

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS SERVICE
WITHDRAWAL SHEET (PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES)

FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
Letter	John P. Lewis to Robert W. Komer (Confidential)	3-21-66	A
Memorandum	R.W. Komer to the President (Confidential)	3-22-66	A
Memorandum	R.W. Komer to Sec. of State, Sec. of Agriculture, Administrator of Agency for International Development (Conf.)	3-23-66	A
Memorandum	R.W. Komer to Sec. Freeman (Confidential)	3-24-66	A
Memorandum	William S. Gaud to Joseph Califano (Confidential)	3-25-66	A
Memorandum	William S. Gaud to the President (Confidential)	3-25-66	A
Memorandum	Dean Rusk to the President (Confidential)	3-26-66	A
Memorandum	Conversation between the Vice President and Ambassador B.K. Nehru (Confidential)	3-25-66	A
Memorandum	R.W. Komer to the President (Confidential)	3-27-66	A
Memorandum	R.W. Komer to Congressman Mahon (Personal and Confidential)	3-30-66	A
Telegram	Embassy New Delhi to Sec. of State (Confidential)	4-1-66	A
Memorandum	Walt Rostow to the President (Confidential) [also, R.W. Komer to President (Confidential)]	4-2-66 3-29-66	A A
Memorandum	W.W. Rostow to the Sec. of State (Secret)	4-3-66	A

FILE LOCATION

Legislative Background, Food for India 1966: "Food for India, 3/22/66 to 11/25/66,"
Box 1

RESTRICTION CODES

- (A) Closed by Executive Order 11652 governing access to national security information.
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10-2-79

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS SERVICE

WITHDRAWAL SHEET (PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES)

FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
Memorandum	HHS to BKS (with Secret attachment)	4-5-66	A
Memorandum	Dean Rusk to the President (Confidential)	4-5-66	A
Memorandum	Benjamin H. Read to Walt W. Rostow (Confidential)	4-28-66	A

FILE LOCATION

Legislative Background, Food for India 1966: "Food for India, 3/22/66 to 11/25/66,"
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10-2-79

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

March 22, 1966

MEMORANDUM

To: The President
The White House

From: Orville L. Freeman
Secretary of Agriculture

Following are some of the key points in the memorandum prepared for Mrs. Gandhi's visit:

1. Minister Subramaniam is doing a yeomanlike job of trying to push through the program we agreed upon in Rome. In so doing, he has taken it on the chin politically. The Indian Government is in deep trouble on the food issue. As a result, there is a great deal of pressure to sacrifice Subramaniam to appease the opposition. Mrs. Gandhi should be cautioned on this. Subramaniam is one of the top two or three members of the Indian Cabinet. There is no replacement in sight.
2. Mrs. Gandhi has taken a weak, equivocating position on the key food issues. She must be prepared to acknowledge before the world that India is desperately in need of external supplies of food on concessional terms. Some countries have virtually withdrawn their offers of emergency assistance as a result of her statements minimizing the situation. If she continues to be defensive and apologetic about the Government's earlier decision to encourage foreign investment in fertilizer plants some foreign corporations may have second thoughts about investing in India.
3. American grain is moving satisfactorily at the rate of a million tons per month. Despite rather widespread riots related to the lack of food, especially the lack of rice, the food situation is under control and not desperate at this point. It will get worse before the next harvest brings relief in November.
4. India will need another 6 million tons of grain in order to carry out its plan to allocate and distribute food throughout the country so as to avoid famine between now and the next major harvest beginning in November. Without this imported grain to distribute the Central Government may well lose control of the situation.
5. Other countries can and should do more to help India in the current emergency. Now that the first round of requests is past, it is time to start again. In my meeting with the Canadians early this month

Nothing else sent to
Central Files as of

9/6/66
JAN

2--The President

I pushed them to contribute a million tons as compared to their initial commitment of about 150,000 tons of wheat and flour. They have agreed to reconsider and make a further contribution but we do not know yet how large it will be.

6. The need for fertilizer for next year's crop needs to be emphasized strongly. The weather for next year's crop cannot be controlled but the amount of fertilizer to be used can be. By holding the Indians to the targets we agreed to in Rome, we both increase the use of fertilizer next year and impress upon Mrs. Gandhi the importance we attach to the acceleration of India's agricultural development. This continues to be the main shortfall.

J

Enclosure



DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

March 22, 1966

MEMORANDUM

To: The President
The White House

From: Orville L. Freeman
Secretary of Agriculture

Subject: Basic Agricultural Matters for Discussion with Prime Minister Gandhi

I. Prime Minister Gandhi's Support of Agricultural Development

The relationship between Minister Subramaniam and Mrs. Gandhi appears to be good. Mrs. Gandhi has generally supported Minister Subramaniam's new agricultural development program as it evolved from our discussion in Rome last November. She relies heavily on Subramaniam for advice on a wide range of matters going far beyond agriculture. She also uses him as her personal emissary in problem situations, most recently in strife-torn West Bengal.

Her principal weakness is her failure to back necessary policies solidly. Over the past month, Subramaniam has been strongly attacked by both the opposition parties and his own Congress party on food and agriculture problems in general and the Government's decision to encourage foreign private investment in fertilizer production in particular. Subramaniam has shown determination and courage in carrying forward our Rome agreement.

Mrs. Gandhi, instead of assuming a strong, positive stance, has chosen to be defensive and apologetic. This contrasts with the strong, even brutal measures, used to suppress the food riots. Early in March at an informal meeting with Members of the Press Association of India and the Foreign Correspondents Association, Mrs. Gandhi responded to criticism about encouraging foreign fertilizer investment by relaxing restrictions as follows: "Certain commitments were made by the Government and I do not know how far it is proper to go back on these commitments." Following this she said, "Besides, we are in very urgent need of fertilizer. At that time (the time the decision was taken), the Government felt the need so important and so urgent that it tried to get it in whatever way was possible." Statements of this nature do not encourage foreign private investment in India.

2--The President

The Government has also been strongly criticized for going to other countries and asking them for food. This is often described as "begging" and an "embarrassment" of India before the world. This appears to have struck a sensitive political note. The Government is damned if it does and damned if it doesn't. If it doesn't go after food from other countries, it's faced with serious shortages, riots and famine. If it does go after food and succeeds in avoiding famine, it comes under fire for its "beggars" approach to solving the food problem. In a democratic country with free expression this is to be expected.

However, instead of a firm position with positive statements that the drought has triggered the need for worldwide assistance, Mrs. Gandhi has several times minimized the seriousness of India's food shortages. If she expects other nations to make meaningful contributions, she must face the fire firmly at home. So far she has equivocated on this.

II. The Dialogue with Minister Subramaniam

As you know, extensive and detailed discussions between Minister Subramaniam and myself have been held. A week in Rome late in November and several days here just before Christmas enabled us to pretty well "thresh out" the issues. Since then the Indian Cabinet and Parliament have publicly outlined a meaningful program.

The problem now is to implement these announced programs and policies. It appears that Subramaniam is proceeding energetically to carry them forward. However, at the moment he is falling short of some of our targets. In May, I expect to go to India to check on-the-scene progress personally and in detail.

III. Evaluation of Progress

A. Food Situation

(1) Logistics

At this point, grain is moving from here to India in a rather regular flow. Arrivals of grain in India should average more than one million tons per month in March, April and May. Everything indicates Indian ports should, with a little extra effort, be able to handle this much.

There has been some difficulty with grain sorghum. You may recall that the 3 million tons of food grain you made

3--The President

available in early February consisted of 2 million tons of wheat and 1 million tons of sorghum. The Indians immediately expressed reservations over their ability to take large quantities of sorghum. They claimed the moisture content of grain sorghum would be too high and that it would not store well under Indian storage conditions. The first shiploads of grain sorghum have arrived and were in excellent condition as far as moisture was concerned. A second objection was that grain sorghum could not be handled as rapidly as wheat. Once the elevators were properly adjusted for sorghum, they handled almost as much sorghum as wheat, largely removing this objection.

The third objection was that consumers might not accept sorghum as a substitute for the local grains to which they were accustomed. We have not yet moved enough grain sorghum into India to test consumer acceptance on a large scale. They protest that riots like those in Kerala will result if we try to substitute sorghum for rice or wheat. We have urged the Indian Government to lower the retail price level of sorghum as needed to move the quantities we are providing. They have agreed to do this. We have had to push very hard to get them to take the allotted sorghum. The Ambassador and even the Prime Minister may complain that I have been unreasonable and excessively demanding. Even so we will still have some carryover of sorghum to ship after all the wheat has moved.

(2) Current Estimate of Crop

On February 15 the Indian Government was to have released another estimate of this year's crop. Because of an unresolved disagreement between the Center Government and some of the state governments on the actual level of food-grain production in these states, this report has not yet been released. If the Center Government prevails in this dispute, the crop estimate will probably remain unchanged at 76 million tons compared with 88 last year. If the state governments prevail, the crop estimate may decline by 1-2 million tons. It is our best judgment that as the crop estimate becomes firmer, it is more likely to decline than rise.

