

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

COMMUNITY HUNGER APPEAL OF CHURCH WORLD SERVICE

Columbus, Ohio

November 1, 1971

This occasion marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the work of Church World Service to combat hunger throughout the world through CROP.

Through your voluntary efforts you have made significant contributions, not only toward better conditions and hopes for development for hungry people abroad, but also toward greater understanding and public support for the war on hunger here at home.

But in paying tribute to your efforts for the past quarter of a century, I would like to suggest that your task has only just begun:

-- That, in view of the conditions and crises of our times, we must think -- not only of a war on hunger -- but of the conquest of hunger;

-- And that, in a "Community Hunger Appeal" we must think of both "community" and "hunger" in the broadest possible terms.

And, I would like to propose a new emphasis and direction in our efforts to conquer hunger throughout the world -- an emphasis and direction that could revitalize our interest and concern and bring positive gains and hope to the hundreds of millions who now suffer hunger and poverty in the developing nations.

First we must recognize the fact that hunger cannot be conquered simply by providing food for hungry people -- although that is important.

Nor can it be conquered by developing ways to produce more food -- although that, too, is important.

The conquest of hunger can be achieved only by attacking its causes, which include such factors as poverty, ignorance, overpopulation, underdevelopment, violence and war.

CROP's history, its activities and its philosophy testify that it has always looked at hunger in this broad context.

During the '60s we became aware of the population explosion and of its grave import, especially for many of the newly developing nations. This sparked a new consciousness of a world hunger crisis. And the nation was aroused to launch a "war on hunger" and to assume worldwide leadership in mobilizing forces and resources to fight that war.

Under our Food-for-Peace program we have provided billions of dollars worth of foodstuffs from our own agricultural abundance to people in the hungry nations -- to help meet emergencies, prevent famine, upgrade levels of nutrition, provide food-for-work, and inaugurate school lunch programs.

We developed a new determination to go much further than simply providing food for the hungry by attacking the more fundamental causes of hunger, and by helping people in the hungry nations to achieve a higher level of economic development so that they could produce or purchase more food for themselves. We led in international, multilateral efforts, through such agencies as the FAO, the UNDP and UNICEF to help in the war on hunger.

Much has been accomplished. But it would be foolish to say that the war against hunger has been won.

One of the problems we face today is that there seems to be a diminishing public concern about world hunger. And one reason is that on the surface, at least, we appear to be well-fed here at home -- in this abundant land where the average per capita consumption of calories is often too high for our own good.

We know that hunger and malnutrition in the United States is not due to the lack of availability of food. It is due rather to ignorance and poverty.

Hunger in America is not due to any lack of efficiency on our farms, or in the business of handling and processing foods, or even to the high cost of food in relation to incomes. The latter is the lowest in history.

Rather it is because we have not yet succeeded in establishing social, political and economic conditions under which poverty and deprivation -- which result in hunger -- have been conquered.

In recognition of the importance of nutrition and nutrition education here at home, I recently introduced a bill to establish a universal child nutrition and nutrition education program in this country.

My bill would provide that every child in school or in a day-care program would receive at least one free meal a day, thus eliminating the economic caste system which has been built into the present program.

Even in this wealthy country of ours, with its agricultural abundance, we reach only half our school children through the school lunch program.

Some 23,000 schools offer no program at all, and that excludes 10 million American children.

I believe that good nutrition is as basic as good schools, good textbooks and good teachers. And we should make provision for good nutrition on the same free, universal basis that we provide other school necessities.

We cannot overemphasize the need to bend every effort to eliminate poverty at home. But I am equally convinced that the neglect of hunger abroad can in no way contribute to that end. A continued widening of the gap between standards of living in our own country and in the poor nations of the world could have an explosive potential as serious as that of the world's nuclear stockpiles.

The conquest of hunger and poverty is a goal that must be sought on a world-wide scale.

I believe a new emphasis and a new direction for our foreign assistance are essential to rekindle public interest and support for such a program. I believe that the foreign aid program of the United States should be oriented and organized specifically and directly toward the conquest of hunger and poverty at grass roots levels throughout the world.

I believe we should talk more about the numbers of people raised from the depths of misery and deprivation than about increases in Gross National Product.

This would mean that our aid programs would be designed to benefit directly those at the lowest economic levels in the poor countries.

My philosophy has always been that benefits should "percolate up" rather than "trickle down."

Too often our aid to governments has failed to trickle down.

Too often programs that may have succeeded in helping to bring about an increase in the GNP have so concentrated their gains at the top of the economic ladder that they almost completely evaporate before they can trickle down to the peasants and the campesinos and the unemployed in the city slums.

The gap between rich and poor in the poor countries themselves has widened -- and the threat of unrest and violence has intensified.

This new emphasis in our aid policy would mean that a very high proportion would be directed to the villages and the rural areas, where most of the poor still live in the newly developing countries.

It would need to be specifically geared to combat the unemployment that is reaching staggering proportions in much of the world.

Aid directed specifically to the grass roots, aimed against hunger and poverty where they exist could raise the level of living of the great majority of the poor and benefit the entire economy by expanding markets and trade.

Aid to the agricultural sector is of paramount importance. But it must be designed specifically to reach the millions of peasants and campesinos who cultivate the soil, rather than the landowners.

