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THE WAR AGAINST HUNGER

LEE H. HAMILTON*

Hunger threatens world order. This simple but horrible fact has vast implications for Americans. If world order is not maintained, economic development will crumble, violence will erupt, and our quest for a peaceful world will fail.

The goals we seek in the world—peace, justice and economic growth—will elude us if we fail to win the race between food and population. It is a race, then, that simply must be won.

The importance of this challenge was stated by President Eisenhower in this way: "The degree of our sacrifice in feeding the hungry is the degree of our understanding of the world today."

Nations have a compelling concern to alleviate hunger, and the United States, with about half of the world's wealth and a standard of income without parallel in the history of the world, must accept a leadership role in seeing that people do not want for food.

This is the day when we are working on a supersonic transport to fly between New York and Paris in two hours, when soon a man will set his foot upon the moon, and when a surgeon can cut into a man's chest, take out his heart, put it into another man's chest, and make it function effectively.

In such a day it is an irony of tragic proportions that we cannot feed ourselves. Surely the first responsibility of the family of man is to provide food for its members.

THE MAGNITUDE OF THE TASK

The task is a frightfully difficult one because population explodes and food production lags.

Nearly 10,000 of the world's population die each day from undernutrition and malnutrition. No one really knows how many hungry people there are in the world. Studies indicate that from one-half to two-thirds of the world's present population is seriously underfed, or malnourished often to the point of starvation.

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The Indian diet, for example, has prompted the observation, "It is too much to let you die quickly; it is too little to let you live long."

Hunger, of course, is not a new problem to the world. A historian has written, "If man does not live by bread alone, the history of man is in a sense the history of his struggle for daily bread."

Hunger has been a major factor in man's historical migrations. America itself was, to some extent, a result of European food shortages. Such calamities as the Irish potato famine caused thousands of the Irish to come to this country.

Even a half century ago, President Wilson in a prophetic address on November 11, 1918, recognized that hunger had vast ramifications for the world when he said to the Congress, "Hunger does not breed reform, it breeds madness and all the ugly distempers that make an ordinary life impossible."

Although hunger has always been, two factors intensify the problem. More people are hungry but they are no longer resigned to hunger. They know that life can be better and something can be done. They know that the human race is capable of feeding itself. They know that for the first time in history man possesses the knowledge and the skill to relieve their suffering and that the land can be made to produce more.

Population Increase: A large part of the hunger problem is the sheer number of people. If present population trends continue, by the year 2000 there will have been more people born since 1950 than since the beginning of human history. The projected increase in population in Asia alone during the second half of the 20th century is as great as the population of the world in 1958.

It took the human race from the Garden of Eden to 1830 to reach one billion. In another 100 years there were two billion persons. Then, it took only 30 years to reach 3 billion. By the end of the century the population of the globe will reach 7 billion, double its present size. What required thousands of years to achieve will be duplicated in 30 years. With a net world population increase of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 percent each year, the world's population doubles in less than 35 years.

The world's present rate of population increase is fantastic—500 million a year, 140 thousand every day, three babies born in the world every second.

The world's current population growth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 percent a year is so high it faces the human race with disaster in the next century unless it is lowered.

Rate of Food Production: Another part of the hunger problem is that the food supply is not keeping up with population growth.

As a result, on a world-wide basis, per capita food production has decreased even though total food production has increased.

Man has usually been able to feed himself. There have been times of famine and losses from the upward trend of both population and food production. But on a global basis man usually has been able to produce more than he needs to survive. There have been and still are imbalances in distribution but the overall supply was more than sufficient to fill demand.

This is no longer true. The world's population is rising faster than our ability to feed ourselves.

In his 1967 State of the Union Address, President Johnson said: "Next to the pursuit of peace the really greatest challenge to the human family is the race between food supply and population increase. That race tonight is being lost."

The Director-General of the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations has stated:

Food production had failed to increase in 1965 in the world as a whole while in the developing regions it has declined. This set-back has been followed by some recovery of production in 1966. The recovery, however, has been largely confined to the developed regions. In the developing regions food production is estimated to have increased by little more than 1 per cent in 1966. And in both Africa and Latin America, where there was no increase in 1965, food production decreased in 1966.