(3) Contributions of Other Countries

The efforts of the Indians, backed by our support and that of the United Nations, have yielded some results although so far response to the Indian request has not been overwhelming. However, the cumulative contributions of some 20-25 countries are now becoming meaningful.

To date, the value of all contributions, including food, fertilizer, etc. totals some \$80 million. This still covers only a small fraction of India's food-fertilizer deficit, but it is nonetheless a start. If both we and the Indians keep the pressure on other countries, I think we can elicit further contributions.

Canada has promised to come through with another contribution of wheat which may be larger than the modest one made in January. The next major opportunity to press this issue with other countries is at the forthcoming meeting of the OECD scheduled to be held early in April in Europe. I plan to have a special representative there to impress upon the Europeans the need to assume much more responsibility not only for India this year but for the outcome of the world-wide food-population race.

(4) Food Needs for the Remainder of 1966

We have thus far made available some 5 million tons of grain for shipment to India in 1966. This is against their official request of 11 million tons. An additional 6 million tons is still required.

Some urge that we sign an agreement for a quantity of grain approaching this amount to carry the Indians through the remainder of this calendar year. They argue that such an assurance is necessary to stabilize prices and control the political situation, particularly Communist inspired riots. I would not recommend this for we would lose the leverage we so badly need to get the Indians to take some of the tough, politically difficult decisions -- decisions which become increasingly difficult as they move closer to the national elections to be held in February of 1967.

An agreement carrying to the end of the year would reduce the pressure to get other countries to contribute more food and fertilizer.

5--The President

In my opinion, it would be better to announce some kind of a formula challenging the rest of the world to match our effort. A modest allotment could be made while Mrs. Gandhi is here or shortly after she leaves.

B. Basic Agricultural Long-Term Improvements

(1) Fertilizer

(a) Consumption targets

As of mid-March, the estimated availability of fertilizer for the 1966-67 crop is still well below target. Availability of nitrogenous fertilizer is now estimated at 850 thousand tons -- 400,000 tons of domestic production and 450,000 tons of imports. This is half again as large as the availability for the previous crop but still well below the target of 1 million tons set in Rome.

The estimated availability of phosphatic fertilizers is about 250,000 tons against a consumption target of 370,000 tons. For potash, availability is estimated at 100,000 tons against a target of 200,000 tons.

There is a very good prospect that the 1966-67 crop will not be up to normal because of the carryover effects of this year's monsoon failure. Thus, in order to minimize the prospective large grain import deficit for 1967, we must press the Indians hard to do everything possible to ensure fertilizer consumption at least as high as the targets.

There are various ways of getting the additional fertilizer. The Indians could use some more of their own foreign exchange. They should press other advanced industrial countries harder asking each of them to provide some fertilizer on concessional terms much in the same way we provide food. If Mrs. Gandhi would agree to using these two sources to fill half of the remaining fertilizer gap, we might then consider offering a loan to fill the other half. Without such an inducement, it is doubtful they will go much farther than they have so far.

(b) Getting fertilizer plants to full capacity

For one reason or another, fertilizer plants in India have never operated at much more than two-thirds of full capacity. Last year actual output was only 63 percent of capacity. Faulty plant designs, a failure to allocate enough foreign exchange to obtain both the necessary spare parts and necessary fertilizer raw materials were all contributing factors.

Over the past few months, assurances have been obtained from the Indians that efforts would be made to use more effectively their productive capacity. Cassification units, needed to get some of the plants with faulty design up to full capacity, are now on order and should be installed and operative within 18 months.

In addition to the factors preventing the effective utilization of plants in the past, there are some further factors hampering output this year. These include shortages of electric power deriving from the partial failure of the monsoon this year, and tight world supplies of phosphate rock and sulfur. They seem to be trying hard to increase production capacity but we must continue to push hard. You might impress upon Mrs. Gandhi the seeming incongruity of a country facing a serious and continuing food shortage on the one hand while tolerating such inefficiencies in their own government controlled and operated fertilizer plants on the other.

(c) Building fertilizer plants

One of the conditions under which the \$50 million fertilizer loan was made available last December 10 was a commitment by the Indians to do all they could to sign up by July 1, 1966 private sector plants with a combined production capacity of 1 million tons of nitrogen. There are four plants which may be signed up by July 1. These are:

- | | |
|--|--------------|
| 1. Amoco Plant in Madras | 200,000 tons |
| (All major hurdles believed cleared in these negotiations) | |

7--The President

2. Armour-Birla Plant in Goa 160,000 tons
(Negotiations largely concluded but further progress now stalled allegedly because of U.S. aid suspension)
3. Imperial Chemical Industries in Kanpur 200,000 tons
(Probably the most advanced of all prospective investors; expect to be on stream early in 1969)
4. Delhi Cloth Mills in Kotah 130,000 tons
(This is entirely an Indian private sector venture except for financing arranged through Japanese sources)

The total capacity of these plants will be 690,000 tons, still well below the 1 million ton commitment. None of these four plants is a certainty at this point, but each is a reasonable prospect for signing up by July 1, 1966.

Negotiations with other private investors are not moving forward satisfactorily at present. If Mrs. Gandhi continues to make wishy-washy statements about the government's attitude toward foreign private investment, India could even lose some of the prospects listed above.

Subramaniam is prepared to send a team of top level government officials through Western Europe, Canada, U.S. and Japan in an effort to interest more private foreign investors in India. In addition to fertilizer, they need pesticides, farm implements and improved seeds. The Indians claim that they have been creating the proper climate for foreign investment. The proof of the pudding, however, is in the eating and foreign investors so far have been passing India by, investing at record levels in other countries. It is claimed that restoration of our aid will make it possible to get the economy moving and that such is a necessary assurance for large investment.

Mrs. Gandhi may make this point in requesting a resumption of our aid. If she does, you might point out that had India been successful in attracting more foreign private

8--The President

investment in the past, it now might be reducing its dependence on external existence rather than increasing it. Her attention might also be drawn to her own weak statements.

(2) Other Agricultural Problems

In 1960 we signed an agreement with the Indian Government to provide 16 million tons of wheat and 1 million tons of rice over a 4 year period. This time was to be used to improve their agriculture and reduce their dependence on concessional food imports.

We kept our end of the bargain, shipping the agreed upon quantities of food during the specified time, but the Indians did not keep to their end of the bargain. Instead of reaching self sufficiency, the Indians are now more dependent on food imports than ever before.

Last year we shipped close to one-fifth of our 1964 wheat crop to India. This year the official import request of 11 million tons is equivalent to nearly one-third of an average U.S. wheat crop.

In addition to shortfalls in fertilizer production, there are other serious problems in Indian agriculture. One of the areas in which the Government of India is not coming through as they had agreed to is in the area of farm credit. To date they have relied on cooperatives to provide farmers with credit.

At present farmers are receiving only one-fourth of their credit through these cooperatives. For most of the remainder they must go to the moneylenders who charge interest rates of 25-30 percent per year.

The Government of India should establish a nationwide farm credit organization, somewhat similar to our own Farmers Home Administration. We could assist them in this effort by offering to provide local currencies to finance such an organization.

Irrigation has not received the attention it deserves. Vast investments in major irrigation projects are not being fully utilized because no one has assumed the full responsibility

for getting the available water to the farmers on a systematic basis at the time they need it. This major source of inefficiency and waste could be removed by simply correcting the existing organizational and administrative defects.

Although the fourth Five Year Plan is not yet complete all indications are that agricultural investment during the Fourth Plan Period (1966-71) will be at least double that of the preceding Plan Period. This commitment was made in Rome and it now appears that they will be fulfilling it.

IV. Foodgrain - Cotton Substitution Possibilities

Mrs. Gandhi may express some concern over this issue. Bob Poage's demand in open hearing that India should shift part of its cotton land to the production of foodgrains was widely reported in India. It was labeled by the political opposition as another example of U.S. intervention in India's internal policy making.

Actually the possibilities of substituting cotton for foodgrains in India are limited. In the Northern wheat growing regions, cotton is grown in the summer and wheat in the winter as part of a double cropping rotation. Wheat will not grow during the summer in India's sub-tropical climate.

Very little cotton is grown in the rice growing regions of India since the climatic requirements of the two crops are so different.

Cotton, the most drought resistant crop grown in India, does compete with jowar (a sorghum) in the semi-arid regions of Central and Western India. In these regions some cotton land could be shifted to foodgrains by making the price of sorghum more favorable relative to that of cotton. Price appears to be the only practical way to accomplish such a change in the cropping pattern. The Indian Government simply doesn't have the machinery to make production adjustments like we do.

This could be done by providing larger quantities of cotton under Public Law 480. Cotton prices have been exceptionally strong in recent years because the Government has not had adequate stocks to prevent the sharp price rises. We are considering providing India with much larger quantities of cotton to push cotton prices down. This would encourage the shift of cotton land to the production of food grains. If we do this, some countries now supplying cotton to India will complain bitterly.

March 26, 1966
10:30 A.M., Saturday

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CHESTER BOWLES

Would you please take a good long look at this and suggest any changes in language or otherwise that you think are important? I would like to have it back on Monday with your corrections. The President thinks it is a very important message and he wants to make sure that he has your views and comments.