It should be accompanied by provisions for supervised credit for the farmers themselves, and technical assistance in farming as well as in organizing cooperatives for marketing and supply.

For countries wanting such assistance, the program should include help in the whole spectrum of improvement in the agricultural and agribusiness sector in order that a real impact could be made in improving incomes and levels of living.

Another way to direct aid more specifically to the grass-roots would be to expand our use of private, voluntary agencies in their people-to-people programs -- in the cities as well as in rural and village areas.

American voluntary agencies have long since progressed beyond merely providing food for the hungry. They have launched and carried out successful development efforts. They have helped in family planning programs -- which certainly have a direct bearing on the conquest of hunger and poverty.

But voluntary agencies could do a great deal more. And I believe our public aid policy ought to encourage and assist much greater private participation, especially directed to providing grass roots benefits.

We also could do more toward the building of cooperatives as a method of directing the benefits of development to the grass roots.

Ten years ago I sponsored an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 incorporating in our foreign aid program assistance to cooperatives, credit unions and savings and loan associations.

While the Agency for International Development has given proportionately little attention to this field, some significant progress nonetheless has been made.

American cooperatives have voluntarily contributed a million dollars to the building of a large, modern fertilizer plant owned by farmer cooperatives in India, for example.

Assistance in the development of credit unions in Latin America has resulted in a directed agricultural production credit program through which poor campesinos have been able to double their incomes in only a few years.

It is in the cooperative tradition to organize to meet needs at grass roots levels, and to leave the wealth that is produced among those who produce it.

Under conditions that prevail in many countries today there is a growing suspicion of private enterprise as represented by the huge multi-national corporations that have become so important in international economic growth.

Justifiably or not, such enterprises are often regarded as a new and engulfing form of imperialism and exploitation.

At a time when their potential contributions are most needed, and when business leadership is far more enlightened and development-oriented than ever before, conventional business institutions frequently face growing resentment and opposition as they try to expand in development countries.

In such places, cooperatives may be the one segment of the private sector through which development efforts would be welcomed. The role of cooperatives as a tool for grass roots development could thus be substantially enhanced.

Finally, I should like to suggest a major expansion of these aspects of our Food for Peace Program that specifically meets the new emphasis that I am proposing -- that directly attack the causes of hunger and poverty at the grass roots level.

Our massive food aid programs in the past have enabled us to use our vast agricultural productivity to help millions of people, by relieving hunger and suffering and promoting development throughout the world.

But certain factors, however, have limited the expansion of that part of our Food for Peace program that is carried out by means of concessional sales for local currencies. These sales to recipient governments operate from the top down, and their benefits do trickle down.

Their volume, moreover, must not be so great that the increased availability of food grains lowers prices to local farmers and serves as a disincentive to improved agricultural development in recipient countries.

And the policy of increasing the portion of the payment that must be made in dollars limits the capacity of the recipient countries to use this form of aid.

Food aid for school lunch programs has been developed successfully in several of our Food for Peace donation programs. Such food aid is "additional."

Far from competing with local farmers, it builds expanding markets for them by providing for a "phase out" period during which our aid will gradually diminish as local efforts take over.

By furthering literacy and encouraging educational development it strikes at root causes of hunger and poverty. It can directly reach the masses at the lower economic levels.

Perhaps the most constructive impact of an appropriately expanded Food for Peace program in the immediate future lies in its potential to relieve the burgeoning problems of unemployment that today threatens most of the newly developing countries.

Our own problems of unemployment here at home are alarming. But consider the 20 and 25 percent rates of unemployment that are common among the urban labor force in the overcrowded cities of newly developing nations.

Today, within the newly developing nations themselves, the concern for hunger is outranked by the concern for the masses of unemployed crowding into their cities.

The magnitude of the problem has become so great and its consequences and potential dangers so apparent that they must try to develop policies that will meet the unemployment problem before it erupts into further misery, violence and revolutionary disruption.

In the search for policies to halt this trend and to provide constructive employment in newly developing areas, one approach offers hope for reducing unemployment without too great a burden on capital investment and in a relatively short period of time.

That calls for the development of massive public works programs in both rural and urban areas. The building of public facilities and roads, the construction and rehabilitation of irrigation ditches and wells, reforestation and many similar programs have much to offer.

Such programs could reduce unemployment. They could provide jobs and incomes for millions at the lowest economic level, thus raising demand and "percolating" up to help the entire economy.

Employment is the best single indicator of how many people share in progress. And improved employment opportunities would make a real inroad against hunger and poverty.

They would slow down, and perhaps even reverse, the flight to the cities. They would bring renewed hope to millions and help to solve the complicated and threatening political and humanitarian problems caused by the unbelievably crowded conditions as people without work move into urban slums.

What better use could be made of the surplus productive capacity of American farms?

The new emphasis I propose would focus on the numbers of people employed rather than on dollars expended for factory equipment. It would emphasize numbers of children in school provided with nutritious school lunches rather than on cost-effectiveness ratios. It might even consider new jobs created for men and women as a more important indicator of progress than increases in GNP.

I believe that this emphasis on people -- and on directly helping those who need it most -- still has an appeal for the people of America. And that progress at the grass roots would percolate upward and outward to make for a better world.