These two bad seasons have, for the time being, wiped out what little progress in our per capita food production had been achieved in the developing countries in the previous decade. The ground lost cannot be regained easily, for it would take an increase of at least 7 per cent in their food production if the 1964 per capita level were to be regained in 1967.

Food output per person showed progress in the decade immediately after World War II, but in recent years, it has leveled off. Moreover, projections suggest a sharp decline in food production per capita in the future unless food production is accelerated or population growth decreased, or both.

Prior to World War II, the less developed countries were, on the whole, major food exporters. This is no longer true. Since the end of the war their exports of food have decreased and in 1966 they had a food grain deficit on the order of 16 million tons. This deficit will reach 42 million tons by 1975 and 88 million tons by 1985.

An important recent change in the world food situation has been

the rapid disappearance of surplus food inventories, especially grain stocks, and today there is no longer a readily available reserve of grain in the world.

Inadequate food production in the less developed countries is only part of the more fundamental difficulty, which is lagging economic development.

The trend of food production, then, is clearly running in the wrong direction and unless it and the rate of population increase are reversed, ominous results will follow. Secretary of Agriculture Freeman states that if this problem is not solved, “. . . the world of the year 2000 will be a grim, sullen, hate-filled planet, tottering on the brink of self-destruction . . . if indeed it hasn't blown itself up long before it reaches the turn of the century.”

Results of Hunger: The results of hunger are malnutrition, unrest, violence.

Two-thirds of the world's people live in chronically hungry and malnourished nations and over 70 percent of the children, age one through six, suffer from inadequate diets, especially diets with inadequate proteins, making them easy prey to diseases that would be relatively harmless if they were well-nourished. The average Indian, for example, consumes about 2,400 primary calories a day, compared with the equivalent of about 11,000 a day for the protein-rich American daily diet.

Measles and chicken pox may keep a child home a week or two from school in this country, but in the developing countries a mother having a malnourished child with one of these diseases can usually expect the child to die. These deaths are not usually attributed to hunger, but because these malnourished children simply do not have the defenses that a well-nourished child has to fight off infections, they are vulnerable.

Malnutrition impairs both physical and intellectual development. Iodine deficiencies may result in the form of mental retardation known as cretinism. Rickets, a deficiency of vitamin D or calcium, or both, can leave a person crippled, deformed and even blind. The apathy and lethargy of many populations is frequently nothing more than a manifestation of inadequate energy from inadequate nutrition.

A chronically hungry man is not a whole man. He cannot work effectively. He cannot study and learn to improve his conditions. He cannot think beyond his immediate needs. He cannot build up resistance to disease.

The human suffering that accompanies hunger is tragic enough, but it is only a part of the tragedy of hunger. Hunger also results in violence.

In January, 1958, there existed 23 continuing and prolonged violent clashes around the world. By 1966 there were 40. Significantly, the total number of outbreaks of violence has increased every year. There is a direct relationship between the outbreaks of violence and the economic well-being of the countries involved; and a sure connection between poverty and hunger, on the one hand, and the frequency of violence and unrest in the world. Since 1958 in the rich nations of the world only 1 of 27 nations has suffered a major upheaval on its own territory. On the other end of the economic scale, among the 38 very poor nations, no less than 32 have suffered significant conflicts. Since 1958 then, 87 percent of the very poor, very hungry, poverty-stricken nations have suffered violence.

This makes clear an irrefutable relationship between hunger and unrest.

Where there is hunger, there will be unrest. Where there is unrest, there will be instability. And where there is instability, there is a threat to the peace of the world.

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE

Efforts to deal with the hunger of the world have been extensive in recent years. The United States and other countries have made vast grants and concessional sales of millions of tons of food and fiber and have sent technicians and know-how abroad. Individuals and private groups have been active and generous, and few problems have concerned the international community more than hunger. Despite all these efforts, more fully described in the paragraphs that follow, the task remains more ominous than ever.

Studies: Two excellent and recent studies furnish the basis for broader understanding of the challenge and indicate the direction our efforts must follow.