Jack Valenti

JV:ny

MAR 27 1966
CENTRAL FILE

March 26, 1966

12:00 noon

DRAFT (This is for working purposes only; it does not reflect Freeman's latest comments which not yet available)

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Special message on India food. Here is a draft message which describes the Indian emergency, urges a big international effort and lays out our next step.

You should be aware of the two main issues:

1. Whether to send any message at all. State and AID (Gaud) fear that a message describing the emergency in vivid enough terms to stir up Congress will cause Mrs. Gandhi political trouble. She has been trying to avoid panic which would trigger hoarding and play into the hands of leftists who are directing the food riots. They're also afraid that prolonged Congressional debate would delay our decision past 15 April, when further delay would interrupt the pipeline. If you feel a message is the right way to handle this with Congress, they'd recommend at least discussing the message and timing with Mrs. Gandhi.

2. What to propose. This is the question of how much to include in our next slice and how to keep the heat on India to keep pushing other donors. We're now sending 5 million tons of grain. Subramaniam has just cabled Freeman asking for 7 million more in CY 1966 -- 2 million April-June and 5 million July-December.

Rather than using a matching formula to spur other donors, Bell and Rusk support Freeman's recommendation that we just shoot for another 3 million tons (plus 327,000 bales of cotton -- to keep mills working so workers can earn enough to buy food -- and 75 million pounds of vegetable oil). This would keep the heat on simply because it's only about half what Subramaniam asked for. This plus Canada's grant will keep the pipeline full through September. By that time we'll have a better fix on India's next crop and other donations and can decide where to go for the rest of FY 1967.

Our draft message reflects this approach.

*O delete
— add*

[Handwritten signature]

Agriculture Redraft
March 26, 1966

THE WHITE HOUSE

MESSAGE ON COPING WITH HUNGER IN INDIA

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

I proposed in my message on Food for Freedom that the United States lead the world in a war against hunger. The nation will profit from the deliberations of the Congress on that proposal.

But today (in) India and the world (we) face crisis so urgent as to require a special and immediate effort

The Indian Crisis

Over one-fifth of the half-billion people in the world's largest working democracy live in areas stricken by their worst drought of the century.

Last year we shipped about (6.5) 6.2 million tons of grain to India--about one-third of the amount of wheat we used here at home.

The Government of India estimates it will need 11-14 million tons to meet essential requirements this year--even after drawing down meager stocks and tightening belts. A team of experts which I sent to India confirms this estimate.

The need is staggering. Eleven million tons of foodgrains, valued at around \$700 million, would equal about forty percent of India's total annual export earnings. This is a minimum grain import need. India also needs other products such as vegetable oils and milk powder so important to children.

Responsibility of All Nations

India has asked for help.

The United States answered by allocating 1.5 million tons of grain last December and another 3 million tons on 4 February, after I consulted with the Congressional leadership.

We must do even more.

Yet meeting human tragedy on this scale cannot be left to a beleaguered India and to the United States alone.

The whole community of nations must play a humanitarian role.

Indeed, India's needs are already recognized as demanding a truly international response.

--The Government of India has itself addressed urgent inquiries to all nations believed able to contribute.

--The Secretary General of the United Nations and the Director General of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization on 11 February made an urgent appeal to the world community.

--His Holiness Pope Paul VI has written to me and has appealed to other nations and peoples to help.

--The World Council of Churches on 10 February made a parallel appeal.

In an emergency of this magnitude, the obligation to assist a neighbor in distress should extend to every nation in the world.

To those who have no food to spare, we point out that India needs more than food--transportation and equipment, fertilizer and chemicals, credit and cash.

To those who believe they have nothing to spare, we suggest another look--first, at the critical urgency of the crisis--and then once more at their own potential to help.

There is no nation on earth far enough from India to be immune from the effect of hunger and starvation there.

There are few nations on earth that cannot afford to give something.

And there is no great and rich nation on earth that can sustain its claim to greatness if it cannot find some substantial way to assist its "neighbor" in this emergency.

Though some besides the United States, particularly Canada, have already responded handsomely, the general response to date must be termed disappointing. Of the world's uncommitted export supplies of grain, other nations have about half as much as the United States. Yet (it is estimated that) so far aid from others amounts to only 15 to 17 percent of India's total import need.

An International Response

So I ask the Congress to join with me in calling on all other nations for a response equal to the need. Let us look on this as an opportunity for strengthening the bonds of international cooperation

I propose that the United States' response reinforce this international effort and demonstrate our own deep concern for the people of India.

Optional → [It may become necessary to authorize further limited shipments of foodstuffs to India before Congress can complete its consideration of this matter]

But before embarking on the major part of this task of mercy -- which could involve substantial quantities of additional foodstuffs -- I believe it appropriate to call on the Congress to discuss these proposals and to endorse them. I seek the endorsement of the Congress for a simple three-phase program including:

-- fulfilling U.S. plans to help meet India's pre-emergency import requirements of about 6 million tons. This would require about 1.5 million tons of grain, which, together with shipments now authorized for this year, would cover one-half of India's total needs this year.

-- a further special U.S. contribution in grain, cotton, vegetable oils or other products, equal to at least half of India's emergency grain deficit as now forecast, on the understanding that other donors will match this with contributions of equal value or more.

-- review with the Government of India the results of this international effort to determine how remaining requirements shall be met when the situation becomes clearer.

I urge these emergency measures in full recognition that they must not obscure the need for a broader, longer-range attack on hunger and malnutrition in India as elsewhere.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Tuesday, March 29, 1966
11:20 a.m.

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Douglass Cater

The Congressional liaison people in AID called to say that after the extensive Congressional consultations prior to the binational foundation announcement, it would be damaging to send the India message to Congress without a little base touching in Congress. They and the Department of Agriculture are ready to do this as soon as you give the word.

Yes _____

No _____

*Carl Haines & Senate
For affairs
agriculture
Subcommittee of such agency. comm.
which would handle
plan*

AT THE WHITE HOUSE

WITH ROBERT FLEMING

1:15 P.M. EST

MARCH 28, 1966

MONDAY

MR. FLEMING: The President and Mrs. Gandhi were together in his office alone for an hour and 15 minutes of conversation and discussion. Then they joined the advisors for about 20 minutes more, before her afternoon luncheon engagement.

Q In the Cabinet Room?

MR. FLEMING: In the Cabinet Room. The President walked over to Blair House with Mrs. Gandhi.

On our side the advisers were: Secretary Rusk; Raymond A. Hare, Assistant Secretary for Near East and South Asia Affairs; Ambassador Chester Bowles; Miss Carol C. Laise, of the Office of South Asia Affairs; Robert Komer, who was there as the Security Council staff member on India; Ambassador Symington; Jack Valenti; and Bill Moyers.

In the Indian party were: Ambassador B. K. Nehru; the Secretary to the Prime Minister, Mr. Lakshmi Kant Jha; The Foreign Secretary of the Ministry of External Affairs, Mr. Chandra Shekhar Jha; Mr. Parmeshwar Narain Haksar, who is Deputy High Commissioner of India to the United Kingdom; Mr. B. G. Verghese, Information Adviser to the Prime Minister; and Mr. Aquil Ahmad, Press Attache for the Indian Embassy here.

We will have something of the substantive material for the four o'clock briefing.

Q You have nothing now?

MR. FLEMING: That is correct.

Q And nothing before then?

MR. FLEMING: That is correct.

Q Bob, is the President going to remain here this afternoon?

MR. FLEMING: As far as I know.

Q He is not going to the luncheon, or anything like that?

MR. FLEMING: NO.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

EF
EXECUTIVE

March 29, 1966

1:30 P.M. Tuesday

SP2-3/1966/F03-2/00121

FG 411/F*

FG 431/F*

MR. PRESIDENT:

Here is the re-worked India Food Message.

I am sending a copy to Bob Komer and to Secretary Freeman.

As per Bill Moyers' instructions, we will set up a meeting in the mess early this evening with the Foreign Relations Committees of the House and Senate, the Agriculture Committees of both Houses, and the appropriate subcommittees of the House and Senate Appropriations Committee.

May I assume that David Bell and Secretary Freeman will do the briefing?

YES _____ NO _____

Jack Valenti

JV:ny

March 29, 1966
1:45 P.M. Tuesday

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE DAVID BELL

It is very important that this message be closely held.

The President wanted you to have a final look at it ---

it is now being mimeographed.

Jack Valenti

JV:ny

INDIA FOOD MESSAGE

March 29, 1966
1:45 P.M. Tuesday

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE ORVILLE FREEMAN

It is very important that this message be closely held.

The President wanted you to have a final look at it ---

it is now being mimeographed.