① Methodists meeting

000294

Bishop Kearns (United Methodist)

71 Enslley to England - Wesley Heritage

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Reception
Freshman Senators

Church Layman + Public Official

11 COMMUNITY HUNGER APPEAL OF CHURCH WORLD SERVICE

COLUMBUS, OHIO

NOVEMBER 1, 1971

① Gov Gilligan

Mr Clyde Rogers

Margaret Brügger
25th Anniversary

(Hamline U. gave Clyde PhD degree
25 yrs after graduation)

my son Doug - Hamline U

Rev
yocom

000295

THIS OCCASION MARKS THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WORK
OF CHURCH WORLD SERVICE TO COMBAT HUNGER THROUGHOUT THE WORLD
THROUGH CROP.

THROUGH YOUR VOLUNTARY EFFORTS YOU HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT
CONTRIBUTIONS, NOT ONLY TOWARD BETTER CONDITIONS AND HOPES
FOR DEVELOPMENT FOR HUNGRY PEOPLE ABROAD, BUT ALSO TOWARD
GREATER UNDERSTANDING AND PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE WAR ON HUNGER
HERE AT HOME.

Shut
X
BUT IN PAYING TRIBUTE TO YOUR EFFORTS FOR THE PAST QUARTER
OF A CENTURY, I WOULD LIKE TO SUGGEST THAT YOUR TASK HAS ONLY
JUST BEGUN:

*The Mood of the Country - demands
your renewed vigorous leadership.*

THE CHALLENGE YOU FACE IS ~~ONLY~~ HEIGHTENED BY LAST
WEEK'S SENATE ACTION IN REFUSING TO EXTEND THE FOREIGN
ASSISTANCE ACT.

L I DEEPLY REGRET THIS ACTION L I BELIEVE IT ~~IGNORES~~
Constructive and
IGNORES THE ~~EXTREME~~ POSITIVE EFFORTS OF THE OVERALL
PROGRAM.

L WE SHOULD NOT FORGET THAT THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE
ACT THIS YEAR INCLUDED \$368 MILLION IN TECHNICAL AND
ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, \$250 MILLION FOR PAKISTAN FAMINE
RELIEF, AND \$139 MILLION FOR VOLUNTARY UNITED NATIONS
AGENCIES. - ~~it~~

L WE SHOULD NOT FORGET WHO RECEIVES THAT ASSISTANCE. L MUCH
would
over *E. Pakistan*
OF IT WOULD GO TO HELP THE NINE MILLION REFUGEES IN INDIA,

L THE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE WOULD GO TO DEVELOPING NATIONS
WHOSE CONTINUED ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS GREATLY DEPENDS
UPON THIS KIND OF CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORT. L UNITED NATIONS
AGENCIES, SUCH AS THE UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT FUND,
CANNOT CONTINUE THEIR ON-GOING PROGRAMS WITHOUT U.S.

CONTRIBUTIONS.

L ^{national} THE SELF INTEREST AND MORAL OBLIGATION WHICH ORIGINATED

OUR FOREIGN ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS ARE NO LESS REAL TODAY.

L TWO THIRDS OF THE WORLD'S PEOPLE LIVE IN THE LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES, BUT THEY SHARE ONLY ONE-EIGHTH OF THE WORLD'S PRODUCTION OF GOODS AND SERVICES.

L THE GAP BETWEEN THE HAVE AND THE HAVE NOT COUNTRIES REMAINS TREMENDOUS -- AND DANGEROUS

L THE AVERAGE ANNUAL GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT IN THE NON-COMMUNIST INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES IS ABOUT \$2,850 PER PERSON. BUT IN THE UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES IT IS JUST OVER \$200.

L IN THESE UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES, MISERY, DESPAIR AND HOSTILITY PREVAIL. IN SOME OF THESE COUNTRIES AS MANY AS ONE HALF OF THE CHILDREN DIE BEFORE THEY REACH THE AGE OF FIVE -- FROM MALNUTRITION AND DISEASE.

L IN SOME OF THESE COUNTRIES THERE IS ONLY ONE DOCTOR FOR EVERY 20,000 OR 30,000 PEOPLE, COMPARED TO ONE FOR

Recession!
Commodity
Prices
Going
Down

EVERY 700 PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES. IN THESE COUNTRIES
300 MILLION SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN GET NO SCHOOLING. TWO
THIRDS OF THE ADULTS REMAIN ILLITERATE.

WE SHOULD NOT FORGET THAT THE UNITED STATES ~~INVESTS~~
~~ONCE PROVIDED 90 PERCENT OF ALL FOREIGN AID. NOW PROVIDES~~
~~LESS THAN HALF OF THE TOTAL IN THE FREE WORLD. THE UNITED~~
~~STATES INVESTS LESS THAN ONE HALF OF ONE PERCENT OF ITS~~
GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT WHILE ELEVEN OTHER DEVELOPED
COUNTRIES NOW SURPASS US IN THEIR ASSISTANCE LEVELS.

THE SENATE'S VOTE TO KILL THE AID PROGRAM RESULTED FROM
A VARIETY OF CONCERNS WHICH HAVE DEVELOPED IN THE SENATE.

