (N:214)
Knowledge change, % knowing balanced diet (4-4-3-2) idea					
Before	3.2%	4.7%	2.8%	1.4%	1.4%
After	5.8	6.9	72.7	72.9	81.7
Change	+2.6	+2.1	+69.9	+71.5	+80.3
Diet change, % eating balanced diet yesterday					
Before	49.7	43.3	30.9	39.6	44.6
After	48.2	32.9	39.6	53.2	56.6
Change	-1.5	-10.4	+8.7	+13.6	+11.0

Also, children in the high support schools (with regular in-class viewing) changed in diet. In E and F, fewer than half of the children reported balanced diets before the series. Afterward, majorities in both schools reported balanced diets. In none of the other schools were changes in diet significant statistically.

Learning was not related to such individual characteristics of students as age, parental occupation, interest in the program, or evaluations of Mulligan Stew actors.

These findings lend considerable strength to the use of a structural model for analysis of information and knowledge control. To the extent that knowledge is produced, packaged, and delivered through institutions that are mutually reinforcing and in control of audience attention and expectations, there is a greater likelihood of learning and behavioral change. It was neither classroom exercises nor the films, alone or in isolated combination that produced the change. It was both factors, interacting as parts of an organized whole that led to observed outcomes. Production and delivery of the films by one educational organization (Extension Service) to media organization (TV stations) and a decision by another educational organization (schools) to use videotape replays are key factors. Together, they create an organizational environmental conducive to teacher use of supporting materials and student learning.

ETV content alone may fall far short of producing conditions necessary for the type of change seen here. For change to occur, it appears there must be reinforcement at the point

Continued on page 8



# High Environmental Knowledge Leads to Moderate Attitudes Among High School Students

Charles E. Ramsey and Roy E. Rickson

There is a widespread assumption that pollution abatement will be enhanced by public knowledge of ecology and public attitudes favorable to ecological programs. Social movements in general and the environmental movement in particular are based on the premise that public education results in support for the aims of the movement. Traditionally, education has been thought to be a necessary condition of democracy.

In its simplest form, the pervasive model on which these statements are based appears to be: increased knowledge leads to favorable attitudes toward pollution abatement which in turn leads to action promoting better environmental quality.

There is increasing recognition in the literature that not all knowledge will lead automatically and quickly to attitudes and behavior favorable to pollution abatement. It has been pointed out that attitudes and values must take time to develop, and that the manner in which ecological material is presented makes a difference. Nevertheless the general assumption is highly plausible, that literacy in ecological and ecological concepts is basic to defining, reclaiming, and maintaining environmental quality. However, the results of education are variable, sometimes resulting in little or no change.

## The research problem

In this study, we investigated the relationship between attitudes and knowledge relevant to environmental issues. We offer the proposition that not all knowledge offered the public within the environmental context leads to favorable attitudes towards programs of pollution abatement. Research on this proposition is extremely important because of the extent to which the "knowledge of trade-off costs" in environmental programs has been discussed.

At one extreme are those citizens who neither know anything about the environment nor have any attitudes about solutions to problems. One view regarding this faction is that public apathy is actually functional in a democracy because it allows flexibility for leaders to make decisions without experiencing an immediate, critical response on every decision made.

There is a second inactive group which may be identified as indifferent but trusting. Chester I. Barnard indicated that there is a wide area of decision making in which subordinates assume that superiors subscribe to the goals of the organization and therefore should be left free to make the best decision regarding how those goals may be achieved. This phenomenon is not apathy, but rather trust. Presumably, the same concept

can be applied to voluntary associations or social movements and to the nation generally. In the present context, people would trust our leadership to work out environmental programs that minimize trade-off costs.