Jack Valenti

INDIA FOOD MESSAGE

SPECIAL NOTE:

THIS HAS BEEN WRITTEN, AS AN EXERCISE IN CAREFUL READABLE AND HOPEFULLY RATHER COMPELLING EXPOSITION TO SHOW THE PRESIDENT'S UNDERSTANDING AND CONCERN FOR THIS PROBLEM. THE AUDIENCE IN THE CONGRESS, THE UNITED STATES, INDIA, OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE ALL BEEN IN MIND. WOULD ALL WHO ARE MOVED TO AMEND PROCEED WITH CAUTION AND RESTRAINT. WOULD THEY BEAR IN MIND SPECIFICALLY THAT NOT EVEN A MESSAGE BY MILTON ON THE REDEMPTION OF PARADISE ITSELF WOULD HAVE ASSUREDLY SURVIVED MORE THAN SIX GOVERNMENT EDITORS OR MORE THAN FOUR MAJOR REVISIONS.

In recent months I have been watching with deep concern the emerging problem of world food supply. And I have been especially concerned with the prospect for India. During this past week I have discussed the Indian food problem at length with the Prime Minister of India who has been our welcome and distinguished guest here in Washington. I am persuaded that we stand, at this moment, on the threshold of a great tragedy. The facts of this tragedy are simple; its implications are grave. India faces famine.

Strong efforts by the Indian government and our help have so far averted great hardship. But in the absence of cooperative and vigorously energetic action by the United States, by other nations and by India herself some millions of people will starve before the next crop is harvested. This, in our day and age, must not happen. We cannot have it said that man, though he can travel into space and explore the stars, cannot feed his own.

Because this tragedy must not and cannot be allowed to happen I am today placing the facts fully before the Congress. I am asking

2.

for a program that is
the approval of the Congress/^{small} neither in magnitude nor
cost, to prevent this tragedy. And I am asking the support of
the Congress, and of the American people, in an appeal to the
conscience of all nations that can render help.

If we all rally to this task, the suffering can be limited.
Men, women and children will not fall in the streets from hunger.
Villages will not count their dead. A sister democracy will not
suffer the terrible strains which famine imposes on free government.

Nor is this all. The Indians are a proud and self-respecting
people. So are their leaders. The natural disaster which they
now face is not of their making. They have not willingly asked
our help; they deeply prefer to help themselves. The Indian
government has sound plans for strengthening its agricultural
economy and its economic system. These steps will help India help
herself; they will prevent a recurrence of this disaster. I also
propose action to support this strong initiative by the Government
of India.

The Crisis

Here is the problem. Since independence India has done much
to increase her output of agricultural products. Her agriculture,
much believe to the contrary, has not been neglected; since 1950
she has increased food production 50 percent. This is a creditable
achievement. But India has had to contend with a continuing and
relentless increase in population. Her people have also consumed
more from a higher income. Accordingly, she has remained heavily

dependent on our help; last year we provided, under Public Law 480 more than 6 million tons of wheat, the equivalent of two-fifths of our own consumption. To keep this supply moving the equivalent of two fully loaded liberty ships had to put in at an Indian port every day of the year.

As a further result India has remained vulnerable to natural disasters. Nothing is so important for the Indian farmer as the annual season of heavy rain -- the monsoon. Last year, over large parts of India, the rains did not come. Crops could not be planted or the young plants withered and died in the fields. Agricultural output, which needed to increase was drastically reduced. Not since our own dustbowl years of the nineteen-thirties has there been a greater agricultural disaster. Indian leaders have rightly turned to the world for help. His Holiness the Pope has endorsed their plea. So has the Secretary General of the United Nations. So has the Director General of the Food and Agriculture Organization. And so, in this message, does the President of the United States.

I have said that effective action will not be cheap. India's need is for at least 11 million tons of imported grain. At current market prices this will cost about \$700 million. Were it all supplied by the United States it would mean that for every bushel we consume here at home one would have to do to India.

Nor does this demand come at a time when we have large and burdensome surpluses. For thirty years such surpluses have seemed a permanent feature of farm life. Now they no longer exist. Wise and careful policies have brought our productions of bread and

feed grains into balance with demand; we now have only the reserves which, as a matter of prudent policy we hold for emergencies such as this. The demands of other hungry countries, most notably those of China, have lowered drastically the reserves of other countries. Food in this world is no longer easy to find.

But find it we must. Here is what I propose.

The Program

So far in this calendar year, and after consultation with Congressional leaders, I have allotted 4.5 million tons of grain for shipment to India. This is part of a total of 6 million tons which as a continuation of past arrangements, we had planned to provide. It is necessary in this emergency that we keep the pipelines full and flowing and insure that there is no congestion of rail or sea transport. If required for this purpose I will allot an additional half million tons in the weeks ahead. An additional seven million tons will be necessary.

Of this seven million tons we will provide, after appropriate Congressional endorsement, a further one million tons. This will make up the total of six million tons we had expected to provide. A need for six million tons remains.

To meet this further requirement I invite the contribution of all nations which have either food or the wherewithal to buy food. I invite them to supply a total of three million tons to match a like additional amount which we will supply. I believe that every agriculturally advanced country can, by close scrutiny of its available supplies, make a substantial contribution. I

ask that every government seek to supply the maximum it can spare and then a little more. And I ask those industrial countries which cannot send food to supply a generous equivalent in fertilizer, or in shipping or in port handling equipment or in funds for the purchase of these requisites. All know the Indian balance of payments is badly over-burdened. Food and other materials should be supplied against payment in rupees which is our practice, or it should be a gift.

It is not our nature to drive a hard mathematical bargain where hunger is involved. Children will not know that they suffered hunger because American assistance was not matched. We will expect, and press for the most energetic and compassionate action by all countries of all political faiths. But if this response is insufficient, and if we can provide more without dangerously depleting our reserves, we will of course do so. I ask also endorsement for such emergency action.

I have spoken mostly of bread-grains. Other commodities can meet part of the requirements or replace part of the need. I propose that we allot 150-200,000 tons of feed grains, 75-150 million pounds of vegetable oils and 76-125 million pounds of milk powder to India. I would note that the vegetable oil and milk powder are especially needed for supplementing the diets of Indian children.

In addition India's own exchange resources can be released for food and fertilizer purchases if we make substantial shipments of cotton and tobacco. I am suggesting the allotment for this purpose

of 325-700,000 bales of cotton and 2-4 million pounds of tobacco.

Both of these commodities we have in relative abundance.

I request prompt Congressional endorsement of this action.

I urge, also, the strong and warm-hearted and generous support of this program by the American people.

And I urge the strong and generous response of governments and people the world around.

India is a good and deserving friend. In her moment of bitter need let us show that history can sometimes tell of man's humanity to man.

Further Action

The Indian people want to be self-supporting in their food supply. Their government has adopted a far reaching program to increase fertilizer production, improve water and soil management, provide rural credit, improve plant protection and control food loss. These essentials must be accompanied by a strong training and education program. I have directed the Secretary of Agriculture, in cooperation with AID, to consult with the Indian government to ascertain if these are ways and means by which we can strengthen this effort. We have long experience with short courses, extension training and similar programs. If they can be used, I feel certain the American agriculturalists would respond to an appeal to serve in India as a part of an Agricultural Training Corps. Many of our younger men and women would especially welcome the opportunity. I am determined that in our assistance to the Indian government we not be narrowly limited by what has been done

in the past. Let us not be afraid of our own enthusiasm. Let us be willing to experiment.

The Indian government agrees that there can be no effective solution of the Indian food problem that does not include population control. The choice is now between a comprehensive and humane program for limiting births and the brutal curb that is imposed by famine. The Indian government has assured me of the most vigorous efforts on this front.

Following long and careful planning, and discussion in recent days with Prime Minister Gandhi, I have proposed the establishment of the Indo-U.S. ~~Foundation~~ Foundation. This foundation will be financed by rupees, surplus to our need, now on deposit in India. It will be governed by distinguished citizens of both countries. It will be, we are determined, a vigorous and imaginative enterprise designed to give new stimulus to education and scientific research in India. And there is no field where, I hope, this stimulus will be greater than in the field of agriculture and agricultural development.

Finally, in these last days, the Prime Minister and I have talked about the prospects for the Indian economy. The threat of war with China and the unhappy conflict with Pakistan seriously interrupted India's economic progress. Steps had to be taken to protect dwindling exchange resources. These also had a strangling effect on the economy. Indian leaders are determined now to put their economy again on the upward path. Extensive discussions have been held with the authorities of the World Bank.

The United States interferes neither in the internal politics or the internal economic structure of other countries. The record of the last fifteen years is a sufficient proof that we ask only for results. But we are naturally concerned with results -- with insuring that our aid be used in the context of strong and energetic policies calculated to produce the most rapid possible economic development. We believe Indian plans, now under discussion, show such promise. We are impressed by the vigor and determination of the Indian economic leadership. As their plans are implemented we look forward to resuming economic assistance on a scale that is related to the great needs of our sister democracy.

*NY for files
from
Ken
3/30/66*

AT THE WHITE HOUSE

WITH BILL MOYERS AND
B. G. VERGHESE*Gandhi
visit*

6:20 P.M. EST

MARCH 29, 1966

TUESDAY

MR. MOYERS: We will give you a couple of minutes to read the communique. Mr. George Verghese and I will be happy to try to entertain any questions that you have about it.