MANY OF US ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE ADMINISTRATION'S
POLICIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. WE REGRET THE PRESIDENT'S
FAILURE TO COMPLETE THE WITHDRAWAL OF OUR FORCES FROM
INDOCHINA. AND WE WANT TO REGISTER OUR OPPOSITION. I DID
SO ALONG WITH OTHER SENATORS, BY VOTING FOR AMENDMENTS
WHICH WOULD HAVE BOUND THE PRESIDENT TO MAKE EXPENDITURES
ONLY FOR COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL WITHIN A PERIOD OF SIX MONTHS
FROM THE ENACTMENT OF THE BILL.

Regrettably this amendment did not pass.

ID

ONLY THE MANSFIELD AMENDMENT WITH A SIX MONTH DEADLINE
PASSED. BUT THE ESSENTIAL POINT IS THAT IT DID PASS,
L BY VOTING DOWN THE AID BILL THE SENATE ALSO VOTED
DOWN THE MANSFIELD AMENDMENT. L SIMILARLY, IT VOTED DOWN
AMENDMENTS WHICH WOULD HAVE EFFECTIVELY RESTRICTED MILITARY
OPERATIONS IN CAMBODIA AND LAOS.

L SOME SENATORS WERE DISTURBED BY THE EXPULSION OF ^{Not China} TAIWAN
FROM THE UNITED NATIONS AND REGISTERED THEIR PROTEST BY
VOTING TO END AID PROGRAMS.

L MANY SENATORS BELIEVE THAT BI-LATERAL ASSISTANCE IS
UNWISE AND THAT WE SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON MULTILATERAL
PROGRAMS.

L ONLY A FEW DAYS AGO, THE SENATE VOTED CONTRIBUTIONS TO
THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION, THE INTER-AMERICAN
DEVELOPMENT BANK, AND THE ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK. ALL
THESE ARE MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS.

L SURELY WE CAN AND SHOULD DO MORE IN THIS REGARD, BUT
AT THE SAME TIME WE MUST DO SOMETHING TO CARRY US OVER WHILE

IE

L THE REFORM OF OUR FOREIGN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM IS UNDERWAY.

L THOSE WHO SAY THAT AMERICA NO LONGER HAS ANY SELF
INTEREST OR MORAL OBLIGATION TO CONTINUE FOREIGN AID ARE

GRAVELY MISTAKEN. L WE LIVE IN AN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

AND WE SHOULD SEEK TO IMPROVE IT PEACEFULLY. L WE SHOULD *not*

TURN OUR BACKS AND REFUSE TO ASSIST ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL

PROGRESS IN THE REST OF THE WORLD.

But L CERTAINLY ONE OF THE REASONS THE SENATE VOTED AGAINST
EXTENDING THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM WAS THE BELIEF THAT

OUR AID TOO OFTEN FAILS TO REACH THE PEOPLE WHO MOST

NEED HELP.

P.L. 480
L IF WE ARE TO RENEW FOREIGN ASSISTANCE, IF WE ARE TO
SUCCEED IN OUR EFFORTS TO CONQUOR HUNGER THROUGHOUT THE
WORLD, OUR PROGRAMS WILL NEED A NEW EMPHASIS-- AND EMPHASIS
ON ASSISTANCE AT THE GRASS ROOTS *People level.*

L SUCH AN EMPHASIS AND DIRECTION COULD REVITALIZE OUR
INTEREST AND CONCERN AND BRING POSITIVE GAINS AND HOPE TO
THE HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS WHO NOW SUFFER HUNGER AND POVERTY
IN THE DEVELOPING NATIONS.

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But,

~~First~~ WE MUST RECOGNIZE ~~that~~ THAT HUNGER CANNOT BE
CONQUERED SIMPLY BY PROVIDING FOOD FOR HUNGRY PEOPLE --

ALTHOUGH THAT IS IMPORTANT,

L NOR CAN IT BE CONQUERED BY DEVELOPING WAYS TO PRODUCE
MORE FOOD -- ALTHOUGH THAT, TOO, IS IMPORTANT.

L THE CONQUEST OF HUNGER CAN BE ACHIEVED ONLY BY ATTACKING
ITS *causes -* causes, WHICH INCLUDE S ~~causes~~ POVERTY, IGNORANCE,
OVERPOPULATION, UNDERDEVELOPMENT, VIOLENCE AND WAR.

L CROP'S HISTORY, ITS ACTIVITIES AND ITS PHILOSOPHY TESTIFY
THAT IT HAS ALWAYS LOOKED AT HUNGER IN THIS BROAD CONTEXT,

*Waging war on hunger is but the
prelude to the conquest of
hunger -*

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L DURING THE ¹⁹₆₀S WE BECAME AWARE OF THE POPULATION EXPLOSION
AND OF ITS GRAVE IMPORT, ESPECIALLY FOR MANY OF THE NEWLY
DEVELOPING NATIONS. L THIS SPARKED A NEW CONSCIOUSNESS OF A WORLD
HUNGER CRISIS | ~~AND THE NATION WAS~~ ^{while we} AROUSED TO LAUNCH A "WAR
ON HUNGER" AND TO ASSUME WORLDWIDE LEADERSHIP IN MOBILIZING
FORCES AND RESOURCES TO FIGHT THAT WAR.