At the opposite extreme, are persons who have a high degree of knowledge and activist-oriented attitudes as well as a commitment of personal resources toward some issue. Whether the attitudes lead to increased knowledge or the other way around is not clear, but probably the two variables interplay: elementary knowledge leads to attitudes which in turn motivate one to learn more and so on. Extreme attitudes are those which may lead to activist behavior during the early history of a social movement. This type of attitude may be termed "passionate interest." Thus we distinguish the passionately interested from those who favor cleaning up the environment but would not commit their own resources (except perhaps through taxes or donations) to clean-up programs. The passionately interested would comprise those who make a heavy and direct commitment of resources to a particular program including time, money, energy, letter writing, and active participation in voluntary associations aimed at resolving a particular issue. We shall also refer to those who are passionately *against* clean-up programs in terms of the top priority given to trade-off costs.

In our research, we have separately measured favorability and passionate interest. This involves separating the moderate from the extreme position in the opposite direction, namely, the degree to which trade-off costs are given priority.

Also, we classified knowledge according to the bearing it has on attitudes and behavior. We thus distinguish knowledge of the extent and causes of various types of pollution (ecological knowledge), and knowledge of trade-off costs (trade-off knowledge). The two types of knowledge were measured independently, with five items each.

We also measured the following:

1. **Resignation:** Items in this category reflect a concern for problems of air and water pollution but indicate approval for solutions only when trade-off costs are minimized.
2. **Trade-off priority:** These items incorporate militant statements against pollution abatement programs because of trade-off costs.

We hypothesized that ecological knowledge would be correlated positively with passionate interest and favorability. Likewise, we expected greater knowledge of trade-off costs to lead to more resignation and trade-off priority.

## Persons studied

The respondents in this study were 482 high school seniors from three schools.

One school was in a small rural community in central Minnesota, one in a relatively affluent suburb, and one in the inner city in Minneapolis. Since the schools did not differ in responses to our knowledge and attitude questions, we grouped them together for analysis.

Each knowledge and attitude scale was composed of one question about each of the following problem areas:

- Air pollution resulting from automobile exhausts.
- Pollution problems resulting from the population explosion.
- The industrial wastes resulting from industrial dumping in Lake Superior.
- The spillage of oil and its destruction of oxygen-producing plankton in the ocean.
- Increased leukemia and bone cancer resulting from wastes of atomic power plants flowing downstream.

Trade-off knowledge and attitudes were presented for each area of the following: the costs of cleaning up exhausts; families' rights to have children; unemployment threatened from closing of industries that dump wastes in Lake Superior; need for importing oil; and increased electric bills from avoiding atomic wastes.

All of the seniors in each of three schools were given the questionnaire at a single period in a large room. The response rate was over 98 percent.

In measuring knowledge, we assumed that mere awareness of a certain "fact" believed by some, is not sufficient for our problem, but rather acceptance of that fact by the respondent is the critical level of knowledge. Persons high on ecological concepts tended also to be high on knowledge of trade-off costs.

The four types of attitudes measured in this study were also interrelated. For example, persons favorable toward clean-up programs were likely to give a high priority to trade-off costs and were unlikely to be resigned to pollution. Also the findings lead to these conclusions:

1. If respondents are passionately interested in abatement programs in some areas of pollution, they are likely to favor abatement programs in other areas.
2. If students are favorable to pollution abatement programs which consider trade-off costs in most areas, they are more likely to subscribe to unequalized support for clean-up programs in other areas and are less likely to be resigned to pollution because of trade-off costs.
3. If students are resigned to some types of pollution because of trade-off costs, they are more likely to give top priority to trade-off costs in other areas, and less likely to be passionately interested in some types of abatement programs.

## Knowledge and attitudes

The central question in this investigation stems from the widely held position that knowledge and education lead to attitudes which foster action aimed at the solution of problems. There is a circularity between attitudes and knowledge in that one does not solely cause or even precede the other, but rather some knowledge may lead to initial formation of attitudes which in turn lead to further gains in knowledge and so on.

The relationships we find between the two knowledge scales and the four attitudes scales form a clear pattern.