The most significant study is entitled "WORLD FOOD PROBLEM", by a panel on World Food Supply of the President's Science Advisory Committee. This panel assessed the requirements necessary to solve the world food problem and made specific recommendations for action on the part of both developed and developing countries.

The panel of experts believes that the world food problem can be solved, provided urgent measures are taken within the next two decades. They emphasize that increases in food production must occur within the developing countries themselves and food aid from donor nations should be conditioned on self-help requirements, and administered to require maximum incentives in the developing countries to increase their own production.

The panel acknowledges that direct food aid will be required for some years to come, but points out that expansion of grants and concessional sales is not in the best interests of either donor or recipient nation, over the long term.

Another significant study, issued in August of 1967 by the Department of Agriculture, analyzes the trends in food production and consumption and outlines food policy requirements for the years ahead. This study concludes that, under any of several assumptions regarding the rate of growth and development in the hungry nations in the years ahead, by 1980 the world as a whole can have a productive capacity greater than that needed to meet world-wide demands for food. However, the report does not imply that the war against hunger is being won. Rather, it emphasizes the necessity of greater urgency in mobilizing to fight the war. If this is done, it concludes, the ever increasing world-wide demand for food can be met.

These studies are enormously important contributions to the war on hunger and provide a blueprint for effective action.

Scientific Research: Scientific breakthroughs are occurring with gratifying regularity, enhancing the possibilities of success in the war on hunger. Lack of sufficient protein in the diets of many people has been a major reason for malnutrition. The lack of protein in food has been estimated to cause premature deaths of as high as 40 percent of all children born in some areas of the world. Calories alone in a diet are not sufficient; there must also be essential tissue-building proteins.

Substitutes for animal proteins must be found to bridge the protein gap. Use of fish and fortified cereal grains hold great promise.

Hybrid cereal crops containing amino acids are being developed for use in many countries. The ability to produce synthetic amino acids at reasonable prices opens up a new range of possibilities in solving the protein gap. Improved technology in producing fish protein concentrate (FPC) has been developed and the blending of several commonly used grains to provide a formulated food of high protein content and mineral-vitamin mix called "Incaparina" has great promise.

The Agency for International Development [AID] undertook last year to introduce CSM, a new blended food consisting of corn, soya and milk. This excellent protein supplement is being given to approximately 40 million children in feeding programs around the world. It is easy to prepare and can be used by itself, as a gruel, fried in oil, mixed with water for a beverage, or added to other ingredients to resemble local food products. In Israel, soy protein has been added to wheat flour with good results.

These scientifically prepared supplements, substitutes and additives offer great potential in ameliorating the world's protein deficiency. The products of scientific research are becoming a major weapon in the war against hunger.

Population Control: An essential part of any long-run answer to the world's food problem is population control. Population management has now become a national and world-wide concern. India has adopted a national program of family planning and, after a slow start, the program now appears to be more sufficiently funded and staffed. Encouraging beginnings in the organization of family planning programs at national and local levels are being made in Pakistan, Korea, Taiwan, Ceylon, Singapore and other Asian countries. In Latin America and Africa incipient programs are under-way.

The United States government, foundations and other private institutions have provided help upon request to developing countries in population management. The results of these planning efforts will not be visible immediately and will have no effect on the immediate problem of food. Yet, these long-run programs are necessary to finally bring food and population growth into balance.

AID recently took a significant new step in removing contraceptives from its list of commodities ineligible for shipment overseas. Requested contraceptives may now be purchased in the United States for use in family planning programs in foreign countries. However, assistance is provided only in response to a request from governments or institutions in developing nations. AID's financial commitment in family planning doubled in fiscal year 1967 and full time personnel in population control programs increased from 14 to 40.

Private Sector Efforts: Not all of the work of increasing food production or controlling population has been accomplished by government. Several of the most noteworthy accomplishments have come from the private sector. For example, the Rockefeller Foundation in Mexico sponsored research which enabled Mexican wheat yields to increase from 11 bushels per acre in 1943 to 39 bushels in recent years. The Ford Foundation is now working with West Pakistan to boost its wheat yields.