Let me clarify, in advance, one question that I know will arise. That relates to the statement in the communique that the President intends to send a special message to Congress shortly to seek its endorsement of U.S. assistance to meet India's immediate food deficit problem.

That message will go up tomorrow morning. There will be an interpretive session on it at ten o'clock tomorrow here in my office.

Q When will it be available here?

MR. MOYERS: It will probably not be available until just around ten o'clock which will necessitate giving you an opportunity to read it before we have a briefing on it. It definitely will not be available before 9:45.

Q Do you have any idea as to length?

MR. MOYERS: About 1500 words.

Q Is that to be in terms of numbers, tonnages?

MR. MOYERS: Yes, and I would hold up any further comment on the message until tomorrow.

Q Did you say Congressional approval of a special aid to India program?

MR. MOYERS: That is what it says here in the fourth paragraph.

Q Where does it say a special program?

MR. MOYERS: It says "send a special message to Congress shortly to seek its endorsement of such U.S. assistance."

Q Does that refer to the food deficit problem or to aid generally?

MR. MOYERS: This is food.

Q On aid generally, how about the second paragraph? It said, "President Johnson assured Prime Minister Gandhi

of the deep interest of the Government and the people of the United States in participating in international efforts, particularly those under the leadership of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, to assist India in its own massive efforts to raise the living standards of its people within the framework of a parliamentary democracy."

What does that imply? Is there a World Bank scheme for meeting their needs for credits?

MR. MOYERS: Yes.

Q Can you tell us anything about that scheme?

MR. MOYERS: No. As everyone knows, this Government made a decision, following Tashkent, to resume its program of economic assistance. There are a considerable number of specific details to be worked out by the Government of India, officials of the World Bank, and other donor countries. Those discussions are to continue rather soon, I understand. Those details are being left to those particular considerations.

Q Bill, if that is the Consortium that you are referring to, do you know when it will meet?

MR. MOYERS: No, I don't, Carroll.

Q Bill, there was approximately \$250 million of American economic aid that was held up last summer. Has that been released?

MR. MOYERS: I think I mentioned following Tashkent we did begin our economic program again. Fifty million dollars was announced in December for fertilizer purposes and \$100 million was released in program funds when Vice President Humphrey was in New Delhi.

Q I think at the last World Bank Consortium the United States placed 430 or 435 of which 135 has been released. Does that mean the balance is going to be released now?

MR. MOYERS: I don't have that answer now. As I say, a lot of these answers will come out of the officials of the World Bank and the Consortium.

Q Do you have any idea what "very soon" means?

MR. MOYERS: No.

Q Bill, formerly this was described as, you know, just a decision to give that much aid and not a decision to resume. The distinction was made between the two.

MR. MOYERS: I think the fact that everyone knows that this Government began, following Tashkent, to resume aid that I have already discussed, plus the tone and spirit of this communique answers your question.

Q Bill, on that special message to Congress tomorrow, would that be endorsement of emergency food shipments above and beyond that for which we have already been committed?

MR. MOYERS: Bob, I just refer you back to what the communique says here. "The President assured her that, Congress willing, the United States will continue to participate generously in the international effort to alleviate India's immediate food deficit problem. The President told Mrs. Gandhi that he intended to send a special message to Congress shortly to seek its endorsement of such U.S. assistance."

What the totals and the figures are will be revealed in tomorrow morning's message.

Q Bill, can you tell us what the deficit is?

MR. MOYERS: George?

MR. VERGHESE: The deficit isn't any absolute figure. These are estimates which are dependent on the Indian crop. We expect that the production this year will be around 76 to 78 million tons as compared to about 88.4 million tons last year. On that basis, the deficit would be the difference between these two figures, that is, 10 to 12 million tons.

But at the same time it is still only an estimate because the winter harvest is yet to come in and a final estimate can't be forecast yet.

Q Bill, why must you go up with the special message to Congress? Do you not have sufficient authority under the present law to carry out this food program?

MR. MOYERS: If I recall correctly, the President mentioned in a press conference that he talked with Ambassador Nehru about this and that he looked forward to talking with the Prime Minister about it and following the visit he was considering going to Congress on a program this massive to put the complete stamp of the U.S. Government behind it.

Q Bill, does the second paragraph refer to the long-term authorization proposal that the Administration is trying to get through Congress?

MR. MOYERS: Which particular part of paragraph two?

Q The economic development and aid part. It says "in participating in international efforts, particularly those under the leadership of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development." I assume there are other efforts. Does it also include the long-term authorization effort?

MR. MOYERS: Yes, which is already before Congress. Our overall economic aid program has already been sent to the Congress this year.

Q Coming back to the second paragraph in the context of participating in the World Bank, etcetera, if I remember right, the plan was frozen in the World Bank. Does this mean you want the World Bank to start it again, or is it a question of an economic mission being sent to India?

MR. MOYERS: This would refer to whatever money is in the pipeline through the World Bank and whatever additional money the U.S. plans to put through the World Bank.

Q Mr. Verghese, does the Prime Minister feel she accomplished her purposes in this visit?

MR. VERGHESE: I think she is generally very satisfied with the results of the visit.

Q Bill, the President said earlier that the U.S. might have to ship to India as much wheat as the U.S. consumes in one year. That is roughly 17 or 18 million tons, I found out. Is that figure correct?

MR. MOYERS: I don't know anything about that figure, Bill. The answer to your question will be in the text tomorrow morning.

Q Bill, in the first paragraph at the top of page 2, regarding Vietnam, "The Prime Minister explained the continuing interest and efforts of her country in bringing about a just and peaceful solution of this problem."

What are some of these efforts? Is this collateral, part of the ICC, or what?

MR. VERGHESE: This is part of India's chairmanship of the ICC. As Chairman of the ICC and as a country, too, we are willing to take whatever initiative we can, whenever any opportunity offers, to explore every possible avenue towards a settlement.

Q Does this anticipated assistance apply to Pakistan, too?

MR. MOYERS: This relates to India.

Q Do you have any idea that such kind of assistance would be extended to Pakistan when the assistance to India will start?

MR. MOYERS: No.

Q Bill, was there any discussion in the meeting between the President and Mrs. Gandhi about the World Bank's recommendation that India take off the economic and import tolls that it has had so many years as an incentive to outside investment?

MR. MOYERS: I don't believe they got into that kind of a specific.

Q Did the advisers?

MR. MOYERS: It is quite possible they did.

Q Can you tell us about any conclusions that were reached?

MR. MOYERS: No.

Q Bill, I got in late and this question may have

been asked. Was there anything in the discussion that led the Indian Government to feel that our post-Kashmir war restrictions are now gone?

MR. MOYERS: I am not sure that I understand the question.

Q Well, the restrictions on economic aid that we put on during the recent war in Kashmir. Are those now ended?

MR. MOYERS: I don't know what restrictions you are referring to. I think everyone is aware of the President's feeling that through self-help measures it is possible for recipient nations to increase the effectiveness of our assistance. I think, also, everyone is aware that the President is concerned that assistance which goes to any country is used for national development rather than other purposes.

I think that is touched upon in the communique. The President quite strongly applauded India's efforts in the field of self-help measures, particularly agriculture. Again, that will be a subject touched upon in the message tomorrow. I think that was one of the last points the President made in the meeting in the Cabinet Room a minute ago, that from --

MR. VERGHESE: -- 1950 to 1965 there has been a 75 percent increase in agricultural output in India, food grains output in India.

MR. MOYERS: It is that kind of increasing activity on the part of the Government that the President believes best enables our assistance to be utilized.

Q Bill, we note that Mrs. Gandhi extended a warm invitation to the President to visit India. Will he?

MR. MOYERS: This was the last thing he said to her as the meeting broke up that he would like to do it, if the situation presents itself and circumstances permit it.

Q There is no definite date?

MR. MOYERS: No definite date or time. She did not even propose a specific time.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

MARCH 29, 1966

Sunders

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSEGandhi
visitTEXT OF JOINT COMMUNIQUE BY
PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON AND
HER EXCELLENCY INDIRA GANDHI,
PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA, FOLLOWING
TALKS IN WASHINGTON, D. C.

At the invitation of President Johnson, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of the Republic of India, has been on an official visit to the United States of America. During her visit, Prime Minister Gandhi met the President and members of the United States Government.

The President and the Prime Minister discussed India's efforts for the improved well-being of its people. Prime Minister Gandhi emphasized the high priority which India attaches to economic development. President Johnson assured Prime Minister Gandhi of the deep interest of the Government and the people of the United States in participating in international efforts, particularly those under the leadership of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, to assist India in its own massive efforts to raise the living standards of its people within the framework of a parliamentary democracy.

The President and the Prime Minister discussed India's emergency food grain requirements resulting from last year's unprecedented drought. They agreed that the problem should be viewed not in isolation but in the context of an incipient world-wide food deficit, a challenge to humanity as a whole that merits the sustained and serious attention of all nations.

The Prime Minister described measures which the Government of India is taking to achieve self-sufficiency in the nation's food production. The President assured her that, Congress willing, the United States will continue to participate generously in the international effort to alleviate India's immediate food deficit problem. The President told Mrs. Gandhi that he intended to send a special message to Congress shortly to seek its endorsement of such U.S. assistance. Both of them agreed that further participation of other countries in meeting India's emergency food needs is also highly desirable.