Among these students, increased knowledge of ecological concepts as to the nature and causes of pollution is associated with the more moderate position on pollution abatement and

to a lesser extent to passionate interest in unequalized control of pollution. Likewise, a greater degree of knowledge concerning trade-off costs is associated with the giving of high priority to these trade-off costs.

Also, students who are highly knowledgeable about trade-off costs are much more likely to be resigned to pollution than they are to assign a high priority to trade-off costs.

Perhaps the most significant finding is that knowledge of either type is likely to lead to moderate rather than extreme positions on both pollution abatement and consideration of trade-off costs. Knowledge of ecological concepts seems to lead to positive attitudes toward pollution abatement measures more than to passionate interest in unequalized pollution control.

## Knowledge, attitudes and social factors

Although the relationships between knowledge and moderate attitudes are substantial, there are other factors involved as well. Students with higher grades were likely to attack pollution in such a way as to minimize trade-off costs, or were inclined to prevent pollution only when trade-off costs could be minimized. Grades were not related to the extreme position in either direction, just as knowledge was not associated with extreme attitudes. However, residence, father's occupation, family income, and parental education were not related to knowledge or attitudes.

## Knowledge, attitudes and social movements

Proponents of either side, passionate environmentalists or those committed to economic growth at all costs, might be somewhat disappointed with these findings. The findings should be of interest, however, to educators concerned with the impact of knowledge on their students' attitudes. Knowledge appears to lead to moderation.

These data should draw the attention of social scientists concerned with the history of social movements and the role of the public in policy formation. This study supports one central notion in the theory of popular movements, and suggests one explanatory factor. The notion is that as movements continue through time, ends and means become increasingly moderated. One factor explaining this moderation is the necessity of dealing with problems which, in American society, are met by bureaucratic solutions. Some examples are making programs explicit, translating them into law, and developing specialized roles within the organization.

Another factor which explains the moderating tendency is the necessity of offering programs that will elicit wide popular support for purposes of public legitimization. We would add that the diffusion of knowledge of all sides of an issue is a moderating influence. Ironically, it is the early efforts of groups taking extreme positions which foster knowledge diffusion that may attract public interest and identify problems. It is probably the conflict between two opposing groups that brings public exposure to knowledge of all sides.

But regardless of the broader implications, our study supports the notion of a relationship between knowledge of attitudes toward environmental issues. The findings also indicate a more complex situation than that of a straight line relationship. Such a straight line relationship would suggest that the more a person knows about environmental issues the more likely he or she is to give unequalized support to the immediate abatement of pollution. Neither does the acceptance of statements concerning trade-off costs lead to militant opposition to abatement programs, nor to denial of the existence of pollution problems.

The nature of the relationship between knowledge and attitudes is affected, we suspect, by the stage at which a social movement is found to be. We find that knowledge is more associated with moderation among youth who have been exposed to educational material in school, from mass media, and from family and friends. But we have been uniformly impressed with the knowledge levels of the main proponents (and antagonists) in the environmental movement. Although this last impression is not based on research, the degree to which each of the present writers have heard facts and principles cited by those passionately interested in the issues of the environment is impressive. We suggest, then, that the moderation hypothesis applies to the stages of a social movement at the time education is used for a broader-based legitimization. But we must qualify that suggestion by encouraging further research on the hypothesis among adult respondents.

Education is often distinguished from propaganda on the grounds that the latter is one-sided. It is, of course, doubtful whether educational programs really give equal weight to ecology and trade-off costs. It is highly probable that experts will emphasize their area of expertise: mass media will emphasize the latest and most newsworthy aspect of social issues, and the parents of youth will emphasize that aspect which is closest to their experience and ideological leaning. But insofar as educational programs de-emphasize knowledge bearing only upon one side of an issue (because of fear of promoting opposition) our findings are comforting to educators who make this distinction between education and propaganda.