L UNDER OUR FOOD-FOR-PEACE PROGRAM WE HAVE PROVIDED BILLIONS
OF DOLLARS WORTH OF FOODSTUFFS FROM OUR OWN AGRICULTURAL
ABUNDANCE TO PEOPLE IN THE HUNGRY NATIONS -- TO HELP MEET
EMERGENCIES, PREVENT FAMINE, UPGRADE LEVELS OF NUTRITION,
PROVIDE FOOD-FOR-WORK, AND INAUGURATE SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAMS.

✓ WE DEVELOPED A NEW DETERMINATION TO GO MUCH FURTHER THAN
SIMPLY PROVIDING FOOD FOR THE HUNGRY BY ATTACKING THE MORE
FUNDAMENTAL CAUSES OF HUNGER, AND BY HELPING PEOPLE IN THE HUNGRY
NATIONS TO ACHIEVE A HIGHER LEVEL OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT SO
THAT THEY COULD PRODUCE OR PURCHASE MORE FOOD FOR THEMSELVES,
✓ WE LED IN INTERNATIONAL, MULTILATERAL EFFORTS, THROUGH SUCH
AGENCIES AS THE FAO, THE UNDP AND UNICEF TO HELP IN THE WAR
ON HUNGER.

✓ MUCH HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED, ✓ BUT IT WOULD BE FOOLISH TO
SAY THAT THE WAR AGAINST HUNGER HAS BEEN WON.

*a neo-Isolationism is appearing on the
American scene*

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000304

ONE OF THE PROBLEMS WE FACE TODAY IS THAT THERE SEEMS
TO BE A DIMINISHING PUBLIC CONCERN ABOUT WORLD HUNGER AND
ONE REASON IS THAT ON THE SURFACE, AT LEAST, WE APPEAR TO
BE WELL-FED HERE AT HOME -- IN THIS ABUNDANT LAND WHERE THE
AVERAGE PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF CALORIES IS OFTEN TOO HIGH
FOR OUR OWN GOOD.

WE KNOW THAT HUNGER AND MALNUTRITION IN THE UNITED
STATES IS NOT DUE TO THE LACK OF AVAILABILITY OF FOOD. IT IS
DUE RATHER TO IGNORANCE AND POVERTY.

no is
HUNGER IN AMERICA ~~IS~~ DUE TO ANY LACK OF EFFICIENCY
Production
ON OUR FARMS, OR IN THE BUSINESS OF HANDLING AND PROCESSING
FOODS, OR EVEN TO THE HIGH COST OF FOOD IN RELATION TO INCOMES,

THE LATTER IS THE LOWEST IN HISTORY.

↳ RATHER, IT IS BECAUSE WE HAVE NOT YET SUCCEEDED IN ESTABLISHING
SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH POVERTY
AND DEPRIVATION -- WHICH RESULT IN HUNGER -- HAVE BEEN CONQUERED.

↳ IN RECOGNITION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF NUTRITION AND NUTRITION
EDUCATION HERE AT HOME, I RECENTLY INTRODUCED A BILL TO ESTABLISH
A UNIVERSAL CHILD NUTRITION AND NUTRITION EDUCATION PROGRAM IN
THIS COUNTRY.

↳ MY BILL WOULD PROVIDE THAT EVERY CHILD IN SCHOOL OR IN A
DAY-CARE PROGRAM WOULD RECEIVE AT LEAST ONE FREE MEAL A DAY,

THUS ELIMINATING THE ECONOMIC CASTE SYSTEM WHICH HAS BEEN

BUILT INTO THE PRESENT PROGRAM.

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Today

EVEN IN THIS WEALTHY COUNTRY OF OURS, WITH ITS AGRICULTURAL
ABUNDANCE, WE REACH ONLY ^{1/2} HALF OUR SCHOOL CHILDREN THROUGH THE
 SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM,

⌞ SOME 23,000 SCHOOLS OFFER NO PROGRAM AT ALL, AND THAT
 EXCLUDES 10 MILLION AMERICAN CHILDREN,

⌞ I BELIEVE THAT GOOD NUTRITION IS AS BASIC AS GOOD SCHOOLS,
GOOD TEXTBOOKS AND GOOD TEACHERS. ⌞ AND WE SHOULD MAKE PROVISIONS
 FOR GOOD NUTRITION ON THE SAME FREE, UNIVERSAL BASIS THAT WE
 PROVIDE OTHER SCHOOL NECESSITIES.

⌞ WE CANNOT OVEREMPHASIZE THE NEED ~~TO ELIMINATE POVERTY AT HOME~~ TO
 ELIMINATE POVERTY AT HOME, BUT, I AM EQUALLY CONVINCED THAT THE

NEGLECT OF HUNGER ABROAD ~~is a neglect of our national~~
~~self interest as well as our moral~~
~~responsibility.~~

L A CONTINUED WIDENING OF THE GAP BETWEEN STANDARDS OF LIVING
IN OUR OWN COUNTRY AND IN THE POOR NATIONS OF THE WORLD COULD
HAVE AN EXPLOSIVE POTENTIAL AS SERIOUS AS THAT OF THE WORLD'S
NUCLEAR STOCKPILES.