Volunteer agencies have been deeply and effectively involved in the war against hunger. In 1966 registered United States voluntary agencies increased their support of efforts to improve agricultural production from their own resource by 17 percent over the previous year. In 1967, 73 such agencies were registered with AID's Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid. These agencies are involved in a great variety of technical assistance programs, in-

cluding crop improvement, nutrition, child feeding, extension work, land reclamation, animal husbandry, population planning and food distribution.

Resources of United States cooperatives are especially important in rural development to assist in increasing food production, including institutions of farm credit, agricultural marketing and supply, rural electrification and fertilizer production.

Individuals, too, have been deeply committed to the war against hunger. A marine outboard motor company executive equipped the canoes of fishermen in Ceylon with motors and increased their catch 580 percent. This simple and generous act of a single imaginative businessman enriched the diets of thousands of people. Thousands of American technicians, sponsored by many private groups, have gone abroad to help local farmers increase their yields, help keep their animals healthy, and to pass on to others their farm know-how and their scientific savvy, thus making a creative contribution to the war against hunger.

The role of private enterprise in the development of a self-sufficient, indigenous agriculture is critically important, especially in the development of the infrastructure upon which a productive agriculture rests. Recognizing that developing nations must attract private investment in order to develop its resources, AID has encouraged the involvement of private resources in the war against hunger.

To encourage private companies to invest in developing countries, AID shares with these countries the cost of surveying investment opportunities by paying half of the survey cost if the investment is not made. Total investment resulting from the survey program through June 30, 1967 was approximately 81 million dollars.

Twenty-three agreements signed since June 1, 1966 represent about 50 million dollars with an average of one actual investment out of four completed surveys. These 23 survey agreements should generate 35 million dollars of new agricultural business.

A total of about 70 million dollars went to industrial development banks providing capital on reasonable terms for private ventures in the developing countries.

In addition to investment surveys, AID encourages private resource participation by investment insurance.

By June 30, 1967, 78 developing countries were participating in the investment insurance program under which AID insures American investments in countries against risks of loss due to expropriation, specific risks of inconvertibility and loss due to war, revolution or insurrection.

During 1965 and 1966, political risk insurance on agri-business

projects totaled 450 million dollars on 113 projects.

During the past year AID has worked out an extended risk guarantee which covers 42 million dollars of United States investment in projects costing 158 million dollars. Projects include fertilizer plants in India and Brazil, a feed mill in Korea and a corn processing and merchandising operation in Thailand involving about 10,000 Thai farmers and with prospects of sharply improving corn exports from Thailand.

AID approved the equivalent of more than 29 million dollars in local currency (Cooley) loans in fiscal 1967 either to American firms and their affiliates or to foreign firms using American agricultural products.

United States Efforts: United States Government efforts to solve the food problem have been enormous. The United States has spent approximately 19 billion dollars in food aid between the enactment of Public Law 480 in 1954 and the end of 1967. Roughly half of this was in sales for local currencies; one quarter was for direct relief and donations and another quarter went for barter and long-term dollar sales. In addition, the United States Government has financed about 20 billion dollars in general economic development aid to non-European countries through the Agency for International Development and its predecessor agencies and through various international organizations.

Recent figures on food aid show that in fiscal 1966, through AID alone, we expended 561 million dollars, in fiscal year 1967—497 million dollars, and 636 million dollars in fiscal 1968.

In the period 1960-66, United States obligations and loan authorizations under food for peace programs amounted to about 10.4 billion dollars. Title I sales for foreign currencies constituted the bulk of food for peace shipments in this seven year period, totaling about 7.8 billion dollars. In the same period shipments under Title II (emergency relief and economic development) totaled 1.4 billion dollars, Title III shipments (distribution by voluntary relief agencies) were valued at 1.9 billion dollars and Title IV shipments (dollar credit sales), which began in fiscal year 1962, were valued at 809 million dollars.

In addition to the Food for Peace Program, food shipments under Sections 402 and 550 of the Mutual Security Act have totaled 553 million dollars in the 1960-66 period. Government programs accounted for about 31 percent of total United States agricultural exports during the period 1955 through 1966. United States food in the last 20 years has been distributed to practically every nation in the world with the Near East and South Asian countries receiving about 50 percent of these shipments, European nations about 17

percent, East Asian nations about 15 percent, Latin America about 10 percent and African nations about 7 percent.