*Charles E. Ramsey, formerly a member of the Rural Sociology faculty at the University of Minnesota, is chairman of the Sociology Department at the University of Texas at Arlington. Roy E. Rickson, formerly a rural sociologist at the University of Minnesota, is on the faculty of Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia.*

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and Home Economics  
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St. Paul, Minnesota 55108

## Programs Change *Continued from page 5*

of information delivery. For example, without extensive organizational effort, the family may be ill prepared to provide such reinforcement particularly when brothers and sisters are competing for the TV set. In schools C and D, 48 and 38 percent, respectively, said there were times when they "wanted to watch Mulligan Stew but couldn't, because someone wanted to watch something else."

### Implications

The foremost implication of this study is that organization is the key to success of such a complex program; enthusiasm for the program among staff and participants may be neither sufficient nor necessary.

Such importance of organizational effort may be illustrated in community planning, where great attention is often paid to development of plans without considering the system by which they are implemented. For example, the "comprehensive plans" prepared in recent years under the Department of Housing and Urban Development 701 program, were often "put on the shelves" after being delivered to county commissioners.

Producing and delivering a program such as the one on nutrition involves a series of steps and necessary conditions that must be met. Coordination among the professionals who produce and distribute such a program is an early and necessary step, but not one sufficient for success. Acceptance of the program by such agencies as TV stations, schools and/or 4-H clubs are further necessary steps. If the decision were to work with 4-H clubs, instead of schools, the study nevertheless indicates that much coordination is required to ensure that young people see the films and relate the content to other project activity. Finally, keeping the program under intensive control when the audience is exposed to it is the final step for meeting the objectives of the program. Such crucial steps may be identified in a wide variety of programs that involve a complex series of activities and decisions by a number of cooperating groups and agencies.

*Clarice N. Olien is an associate professor and extension sociologist; George A. Donohue is a professor of sociology; and Phillip J. Tichenor is a professor of journalism and mass communication, all at the University of Minnesota.*

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# GOVERNOR'S CONFERENCE ON FOOD AND NUTRITION

November 17 and 18 at the St. Paul Civic Center

Fellow Minnesotans,

In recent years, consumers, as well as policy makers, have demonstrated a growing interest in food and nutrition as it affects the health and well being of Americans. The Minnesota Governor's Conference on Food and Nutrition is a response to these concerns. The Conference will bring together and provide a public forum for farmers, processors, distributors and consumers of food supplies as well as government agency staff and other professionals and experts in the area of food and nutrition to discuss the impact of current and potential programs and policies. The Conference will work toward the following objectives:

1. To promote interaction, debate and public education about current issues in food and nutrition.
2. To work toward the development of state food and nutrition guidelines that promote good health.
3. To propose ways to implement state food and nutrition guidelines.
4. To recommend to the Governor and the Legislature specific actions that Minnesota could take with regard to food and nutrition.

I strongly urge all concerned Minnesotans to attend this Conference and become personally involved in issues and policies that affect all of us.



Rudy Perpich  
Governor

## CONFERENCE HIGHLIGHTS

Keynote speeches by Commissioner of Agriculture, Bill Walker and Dr. Johanna Dwyer, Director of the Frances Stern Nutrition Center, New England Medical Center Hospital.

Public hearings conducted by the State Senate Subcommittee on Nutrition.

Debate on the health and economic implications of the proposed "Dietary Goals for Americans".

Special workshops on energy and world food problems.

Over 40 workshops covering land and water use, food production, food processing, distribution, consumer issues, and government policy.

## CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

### November 17

- 8:00- 9:30 Registration
- 9:30-11:30 Opening Session Keynote: Bill Walker, Commissioner of Agriculture
- 11:00-12:30 Workshop sessions
- 12:30- 2:00 Lunch
- 1:00- 1:45 Workshop Summary Reports
- 2:00- 3:30 Workshop sessions
- 4:00- 5:30 Workshop sessions
- 5:30- 8:00 Dinner
- 5:30- 6:15 Workshop Summary Reports
- 8:00- 9:30 Debate: Proposed US Dietary Goals— Their Health and Economic Implications

### November 18

- 8:00- 8:30 Registration
- 8:30-10:00 Workshop sessions
- 10:30-11:30 Keynote: Johanna Dwyer, Nutritionist, Frances Stern Nutrition Center, New England Medical Center Hospital
- 11:30- 1:00 Lunch
- 12:00-12:45 Workshop Summary Reports
- 1:00- 2:30 Workshop sessions
- 3:00- 4:30 Workshop sessions
- 4:45- 5:30 Conference Follow-up
- 5:30- 6:15 Workshop Summary Reports

## REGISTRATION

Fill in the registration form below. Be sure to check the appropriate fee boxes. Clip on the dotted line and mail along with your check payable to the Governor's Conference on Food and Nutrition, to: Governor's Conference, 690 American Center Building, 160 E. Kellogg, St. Paul, Minnesota, 55101.

Meat and vegetarian box lunches will be available for a nominal price. Lunch tickets may be purchased at the registration desk. Parking is available at the St. Paul Civic Center Ramp.

### REGISTRATION FORM GOVERNOR'S CONFERENCE ON FOOD AND NUTRITION

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☐ Both Days

☐ Friday Only

☐ Saturday Only

☐ General Registration Fee - \$10

☐ One Day Only - \$6

☐ Age 62 or over, two days - \$6

☐ Age 62 or over, one day - \$3

☐ Age 18 or under, two days - \$6

☐ Age 18 or under, one day - \$3

# RETAIL FOOD PRICES IN SELECTED WORLD CAPITALS

MAY 1, 1979  
(U.S. Dollars)

	Selected Market Basket	Bern	Bonn	Buenos Aires	Canberra	Mexico City	Paris	Ottawa	Stockholm	Tokyo	Mpls.- St. Paul
Chuck Roast, Boneless	2.5 lbs.	\$10.55	\$7.70	\$2.95	\$4.90	\$4.28	\$9.65	\$4.63	\$9.70	\$23.05	\$4.98
Pork Chops	1.5 lbs.	5.73	3.48	2.19	3.47	2.25	3.57	2.91	4.64	6.54	3.44
Roast Pork, Boneless	2.0 lbs.	11.86	5.64	4.78	4.18	3.66	5.46	3.28	10.86	7.74	4.78
Bacon, Sliced, Pkgd.	1.0 lbs.	2.90	4.75	2.45	3.10	1.72	4.41	1.66	3.07	3.60	1.69
Broilers, Whole	3.25 lbs.	4.78	4.06	3.25	2.96	2.89	7.57	3.41	6.14	5.10	2.57
Eggs (Dozen)	1 doz.	2.03	1.67	1.33	1.08	.67	1.60	.98	1.38	.95	.69
Butter	1.0 lb.	3.56	2.12	2.39	.98	1.63	2.02	1.28	1.54	2.71	1.69
Margarine	1.0 lb.	1.37	.93	1.75	.92	.85	.86	1.11	1.18	1.19	.79
Cheese, Cheddar	2.0 lbs.	N.A.	4.76	8.28	2.74	6.74	5.06	4.08	5.66	4.48	3.98
Milk, Whole (Gallon)	1 gal.	2.88	1.96	2.56	1.72	1.04	1.96	2.04	1.76	3.54	1.84
Tomatoes	1.5 lbs.	1.82	1.44	1.19	.65	.42	1.79	1.04	3.48	1.40	1.19
Onions, Yellow	2.0 lbs.	.52	.52	.54	.52	.20	.52	.34	1.28	.84	.98
Potatoes	5.0 lbs.	1.20	.80	1.20	N.A.	.85	.75	.55	1.45	2.15	1.30
Apples	3.0 lbs.	1.50	1.77	1.89	.99	1.05	1.71	1.80	2.79	2.40	2.07
Oranges	3.0 lbs.	1.17	1.53	1.65	1.65	.30	1.50	1.47	1.53	5.22	1.47
Bread, White, Pkgd.	1.0 lb.	.85	.40	.49	.44	.26	1.06	.27	.97	.57	.54
Rice	2.0 lbs.	1.06	1.50	1.38	.82	.50	.94	1.48	1.64	1.28	.66
Sugar	5.0 lbs.	1.40	1.75	2.10	.95	.60	1.65	1.05	2.15	2.40	1.40
Coffee: Ground, Roasted	1.0 lb.	3.37	4.50	3.75	7.99	1.65	3.20	3.09	3.04	5.96	3.59
<u>Total Cost</u>		\$58.55	\$51.28	\$46.12	\$40.06	\$31.56	\$55.28	\$36.37	\$64.81	\$81.14	\$39.65