THE CONQUEST OF HUNGER AND POVERTY IS A GOAL THAT
MUST BE SOUGHT ON A WORLD-WIDE SCALE.

I BELIEVE A NEW EMPHASIS AND A NEW DIRECTION FOR OUR
FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ARE ESSENTIAL TO REKINDLE PUBLIC INTEREST
AND SUPPORT FOR SUCH A PROGRAM. I BELIEVE THAT A NEW U.S.
FOREIGN AID PROGRAM OF THE UNITED STATES SHOULD BE ORIENTED
AND ORGANIZED SPECIFICALLY AND DIRECTLY TOWARD THE CONQUEST
OF HUNGER AND POVERTY AT GRASS ROOTS LEVELS THROUGHOUT THE
WORLD.

Development is the New
name for Peace.
and we now know that people
denied adequate food - children
the victims of malnutrition, put a
brake on development.

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✓ We must be more concerned
~~I believe~~ ~~we must~~ ~~be more concerned~~ ABOUT THE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE

RAISED FROM THE DEPTHS OF MISERY AND DEPRIVATION THAN ABOUT

INCREASES IN GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT,

✓ THIS WOULD MEAN THAT OUR AID PROGRAMS ^{*should*} ~~NOT~~ BE DESIGNED

TO BENEFIT DIRECTLY THOSE AT THE LOWEST ECONOMIC LEVELS IN THE

POOR COUNTRIES.

✓ MY PHILOSOPHY HAS ALWAYS BEEN THAT BENEFITS SHOULD "PERCOLATE

UP" RATHER THAN "TRICKLE DOWN."

✓ ~~TOO OFTEN OUR AID TO GOVERNMENTS HAS FAILED TO TRICKLE~~

~~DOWN~~

L TOO OFTEN PROGRAMS THAT MAY HAVE SUCCEEDED IN HELPING
TO BRING ABOUT AN INCREASE IN THE GNP HAVE SO CONCENTRATED
THEIR GAINS AT THE TOP OF THE ECONOMIC LADDER THAT THEY
ALMOST COMPLETELY EVAPORATE BEFORE THEY CAN TRICKLE DOWN
TO THE PEASANTS AND THE CAMPESINOS AND THE UNEMPLOYED IN
THE CITY SLUMS.

L THE GAP BETWEEN RICH AND POOR IN THE POOR COUNTRIES
THEMSELVES HAS WIDENED -- AND THE THREAT OF UNREST AND
VIOLENCE HAS INTENSIFIED.

L A NEW PROGRAM WITH A NEW EMPHASIS WOULD MEAN THAT A
VERY HIGH PROPORTION WOULD BE DIRECTED TO THE VILLAGES AND
THE RURAL AREAS, WHERE MOST OF THE POOR STILL LIVE IN THE
NEWLY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

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L IT WOULD NEED TO BE SPECIFICALLY GEARED TO COMBAT
THE UNEMPLOYMENT THAT IS REACHING STAGGERING PROPORTIONS IN
MUCH OF THE WORLD.

L AID TO THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR IS OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE.
BUT IT MUST BE DESIGNED SPECIFICALLY TO REACH THE MILLIONS
OF PEASANTS AND CAMPESINOS WHO CULTIVATE THE SOIL, RATHER
THAN THE LANDOWNERS.

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L IT SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY PROVISIONS FOR SUPERVISED
CREDIT FOR THE FARMERS THEMSELVES, AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN
FARMING AS WELL AS IN ORGANIZING COOPERATIVES FOR MARKETING
AND SUPPLY.

L FOR COUNTRIES WANTING SUCH ASSISTANCE, THE PROGRAM SHOULD
INCLUDE HELP IN THE WHOLE SPECTRUM OF IMPROVEMENT IN THE
AGRICULTURAL AND AGRIBUSINESS SECTOR IN ORDER THAT A REAL IMPACT
COULD BE MADE IN IMPROVING INCOMES AND LEVELS OF LIVING.

L ANOTHER WAY TO DIRECT AID MORE SPECIFICALLY TO THE GRASS-
ROOTS WOULD BE TO EXPAND OUR USE OF PRIVATE, VOLUNTARY AGENCIES
IN THEIR PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE PROGRAMS -- IN THE CITIES AS WELL AS
IN RURAL AND VILLAGE AREAS.

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L AMERICAN VOLUNTARY AGENCIES HAVE LONG SINCE PROGRESSED
BEYOND MERELY PROVIDING FOOD FOR THE HUNGRY. THEY HAVE LAUNCHED
AND CARRIED OUT SUCCESSFUL DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS. THEY HAVE
HELPED IN FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAMS -- WHICH CERTAINLY HAVE A
DIRECT BEARING ON THE CONQUEST OF HUNGER AND POVERTY.

L BUT VOLUNTARY AGENCIES COULD DO A GREAT DEAL MORE. AND,
I BELIEVE OUR PUBLIC AID POLICY OUGHT TO ENCOURAGE AND ASSIST
MUCH GREATER PRIVATE PARTICIPATION, ESPECIALLY DIRECTED TO
PROVIDING GRASS ROOTS BENEFITS.