Technical service contracts have provided a major emphasis. AID has about 1,441 technical service contracts in effect in 69 countries. These contracts with individuals, private firms and universities provide technical assistance, advice and training in agriculture and other fields.

Program loans (dollar repayable loans used to purchase United States goods and commodities) are employed by AID to finance imports of agricultural materials and equipment and will amount to about 300 million dollars for that purpose in fiscal year 1968. Project loans (also dollar repayable loans for specific agricultural development projects) finance specific projects such as fertilizer, training institutions and irrigation projects.

The United States also has a Disaster Emergency Relief Program. United States assistance from all sources this year for 62 disasters amounted to 92 million dollars. A substantial increase over previous years was due to the recent drought in India for which the United States Government and voluntary agencies provided 55 million dollars in supplies and money.

The Food for Freedom Act of 1966, which became effective January 1, 1967, changes the concept of food aid programs from surplus food disposal to planned United States production of agricultural products to meet the food needs of hungry nations and makes agricultural commodities more readily available to countries trying to increase their own farm production. The Office of the War on Hunger coordinates these efforts and attempts to bring the benefits of modern science and technology to those in need. It assists emerging nations with the problems of family planning; it works towards an increased harvest of the oceans and the greater use of fish protein; it brings the benefits of modern hygiene and sanitation to the developing nations and maintains liaison with independent foreign aid groups and international organizations; it also helps improve the dietary levels of mothers and children in developing nations.

The Office of the War on Hunger has become the center of a concerted and large-scale effort by the United States to provide leadership in balancing food and population growth trends.

International Efforts: International efforts in the war against hunger have been impressive. The World Bank, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the United Nations and other international agencies have borne part of the burden.

The United Nations has launched, through the Food and Agriculture Organization, a study of whether and how to organize an

international food aid program. In the Kennedy Round, the United States succeeded in gaining agreement among the participating nations to supply millions of tons of food grains annually for food aid.

The United Nations has sponsored research programs, and through its technical assistance programs has sent over 3,000 technicians to more than 60 countries.

That India did not suffer more disastrous famine in 1966 was the result of an international consortium of nations. Under the chairmanship of the World Bank, governments, private organizations and individuals in 43 nations joined in providing 180 million dollars in food and other commodities to meet the threat of starvation to millions.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE

Notwithstanding all the efforts that have been made, it is clear that the widening food gap in the world is more critical than ever. The moral obligation to act with renewed vigor is compelling. The Biblical promise is you shall inherit the kingdom if you give meat to the hungry and drink to the thirsty. America has never stood by while famine or pestilence raged, and although there are many demands upon our resources, we cannot ignore our responsibilities as leaders in the community of nations. If the interdependence of nations is the great lesson of our time, failure to act will not avoid the problem but will multiply suffering and unrest.

There are some who claim the race between food and people cannot be won. A distinguished scientist, Fairfield Osburn, who has studied this race for years, says that man is plundering his planet and will finally destroy its capacity to produce food. Sir Charles Darwin believed that humanity will breed itself into chaos.

But the race must be won, and most authorities think it can be. They point to many steps which must be taken, including:

- since only one-tenth of the land's surface is cultivated, the land under cultivation must be increased. The land can be made to produce more food.
- food production could be substantially increased with better tools and methods. Incredible as it may seem, more than 70 percent of the world's farmers have a hoe and a plow as their only tools.
- fertilizers, seeds, pesticides must be provided in greater quantities.
- vaccines must be used to control contagious diseases that threaten the world's meat and poultry supply.

—the oceans of the world, vast reservoirs of almost inexhaustible food resources, must be exploited.

So to win the race, a massive effort is needed by nations, private organizations and individuals. The agenda for action should include the following measures.

Food Aid: Large food shipments under Public Law 480 to food deficit countries will be needed for some time to come. These shipments may even have to be increased until population control and expanded food production are achieved. When that time comes, however, then the emphasis on food aid should begin to decrease. Emergency food aid to disaster areas should always be anticipated.