Compiled by Minnesota Department of Agriculture



# RETAIL FOOD PRICES IN SELECTED WORLD CAPITALS<sup>1</sup>

MAY 1, 1979

(U.S. dollars per lb. or unit as indicated)

	Bern	Bonn	Buenos Aires	Canberra	Mexico City	Paris	Ottawa	Stockholm	Tokyo	Mpls. - St. Paul
Chuck Roast, Boneless	\$4.22	\$3.08	\$1.18	\$1.76	\$1.71	\$3.86	\$1.85	\$3.88	\$9.22	\$1.99
Pork Chops	3.82	2.32	1.46	2.31	1.50	2.38	1.94	3.09	4.36	2.29
Roast Pork, Boneless	5.93	2.82	2.39	2.09	1.83	2.73	1.64	5.43	3.87	2.39
Bacon, Sliced, Pkgd.	2.90	4.75	2.45	3.10	1.72	4.41	1.66	3.07	3.60	1.69
Broilers, Whole	1.47	1.25	1.00	.91	.89	2.33	1.05	1.84	1.57	.79
Eggs (Dozen)	2.03	1.67	1.33	1.08	.67	1.60	.88	1.88	.95	.69
Butter	3.56	2.12	2.39	.98	1.63	2.02	1.28	1.54	2.71	1.69
Margarine	1.37	.93	1.75	.92	.85	.86	1.11	1.18	1.19	.79
Cheese, Cheddar	N.A.	2.38	4.14	1.37	3.37	2.53	2.04	2.83	2.24	1.99
Milk, Whole (Gallon)	2.88	1.96	2.56	1.72	1.04	1.96	2.04	1.76	3.54	1.84
Tomatoes	1.21	.96	.79	.43	.28	1.19	.69	2.32	.93	.79
Onions, Yellow	.26	.26	.27	.26	.10	.26	.17	.64	.42	.49
Potatoes	.24	.16	.24	N.A.	.17	.15	.11	.24	.43	.26
Apples	.50	.59	.63	.33	.35	.57	.60	.93	.80	.69
Oranges	.39	.51	.55	.55	.10	.57	.49	.51	1.74	.49
Bread: White, Pkgd.	.85	.40	.49	.44	.26	1.06	.27	.97	.57	.54
Rice	.53	.75	.69	.41	.25	.47	.74	.82	.64	.33
Sugar	.28	.35	.42	.19	.12	.33	.21	.43	.48	.28
Coffee: Ground, Roasted	3.37	4.50	3.75	7.99	1.65	3.20	3.09	3.04	5.96	3.59

<sup>1</sup> Data Source: Foreign Agriculture, U. S. Department of Agriculture - Foreign Agricultural Service, June of 1979

# Efforts by developed nations to feed poor ones called a failure

Associated Press

Washington, D.C.

Efforts by developed nations to help poor ones feed themselves "have largely failed" and in some cases have caused harm, a presidential hunger panel was told Tuesday.

Simon, in a paper presented to a subcommittee of the Presidential Commission on World Hunger, argued that few programs "have effectively reached into the village" in poor countries, and urged independent examinations of development and food aid programs.



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