L WE ALSO COULD DO MORE TOWARD THE BUILDING OF COOPERATIVES
AS A METHOD OF DIRECTING THE BENEFITS OF DEVELOPMENT TO THE GRASS
ROOTS.

COOPS

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L TEN YEARS AGO I SPONSORED AN AMENDMENT TO THE FOREIGN
ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1961 INCORPORATING IN OUR FOREIGN AID

PROGRAM ASSISTANCE TO COOPERATIVES, CREDIT UNIONS AND SAVINGS
AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS.

L WHILE THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT HAS GIVEN
PROPORTIONATELY LITTLE ATTENTION TO THIS FIELD, SOME
SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS NONETHELESS HAS BEEN MADE.

L AMERICAN COOPERATIVES HAVE VOLUNTARILY CONTRIBUTED A MILLION
DOLLARS TO THE BUILDING OF A LARGE, MODERN FERTILIZER PLANT
OWNED BY FARMER COOPERATIVES IN INDIA, FOR EXAMPLE.

ASSISTANCE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CREDIT UNIONS IN LATIN
AMERICA HAS RESULTED IN A DIRECTED AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION
CREDIT PROGRAM THROUGH WHICH POOR CAMPESINOS HAVE BEEN ABLE TO
DOUBLE THEIR INCOMES IN ONLY A FEW YEARS.

IT IS IN THE COOPERATIVE TRADITION TO ORGANIZE TO MEET
NEEDS AT GRASS ROOTS LEVELS, AND TO LEAVE THE WEALTH
THAT IS PRODUCED AMONG THOSE WHO PRODUCE IT.

UNDER CONDITIONS THAT PREVAIL IN MANY COUNTRIES TODAY, THERE
IS A GROWING SUSPICION OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AS REPRESENTED BY
THE HUGE MULTI-NATIONAL CORPORATIONS THAT HAVE BECOME SO IMPORTANT
IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC GROWTH.

↳ JUSTIFIABLY OR NOT, SUCH ENTERPRISES ARE OFTEN REGARDED
AS A NEW AND ENGULFING FORM OF IMPERIALISM AND EXPLOITATION.

↳ AT A TIME WHEN THEIR POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS ARE MOST
NEEDED, AND WHEN BUSINESS LEADERSHIP IS FAR MORE ENLIGHTENED AND
DEVELOPMENT-ORIENTED THAN EVER BEFORE, CONVENTIONAL BUSINESS
INSTITUTIONS FREQUENTLY FACE GROWING RESENTMENT AND OPPOSITION
AS THEY TRY TO EXPAND IN DEVELOPMENT COUNTRIES.

↳ IN SUCH PLACES, COOPERATIVES MAY BE THE ONE SEGMENT OF
THE PRIVATE SECTOR THROUGH WHICH DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS WOULD
BE WELCOMED. THE ROLE OF COOPERATIVES AS A TOOL FOR GRASS
ROOTS DEVELOPMENT COULD THUS BE SUBSTANTIALLY ENHANCED.

L FINALLY, I SHOULD LIKE TO SUGGEST A MAJOR EXPANSION OF
THOSE ASPECTS OF OUR FOOD FOR PEACE PROGRAM THAT SPECIFICALLY
MEET THE NEW EMPHASIS THAT I AM PROPOSING -- THAT DIRECTLY
ATTACK THE CAUSES OF HUNGER AND POVERTY AT THE GRASS ROOTS LEVEL.

L OUR MASSIVE FOOD AID PROGRAMS IN THE PAST HAVE ENABLED
US TO USE OUR VAST AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY TO HELP MILLIONS
OF PEOPLE, BY RELIEVING HUNGER AND SUFFERING AND PROMOTING
DEVELOPMENT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

L BUT CERTAIN FACTORS, HOWEVER, HAVE LIMITED THE EXPANSION
OF THAT PART OF OUR FOOD FOR PEACE PROGRAM THAT IS CARRIED
OUT BY MEANS OF CONCESSIONAL SALES FOR LOCAL CURRENCIES. THESE
SALES TO RECIPIENT GOVERNMENTS OPERATE FROM THE TOP DOWN, AND
THEIR BENEFITS DO TRICKLE DOWN.

L THEIR VOLUME, MOREOVER, MUST NOT BE SO GREAT THAT THE
INCREASED AVAILABILITY OF FOOD GRAINS LOWERS PRICES TO LOCAL
FARMERS AND SERVES AS A DISINCENTIVE TO IMPROVED AGRICULTURAL
DEVELOPMENT IN RECIPIENT COUNTRIES

L AND THE POLICY OF INCREASING THE PORTION OF THE PAYMENT
THAT MUST BE MADE IN DOLLARS LIMITS THE CAPACITY OF THE
RECIPIENT COUNTRIES TO USE THIS FORM OF AID

L FOOD AID FOR SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAMS HAS BEEN DEVELOPED
SUCCESSFULLY IN SEVERAL OF OUR FOOD FOR PEACE DONATION PROGRAMS.
SUCH FOOD AID IS "ADDITIONAL."

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L FAR FROM COMPETING WITH LOCAL FARMERS, IT BUILDS

EXPANDING MARKETS FOR THEM BY PROVIDING FOR A "PHASE OUT"

PERIOD DURING WHICH OUR AID WILL GRADUALLY DIMINISH AS LOCAL

EFFORTS TAKE OVER.