Even with its marvelous productive capacity, the United States cannot feed the world and if our farm output were expanded to its full potential, and free food distributed to the world, it would only postpone by 10 or 15 years the day when recipient countries would be faced with disastrous food shortages.

The developing countries now have a deficit of 16 million tons of food grain a year. This deficit will grow to 42 million tons in 1975 and to 88 million tons in 1985 should current production, population and consumption trends continue. Forty-two million tons is larger than the entire current United States wheat crop, and the 88 million tons exceeds by far United States production potential.

President Johnson has said:

The present food crisis is without parallel in the history of mankind. International cooperation backed by self-help is imperative. We in America can provide only a small margin of the human and material resources needed for food development. The major effort — the will — the leadership — the labor — and even most of the resources — must come from the low-income countries themselves.

Food aid is not the final solution. The solution to the food crisis must come from the developing nations.

The old Chinese proverb is: "If you give a man a fish you feed him for one day, if you teach him to fish you feed him for many, many days."

Food aid from this country must be administered with insistence on maximum requirements of self-help and developing nations must be required to allocate sufficient resources to the development of agriculture. United States economic aid must insist that agriculture be given priority status in the plans of developing nations.

Population Control: The rate of population growth is simply too high and if population increases are not curbed, mankind faces disaster in the next century.

It is encouraging to see additional resources being devoted to family planning by AID. Research into the technology of population planning should proceed and every effort made to disseminate the results of that technology to developing countries. In the long term, investment in family planning will yield more direct benefits than investments in other types of programs.

Assistance should only be offered in response to requests from the recipient countries. These countries must decide the priority they give to population control. Within the country, individuals must participate only on a voluntary basis. The United States Government, foundations, and other private groups must be prepared to render all possible technical and financial assistance to countries requesting it, recognizing the critical importance of reducing the birth rate.

Technical Assistance: Since most additional food must come from increased food production in the developing countries, United States aid programs must shift toward technical assistance to the developing countries so that they may increase food production.

Developing countries lack the manpower, the institutions, and the capital to achieve rapid sustained growth of their agricultural sector. United States technical assistance programs should be designed to help them develop the necessary infrastructure for a sound agricultural economy. In granting technical assistance, the United States should insist that the developing nations carry out research, training and extension work, provide credit and do the other things necessary to support agriculture, including the training of local scientists, teachers, technicians and administrators to assure the growth of the agricultural sector. If a developing country is unwilling to do these things, United States economic aid should be sharply reduced. Assistance should be granted or withheld in large measure on the judgment of whether the developing nation has the determination and capacity to tackle its own problems vigorously. If the developing nation is not willing to give its own agricultural development the highest priority, then no amount of effort by the United States will build in that country a healthy and productive agriculture. United States assistance should recognize that no amount of investment in industry can have the desired effect until hunger, disease, and ignorance are eradicated or at least brought under control.

The questions to ask in making a determination of whether or not to extend technical assistance are: Is the recipient nation using the assistance effectively? Is it making a genuine, honest effort to grow more food and to reduce its population increase? Is it enlarging its own resources, and will it in time be able to rely

less on gifts and soft loans and achieve real economic development?

Research and extension organizations, agricultural schools, training centers and credit associations are not as impressive to look at as irrigation projects and dams. But they are vital to the development of modern, efficient agriculture and United States aid programs should place highest priority on institutions which will produce the qualified and dedicated people necessary to assure the success of agricultural development.

The emphasis on technical assistance must be especially strong on creating agricultural research capacity in the developing nation. The central goal of this reasearch capability should be to establish a foundation for a self-supporting agriculture. Without basic and adaptive research, the developing countries cannot be expected to develop a sound agriculture. These countries must increase crop yields three and four times and this can only be done if research capability is emphasized and the products of that research are transmitted to the people.

Research is needed, for example, on the development of tropical agriculture. There are approximately 6.6 billion acres of tillable land in the the world. Of this, 3.3 billion acres are already under the plow and nearly 90 percent of the remaining acres are tropical soil. No one has yet learned to use these soils effectively for food production. Research must provide the foundation for a tropical agriculture capable of producing abundant harvests.

Research is also needed to improve varieties and increase yields of crops and livestock.