Prime Minister Gandhi welcomed the President's proposal for the establishment of an Indo-U.S. Foundation to promote progress in all fields of learning. The President and the Prime Minister look to this cooperative endeavour to develop new teaching techniques in farm and factory, to advance science and to increase research.

President Johnson and Prime Minister Gandhi agreed that following the Tashkent Declaration there had already been considerable progress toward re-establishing the conditions of peace in the subcontinent and that it is necessary that this process continue in order that the peoples of both countries may concentrate their energies once again on the urgent tasks of national development. They also agreed on the importance of continuing to give full support to the United Nations objectives of refraining from the use of force and of resolving conflicts between nations through peaceful means.

During their discussions, President Johnson and Prime Minister Gandhi reviewed recent developments in South and Southeast Asia in the context of the universal desire of men and women everywhere to achieve peace that respects liberty, dignity and the pursuit of a better way of life. In this connection the President explained the policies the United States is pursuing to help the people of the Republic of Vietnam to defend their freedom and to reconstruct their war-torn society. The Prime Minister explained the continuing interest and efforts of her country in bringing about a just and peaceful solution of this problem.

Prime Minister Gandhi affirmed the determination of her nation to defend the freedom and territorial integrity of India and explained the challenge presented to it by the aggressive policies of the people's Republic of China. The Prime Minister and the President agreed that such aggressive policies pose a threat to peace, particularly in Asia.

The President and the Prime Minister consider that the visit has reaffirmed the strong bonds of friendship between the United States and India, based upon a shared commitment to constitutional democracy and a common revolutionary heritage. Their highly informative, frank, and friendly discussions have contributed to a valuable personal understanding between their two countries and their two peoples.

Prime Minister Gandhi extended a warm invitation to President Johnson to visit India. The President expressed his gratitude for the invitation and his hope that he could visit India again.

#

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Tuesday, March 29, 1966
9:00 pm

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

India Food Message Final. At Tab A is the latest revised text incorporating the changes made on your copy, and omitting the caveat to which Ellender objected. Rusk, Bell, Freeman all agree to drop it, so I have. In my judgment, you'll probably want to go back for more come fall, but sufficient unto the day thereof.

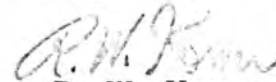
Also dropped is the para. on our disappearing surpluses. Freeman was not as worried as Schultze or Schnittker that it would depress prices, but conceded.

The Press Office has mimeographed the message and is ready to roll.

At Tab B are the cost figures certified by Schultze and Freeman. They include both how much we've spent already since 30 June 1965 (6.5 million tons), and the cost of the new package in the message.

At Tab C is the draft Joint Resolution prepared by Schultze and cleared by McPherson. Who sponsors? Schultze would prefer to include the binational foundation in the resolution instead of going the legislative waiver route, but the rest of us disagree and have left it out.

Manatos reports that Mansfield thought your meeting went very well; even Ellender was much more cooperative than Mansfield expected. Mansfield says, however, that unless the resolution goes to the Agriculture Committee we're begging for trouble. He thinks that if you amend the message the way Ellender wants, it will help buy his vote (we've done so -- would you want to tell him?). Mansfield sees no other committee opposition, and promises to generate debate on the floor, but is eager to handle the resolution as speedily as possible.


R. W. Komer

A

In recent months I have been watching with deep concern the emerging problem of world food supply. And I have been especially concerned with the prospect for India. During this past week I have discussed the Indian food problem with the Prime Minister of India, who has been our welcome and distinguished guest here in Washington. I am persuaded that we may stand, at this moment, on the threshold of a great tragedy. The facts are simple; their implications are grave. India faces an unprecedented drought. Unless the world responds, India faces famine.

Strong efforts by the Indian government, and our help, have so far averted famine. But in the absence of cooperative and energetic action by the United States, by other nations and by India herself, some millions of people will suffer needlessly before the next crop is harvested. This, in our day and age, must not happen. Can we let it be said that man, who can travel into space and explore the stars, cannot feed his own?

Because widespread famine must not and cannot be allowed to happen, I am today placing the facts fully before the Congress. I am asking the endorsement of the Congress for a program that is small neither in magnitude nor concept. I am asking the Congress, and the American people, to join with me in an appeal to the conscience of all nations that can render help.

If we all rally to this task, the suffering can be limited. A sister democracy will not suffer the terrible strains which famine imposes on free government.

Nor is this all. The Indians are a proud and self-respecting people. So are their leaders. The natural disaster which they now face is not of their making. They have not asked our help needlessly; they deeply prefer to help themselves. The Indian government has sound plans for strengthening its agricultural economy and its economic system. These steps will help India help herself. They will prevent a recurrence of this disaster. I also propose action through the World Bank and the Agency for International Development to support this strong initiative by the Government of India.

THE CRISIS

Since independence India has done much to increase her output of agricultural products. Her agriculture has not been neglected. From 1950 to 1965 she increased food production 75 percent. This is a creditable achievement. But India has had to contend with a continuing and relentless increase in population. Her people have also consumed more from a higher income. Accordingly, she has remained heavily dependent on our help. Last year we provided, under Public Law 480, more than 6 million tons of wheat, equal to more than two-fifths

of our own consumption. To keep this supply moving, the equivalent of two fully loaded liberty ships had to put in at an Indian port every day of the year.

Now India has been the victim of merciless natural disaster. Nothing is so important for the Indian farmer as the annual season of heavy rain -- the monsoon. Last year, over large parts of India, the rains did not come. Crops could not be planted, or the young plants withered and died in the fields. Agricultural output, which needed to increase, was drastically reduced. Not since our own dustbowl years of the nineteen-thirties has there been a greater agricultural disaster.

Indian leaders have rightly turned to the world for help. Pope Paul VI has endorsed their plea. So has the World Council of Churches. So has the Secretary General of the United Nations. So has the Director General of the Food and Agriculture Organization. And so, in this message, does the President of the United States.

I have said that effective action will not be cheap. India's need is for at least 11 to 12 million tons of imported grain from January to December 1966.

Food in this world is no longer easy to find.

But find it we must.

Here is what I propose.

THE PROGRAM

Last fiscal year we supplied six million tons of food grain to India. So far in this fiscal year, I have allotted 6.5 million tons of grain for shipment to India -- more than the total of six million tons which we had planned to provide as a continuation of past arrangements. It is even more necessary in this emergency to keep the pipelines full and flowing and to insure that there is no congestion of rail or sea transport. India, furthermore, estimates an additional six to seven million tons of food grain will be necessary through next December beyond what has already been committed or expected.

I propose that the United States provide three and one-half million tons of that requirement, with the remaining three and a half million tons coming from those nations which have either the food to offer or the means to buy food. I invite those nations to match the amount which we will supply. For example, I am delighted to be informed that Canada is prepared to provide a million tons of wheat and flour to India.

Every agriculturally advanced country can, by close scrutiny of its available supplies, make a substantial contribution. I ask that every government seek to supply the maximum it can spare -- and then a little more. I ask those industrial countries which cannot send food to supply a generous equivalent in fertilizer, or in shipping,

or in funds for the purchase of these requisites. All know the Indian balance of payments is badly overburdened. Food and other materials should be supplied against payment in rupees, which is our practice, or as a gift. We will expect and press for the most energetic and compassionate action by all countries of all political faiths.

I have spoken mostly of bread-grains. The Prime Minister of India spoke also of other commodities which can meet part of the requirements or replace part of the need. In response to her needs, I propose that we allot up to 200,000 tons of corn, up to 150 million pounds of vegetable oils, and up to 125 million pounds of milk powder to India. The vegetable oil and milk powder are especially needed for supplementing the diets of Indian children.

In addition, India's own exchange resources can be released for food and fertilizer purchases if we make substantial shipments of cotton and tobacco. I am suggesting the allotment for this purpose of 325-700,000 bales of cotton and 2-4 million pounds of tobacco. Both of these commodities we have in relative abundance.

I request prompt Congressional endorsement of this action.

I urge, also, the strong and warmhearted and generous support of this program by the American people.

And I urge the strong and generous response of governments and people the world around.

India is a good and deserving friend. Let it never be said that "bread should be so dear, and flesh and blood so cheap" that we turned in indifference from her bitter need.

FURTHER ACTION

The Indian people want to be self-supporting in their food supply.

Their government has adopted a far-reaching program to increase fertilizer production, improve water and soil management, provide rural credit, improve plant protection and control food loss. These essentials must be accompanied by a strong training and education program.

I have directed the Secretary of Agriculture, in cooperation with AID, to consult with the Indian government to ascertain if there are ways and means by which we can strengthen this effort. We have long experience with short courses, extension training and similar programs. If they can be used, I feel certain that American agricultural experts would respond to an appeal to serve in India as a part of an Agricultural Training Corps or through an expanded Peace Corps. Many of our younger men and women would especially welcome the opportunity.