L BY FURTHERING LITERACY AND ENCOURAGING EDUCATIONAL

DEVELOPMENT IT STRIKES AT ROOT CAUSES OF HUNGER AND POVERTY.

L IT CAN DIRECTLY REACH THE MASSES AT THE LOWER ECONOMIC LEVELS.

L PERHAPS THE MOST CONSTRUCTIVE IMPACT OF AN APPROPRIATELY

EXPANDED FOOD FOR PEACE PROGRAM IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE LIES

IN ITS POTENTIAL TO RELIEVE THE BURGEONING PROBLEMS OF

UNEMPLOYMENT THAT TODAY THREATENS MOST OF THE NEWLY DEVELOPING

COUNTRIES.

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L OUR OWN PROBLEMS OF UNEMPLOYMENT HERE AT HOME ARE ALARMING,

L BUT CONSIDER THE 20 AND 25 PERCENT RATES OF UNEMPLOYMENT THAT

ARE COMMON AMONG THE URBAN LABOR FORCE IN THE OVERCROWDED

CITIES OF NEWLY DEVELOPING NATIONS,

L TODAY, WITHIN THE NEWLY DEVELOPING NATIONS THEMSELVES. THE

CONCERN FOR HUNGER IS OUTRANKED BY THE CONCERN FOR THE MASSES OF

UNEMPLOYED CROWDING INTO THEIR CITIES.

L THE MAGNITUDE OF THE PROBLEM HAS BECOME SO GREAT AND ITS

CONSEQUENCES AND POTENTIAL DANGERS SO APPARENT THAT THEY MUST

imperative

BE TO DEVELOP POLICIES THAT WILL MEET THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM

BEFORE IT ERUPTS INTO FURTHER MISERY, VIOLENCE AND REVOLUTIONARY

DISRUPTION.

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L IN THE SEARCH FOR POLICIES TO HALT THIS TREND AND TO
PROVIDE CONSTRUCTIVE EMPLOYMENT IN NEWLY DEVELOPING AREAS,
ONE APPROACH OFFERS HOPE FOR REDUCING UNEMPLOYMENT WITHOUT TOO
GREAT A BURDEN ON CAPITAL INVESTMENT AND IN A RELATIVELY SHORT
PERIOD OF TIME.

That approach
L ~~It~~ CALLS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF MASSIVE PUBLIC WORKS
PROGRAMS IN BOTH RURAL AND URBAN AREAS. THE BUILDING OF
PUBLIC FACILITIES AND ROADS, THE CONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION
OF IRRIGATION DITCHES AND WELLS, REFORESTATION AND MANY SIMILAR
PROGRAMS HAVE MUCH TO OFFER.

L SUCH PROGRAMS COULD REDUCE UNEMPLOYMENT L THEY COULD PROVIDE
JOBS AND INCOMES FOR MILLIONS AT THE LOWEST ECONOMIC LEVEL,
L THUS RAISING DEMAND AND "PERCOLATING" UP TO HELP THE ENTIRE
ECONOMY.

L EMPLOYMENT IS THE BEST SINGLE INDICATOR OF HOW MANY PEOPLE
SHARE IN PROGRESS. AND IMPROVED EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES WOULD
MAKE A REAL INROAD AGAINST HUNGER AND POVERTY.

L THEY WOULD SLOW DOWN, AND PERHAPS EVEN REVERSE, THE FLIGHT
TO THE CITIES. THEY WOULD BRING RENEWED HOPE TO MILLIONS AND
HELP TO SOLVE THE COMPLICATED AND THREATENING POLITICAL AND
HUMANITARIAN PROBLEMS CAUSED BY THE UNBELIEVABLY CROWDED
CONDITIONS AS PEOPLE WITHOUT WORK MOVE INTO URBAN SLUMS.

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WHAT BETTER USE COULD BE MADE OF THE SURPLUS PRODUCTIVE
CAPACITY OF AMERICAN FARMS?

THE NEW EMPHASIS, I PROPOSE WOULD FOCUS ON THE NUMBERS
OF PEOPLE EMPLOYED RATHER THAN ON DOLLARS EXPANDED FOR FACTORY
EQUIPMENT. IT WOULD EMPHASIZE NUMBERS OF CHILDREN IN SCHOOL
PROVIDED WITH NUTRITIOUS SCHOOL LUNCHESES RATHER THAN ON
COST-EFFECTIVENESS RATIOS. IT MIGHT EVEN CONSIDER NEW JOBS
CREATED FOR MEN AND WOMEN AS A MORE IMPORTANT INDICATOR
OF PROGRESS THAN INCREASES IN GNP.

I BELIEVE THAT THIS EMPHASIS ON PEOPLE -- AND ON
DIRECTLY HELPING THOSE WHO NEED IT MOST -- STILL HAS AN
APPEAL FOR THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA.

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AND THAT PROGRESS AT THE GRASS ROOTS WOULD PERCOLATE UPWARD

AND OUTWARD TO MAKE FOR A BETTER WORLD.

man from Galilee -
"We are our brothers Keepers"



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