Increasing the productivity of land in developing countries is a complex matter, requiring more and better agricultural equipment and material, new economic and social institutions providing accessible credit, increased applied research to devise proper profit incentives, extension services, seeds, fertilizers, irrigation and a variety of other components.

Education is obviously of vital importance to the developing countries and all technical assistance programs must try to produce trained and competent personnel to carry on the work of agricultural development in the country. Since only a small proportion of the foreign students in this country are studying agriculture, greater efforts should be made by our government to attract agricultural students.

The Role of Private Enterprise: The private sector must play a major role. Foreign capital is needed in the developing countries, but it should not be counted on by itself to do the job. It is probably no more than seed capital and the major hope for the long term is the formation and flow of indigenous capital.

In addition to the technical skills, large investments of capital are necessary to meet the agricultural requirements of the developing nations. These nations must develop an agricultural infrastructure including highways, markets, credit institutions, supplier industries, public works and all the rest. A key measure of self-help is the willingness of the recipient nation to encourage the initiative of its own businessmen and farmers. It is not reasonable to anticipate that the advanced countries will provide all the capital necessary to build this infrastructure. A large portion of this capital must be developed and generated within the developing countries themselves.

Private enterprise can supply the extra margin of capital investment necessary to allow the developing countries to speed up agricultural development. Additionally, only private enterprise has the resources needed to contribute the vast array of skills needed to develop an agricultural economy, including fertilizers and chemicals, farm machinery, pharmaceuticals, seeds, irrigation equipment, food processing and packaging.

Recognizing the importance of this contribution, the United States Government should do all it can to promote private enterprise and development, including an expansion and promotion of its investment survey and investment guarantee programs, local currency loans, information services, and leaving to private enterprise those projects and responsibilities for which it is better equipped.

The enormous task before the world in the fight against hunger is too big for governments alone. The private sector business, universities, foundations, churches, voluntary organizations, cooperatives—must join the battle.

Trade: Trade policy of the developed countries toward the developing countries is likewise important. Developing countries must be able to maximize their foreign exchange earnings and they must, therefore, have a fair break in the market place. The United States should provide easier access to its markets for the commodities of the developing nations. If the economies of the developing nations are not permitted to grow and develop, they will not be able to become trading partners of the United States in the future.

Multinational Action: Basically, United States technical and economic programs have been bilateral. Serious consideration should be given to the advantages of multinational cooperation and participation in the efforts to create vigorous agricultural sectors in the economies of the developing nations.

Multinational aid is more free from the suspicion of self-serving, vested interests and foreign national purposes than direct aid. Experience has suggested that multinational aid can enforce more rigorous standards of self-help and it can hold the recipient

nations to more realistic and effective standards of eligibility for assistance. A large reservoir of technicians from smaller nations without financial resources to carry on their own aid programs is available to international organizations. The key to successful assistance programs is good personnel, and every nation should be permitted to contribute qualified persons to the war against hunger. With the magnitude of the challenge of the war against hunger, and with food and fiber policy taking the highest priority in every nation's agenda for action, maximum use of resources is essential, and multinational action holds the promise of providing the coordination, cooperation and consultation necessary for success. This international teamwork is essential, for example, if food supplies are going to move effectively from food surplus to food deficit areas and the channels of international trade are to be further opened so that food can move freely and with minimum restrictions.

The United States should strongly encourage other developed nations and international groups to increase their concern with food. The Food and Agricultural Organizations of the United Nations has shown encouraging progress recently with nations other than the United States for the 1966-68 period, doubling the amount of pledges for the 1963-65 period. The World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, Asian Development Bank, OECD and other international bodies should be urged to move more aggressively in agricultural development.

Several years ago a national magazine carried a picture of two emaciated women, old at 30 years of age, dried and wrinkled skin over bones, one with a gnarled hand outstretched for food, and both with a look of anguish and suffering. Below the picture was a simple legend by W. H. Auden:

*Hunger allows no choice—
We must love one another or die.*

So it is. We must prosecute the war against hunger as aggressively and vigorously as we pursue our own national defense. There are many claims upon our resources today, but none exceeds the claim of seeing that people do not starve.