I am determined that in our assistance to the Indian government we not be narrowly limited by what has been done in the past. Let us not be afraid of our own enthusiasm. Let us be willing to experiment.

The Indian government believes that there can be no effective solution of the Indian food problem that does not include population control. The choice is now between a comprehensive and humane program for limiting births and the brutal curb that is imposed by famine. As Mrs. Gandhi told me, the Indian government is making vigorous efforts on this front.

Following long and careful planning and after discussions in recent days with Prime Minister Gandhi, I have proposed the establishment of the Indo-U. S. Foundation. This Foundation will be financed by rupees, surplus to our need, now on deposit in India. It will be governed by distinguished citizens of both countries. It will be a vigorous and imaginative enterprise designed to give new stimulus to education and scientific research in India. There is no field where, I hope, this stimulus will be greater than in the field of agriculture and agricultural development.

Finally, in these last days, the Prime Minister and I have talked about the prospects for the Indian economy. The threat of war with China and the unhappy conflict with Pakistan seriously interrupted India's economic progress. Steps had to be taken to protect dwindling exchange resources. These also had a strangling effect on the economy. Indian leaders are determined now to put their economy again on the upward path. Extensive discussions have

been held with the World Bank, which heads the consortium of aid-giving countries.

The United States interferes neither in the internal politics nor the internal economic structure of other countries. The record of the last fifteen years is a sufficient proof that we ask only for results. We are naturally concerned with results -- with insuring that our aid be used in the context of strong and energetic policies calculated to produce the most rapid possible economic development.

We believe Indian plans now under discussion show high promise. We are impressed by the vigor and determination of the Indian economic leadership. As their plans are implemented, we look forward to providing economic assistance on a scale that is related to the great needs of our sister democracy.

An India free from want and deprivation will, as Mahatma Gandhi himself once predicted, "be a mighty force for the good of mankind."

####

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
BUREAU OF THE BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

OFFICE OF
THE DIRECTOR

March 29, 1966

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

The costs of the food aid program for India are set out below:

	<u>Volume</u>	<u>Market value</u> (millions of \$)
Cotton	325-700 thous.bales	49-105
Corn	200 thous. tons	11
Vegetable oils	150 mill. lbs.	24
Milk	125 mill. lbs.	25
Tobacco	2-4 mill. lbs.	2-4
Wheat & sorghum		
- already committed	6½ mill. tons	510
- proposed addition	3½ mill. tons	<u>275</u>
	<u>Total market value</u>	896-954

In addition there will be handling and shipping costs chargeable to CCC which bring the total value of the program to \$1 billion, if the upper end of the range is achieved.

Charles L. Schultze
Charles L. Schultze
Director

Won't it risk spooking the Congress if we talk about giving roughly a billion dollars worth of PL-480 over what is essentially an 18-month period -- 1 July 1965 to 31 December 1966? The almost \$400-500 million called for through December in your new message looks whopping enough.

RWK
R. W. Komer

C

JOINT RESOLUTION

To support United States participation in relieving victims of hunger in India and to enhance India's capacity to meet the nutritional needs of its people.

Whereas the Congress has declared it to be the policy of the

United States to make maximum efficient use of this nation's agricultural abundance in furtherance of the foreign policy of the United States;

Whereas the Congress is considering legislation to govern the

response of the United States to the mounting world food problem;

Whereas critical food shortages in India threatening the health if not the lives of tens of millions of people require an urgent prior response; Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress ^{ENDORSES} approves and supports the President's initiative in organizing substantial American participation in an urgent international effort designed to:

(a) Help meet India's pressing food shortages by selling to India under Public Law 480 agricultural commodities to meet India's normal import needs plus added quantities of agricultural commodities as the United States' share in the international response to the Indian emergency.

(b) Help combat malnutrition, especially in mothers and children, via a special program;

(c) Encourage and assist those measures which the Government of India is planning to expand India's own agricultural production;

That the Congress urges the President to join India in pressing on other nations the urgency of sharing appropriately in a truly international response to India's critical need.

SPECIAL NOTE: This has been written, as an exercise in careful, readable and hopefully rather compelling exposition to show the President's understanding and concern ~~both in the United States, in India and elsewhere --~~ for this problem. → Would all who are moved to amend proceed with caution and stern restraint, ~~-(bearing always in mind that not even a message by Milton on the redemption of Paradise itself would have survived more than six government editors.)~~ ^{in recent months} I have been watching with deep concern the

emerging problem of world food supply. And I have been especially concerned with the prospect for India. During this past week I have discussed the Indian food problem at length with the Prime Minister of India who has been our welcome and distinguished guest here in Washington. I am persuaded that we stand, at this moment, on the threshold of a great tragedy. — The facts of this tragedy are simple; its implications are ~~very~~ grave. India faces famine. ~~But~~ Strong efforts by the Indian government and our help have so far averted ^{great} serious hardship. ^{But in} (the absence of cooperative and vigorously energetic action by the United States, by other nations and by India herself some millions of people ^{will} ~~could~~ starve before the next crop is harvested. This, in our day and age, must not happen. ^{if we} ~~We~~ ^{do have it} ~~cannot have it~~ ~~said~~ that man, though he can travel ^{and} into space, ^{can} ~~will~~ explore the stars, ~~will~~ cannot feed his own.

Because this tragedy must not and cannot be allowed to happen I am today placing the facts fully before the Congress. I am asking the approval of the Congress small neither in magnitude nor cost, to prevent this tragedy. And I am asking the support of the Congress, and of the American people, in an appeal to the conscience of all nations that can render help. ^{we} If ^{all} rally to this task, the suffering can be ^{small.} ~~kept to a minimum.~~ Men, women, and children will not ^{fall out} ~~fall and~~ die in the streets from hunger. ~~Our~~ ^{Villages} ~~will not to count their dead.~~ A sister democracy will not suffer the terrible strains which famine imposes on free government.

Editor: on more than 1000 copies
revisions.

Would they
the

The American in the Congress, the United States, India, other
countries have all been in mind.

Nor is this all. The Indians are a proud and self-respecting ~~people~~ ^{people} ~~(So are~~ ^{their} ~~their~~ ^{now} leaders. The natural disaster which they ^{now} face ~~this year~~ is not of their making. They have not willingly asked our help; they ~~profoundly~~ ^{deeply} prefer to help themselves. ~~In this message~~ ^{He} ~~I note with strong approval the steps which the Indian government, ~~as~~~~ ^{has recent plans for} ~~is planning to~~ (strengthening) its agricultural economy and its economic system. These steps will help India help herself; they will prevent a recurrence of this disaster. ^{also} I ~~(~~ propose action to support this strong initiative by the Government of India.

The Crisis

Here is the problem. Since independence India has ~~made~~ ^{done much} ~~worked~~ ^{great efforts} to increase her output of agricultural products. ^{Her agriculture, much belied to the contrary, has not been neglected;} ~~These have met with no small measure of success;~~ since 1950 ~~India~~ ^{she} ~~she~~ ^{this is a creditable achievement} food production has increased 50 per cent. But India has had to contend with a continuing and relentless increase in population. ^{Her people have} ~~which has also~~ which has also consumed more from a higher income. Accordingly, she has remained heavily dependent on our help; last year we provided, under Public Law 480 more than 6 million tons of wheat, the equivalent of two-fifths of our own consumption. ~~It is~~ ^{keep this up moving} ~~required that~~ (the equivalent of two fully loaded liberty ships ~~put~~ ^{put} ~~had to~~ ^{put} in at an Indian port every day of the year.

As a further result India has remained vulnerable to natural disasters. Nothing is so important for the Indian farmer as the annual season of heavy rain -- the monsoon. Last year, over large parts of India, the rains did not come. Crops could not be planted; or

3

the young plants withered ^{and died} in the fields. Agricultural ^{output, which} ~~production~~ ^{needed to increase} was drastically reduced. Not since our own dustbowl years of the nineteen-thirties has there been a greater agricultural disaster. Indian leaders have rightly turned to the world for help. His Holiness the Pope has endorsed their plea. So has the Secretary General of the United Nations. So has the Director General of the Food and Agriculture Organization. And so, in this message, does the President of the United States.

I have said that effective action will not be cheap. India's ~~basic~~ need is for at least 11 million tons of imported grain. At current market prices this will cost about \$700 million. Were it all supplied by the United States it would mean that for every bushel we consume here at home one would have to go to India.

Nor does this demand come at a time when we have large and burdensome surpluses. ~~Those surpluses which~~ ^{such surpluses} for thirty years ^{have} seemed ~~such~~ a permanent feature of farm life, ^{now they} no longer exist. Wise and careful policies have brought our productions of bread and feed grains into balance with demand; we ^{have now} only the reserves ^{as a matter of fact we have} which prudent policy holds for emergencies such as this. The demands of other hungry countries, most notably those of China, have lowered drastically the reserves of other countries. Food ^{in this world} is no longer ~~so~~ easy to find.

But find it we must. Here is what I propose.

The Program

So far ⁱⁿ ~~for~~ this calendar year, and after consultation with Congressional leaders, I have allotted 4.5 million tons of grain for shipment to India. This is part of a total of 6 million tons which ^{as a} ~~in~~ continuation of past arrangements, we had ^{planned.} ~~intended~~ to provide. ^{is)} ~~If~~ necessary ^{in the emergency that we} ~~to~~ keep the pipelines full ^{and flourish} and insure that there is no congestion of rail or sea transport. ^{for 11 months for this purpose, I} ~~in accordance with~~ these ^{will} ~~intentions~~ allot an additional half million tons in the weeks ahead. An additional seven million tons will be necessary.

Of this seven million tons we will provide, after appropriate Congressional endorsement a further one million tons. ^{this will make a total} ~~in accordance~~ ^{up the total of the total of six million tons we had expected to provide. A need for} with past plans. A requirement of six million tons remains. ^{To}

meet this requirement I invite the contribution of all nations which have either food or the wherewithal to buy food. I invite them to supply a total of three million tons to match a like additional amount which we will supply. I believe that ^{every} ~~there are~~ ^{unusually} ~~few if any~~ economically advanced countries ^{can,} ~~which,~~ by close scrutiny of their available supplies, ~~cannot~~ ^{to} make a substantial contribution.

I ^{ask} ~~wish~~ that every government seek to supply the ^{maximum it can spare} ~~minimum~~ and then a little more. And I ask that those who ^{industrial countries which} ~~cannot~~ send food to ^{supply} ~~send~~ a generous equivalent in fertilizer, or ⁱⁿ ~~shipping~~ or ⁱⁿ ~~port~~ handling equipment or ⁱⁿ ~~funds~~ for the purchase of these requisites. ~~As~~ ^{all}

know the Indian balance of payments is badly over-burdened. Food and other materials ^{should be supplied} ~~should, as are ours, be~~ against payment in rupees

~~or they should be a gift~~ ^{which is our future. or it} ~~should be a gift.~~

5 *hard*

It is not our nature to drive a ^{hard} mathematical bargain where hunger is involved. ~~Starving~~ ^CChildren will not know that they suffered ^{hunger} because American assistance was not matched. We will expect, and press for the most energetic and compassionate action by all countries of all political faiths. ^{But if} ~~If~~ this response is insufficient, and ^{if} we can provide more without dangerously depleting our reserves, we will of course do so. I ask also endorsement for such emergency action.

I have spoken mostly of bread-grains. Other commodities can meet part of the requirements or replace part of the need. I propose that we allot 150-200,000 tons of feed grains, 75-150 million pounds of vegetable oils and 76-125 million pounds of milk powder to Indian ~~needs~~. ^{I would note that the} The (vegetable oil and milk powder are especially needed for supplementing the diets of Indian children.

In addition Indian ^{own} exchange resources can be released for food and fertilizer purchases if we make substantial shipments of cotton and tobacco. I am suggesting the allotment ^{for this purpose} of 325, ~~000~~-700,000 bales of cotton and 2-4 million pounds of tobacco. Both of these commodities we have in relative abundance.

I request prompt Congressional endorsement of this action.
→ I urge, also, the strong and warm-hearted and generous support for this program by the American people.

And I urge the strong and generous response of governments and people the world around. [←] India is a good and deserving friend.
In her moment of bitter need let us ~~all join in showing~~ ^{sometimes} that history can ~~also~~ tell of man's humanity to man.

Further Action

The Indian people want to be self-supporting in their food supply. ^{their} ~~this~~ government has adopted a far reaching program to increase fertilizer production, improve water and soil management, provide rural credit, improve plant protection and control food loss.

^{these essentials} ~~Such essential and basic improvements in Indian agriculture must~~ be accompanied by ^{a strong} ~~a strengthened~~ training and education program.

I have directed the Secretary of Agriculture, in cooperation with AID, to consult with the Indian government to ascertain ^{if there are} ways and

means by which we can strengthen this effort. ^{we have long} ~~We believe these~~ ^{experience with extension education short course work, short} ~~efforts might be patterned on the six week short courses that have~~ ^{courses, extension training and similar programs. If they can be used,} ~~been successfully conducted by our Land Grant colleges. If needed,~~

I feel certain that American agriculturalists, ~~as many as a thousand~~ ^{if called for,} ~~in a very short time,~~ would respond to an appeal to serve ~~for~~

~~substantial time~~ in India as a part of an Agricultural Training

Corps. ~~It is an opportunity that~~ many of our younger men and women

would especially welcome ^{the opportunity.} I am determined that in our assistance

to the Indian government we not be narrowly limited by what has

been done in the past. Let us not be afraid of ^{our own} ~~enthusiasm~~ ^{let us be} ~~and~~ ^{with us} ~~(experiment.~~

^{the Indian government agrees that there can be no} ~~There can be no~~ (effective solution of the Indian food problem

that does not include population control. The choice is now

between a ^{and humane} ~~true~~ comprehensive program for limiting births and the

brutal curb ^{that is} ~~imposed~~ by famine. The Indian government has assured

me of the most vigorous efforts on this front.

Following long and careful planning, ~~with the Indian government~~ and ~~intensive~~ discussion in recent days with Prime Minister ^{Shri Nehru,}

I have proposed the establishment of the Indo-U.S. Binational Foundation. ^(This Foundation) It will be financed by rupees, surplus to our need, now on deposit in India. It will be governed ~~and~~ distinguished by citizens of both countries. ~~This (now, large and, I am determined,~~ ^{It will give a) It will be, we are determined, a} vigorous and imaginative enterprise ^{designed to} give new stimulus to education and scientific research in India. And there is no field where, I hope, this stimulus will be greater than in the field of agriculture and agricultural development.

Finally, in these last days, the Prime Minister and I have talked about the prospects for the Indian economy. The threat of war with China and the unhappy conflict with Pakistan ~~has~~ seriously interrupted India's economic progress.

Steps ~~have~~ had to be taken to protect dwindling exchange resources. ~~that~~ ^{these} have also had a strangling effect on the economy. Indian leaders are

determined now to put their economy again on the upward path. ~~They are~~ ^{enterprises and discussions have been held with} discussing programs of recovery and reform with the authorities of the

World Bank. ^{the} The United States interferes neither in ~~the~~ internal politics or the internal economic structure of other countries.

^{that we ask} The record of the last fifteen years is a sufficient proof of that ^{not for results. But} ~~point. However~~ we are deeply concerned that ^{material results - with money (that)} our aid be used in the context of strong and energetic policies calculated to produce the most rapid possible economic development.

We are confident that Indian plans, now under discussion, will show such ^{quite much} promise. ^{As they take their part} ~~As these discussions mature~~ we look forward to resuming economic assistance on a scale that is related to the great needs of our sister democracy.

we are inspired by the vigor and determination of the Indian economic leadership.

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Dated: 2/30/66

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TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES: 66-999-19

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PC2/00121

In recent months I have been watching with deep concern the emerging problem of world food supply. And I have been especially concerned with the prospect for India. During this past week I have discussed the Indian food problem with the Prime Minister of India, who has been our welcome and distinguished guest here in Washington. I am persuaded that we may stand, at this moment on the threshold of a great tragedy. The facts are simple; their implications are grave. India faces an unprecedented drought. Unless the world responds, India faces famine.

Strong efforts by the Indian government, and our help, have so far averted famine. But in the absence of cooperative and energetic action by the United States, by other nations and by India herself, some millions of people will suffer needlessly before the next crop is harvested. This, in our day and age, must not happen. Can we let it be said that man, who can travel into space and explore the stars, cannot feed his own?

Because widespread famine must not and cannot be allowed to happen, I am today placing the facts fully before the Congress. I am asking the endorsement of the Congress for a program that is small neither in magnitude nor concept. I am asking the Congress, and the American people, to join with me in an appeal to the conscience of all nations that can render help.

I invite any information that the Congress can supply. Our people will welcome any judgments the Congress can provide. The executive branch, this nation and the world will take appropriate note and give proper attention to any contributions in counsel and advice that Congressional debate may produce.

If we all rally to this task, the suffering can be limited. A sister democracy will not suffer the terrible strains which famine imposes on free government.

memos re this msg.

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Nor is this all. The Indians are a proud and self-respecting people. So are their leaders. The natural disaster which they now face is not of their making. They have not asked our help needlessly; they deeply prefer to help themselves. The Indian government has sound plans for strengthening its agricultural economy and its economic system. These steps will help India help herself. They will prevent a recurrence of this disaster. I also propose action through the World Bank and the Agency for International Development to support this strong initiative by the Government of India.

The Crisis

Since independence India has done much to increase her output of agricultural products. Her agriculture has not been neglected. From 1950 to 1965 she increased food production 75 percent. This is a creditable achievement. But India has had to contend with a continuing and relentless increase in population. Her people have also consumed more from a higher income. Accordingly, she has remained heavily dependent on our help. Last year we provided, under Public Law 480, more than 6 million tons of wheat, equal to more than two-fifths of our own consumption. To keep this supply moving, the equivalent of two fully loaded liberty ships had to put in at an Indian port every day of the year.

Now India has been the victim of merciless natural disaster. Nothing is so important for the Indian farmer as the annual season of heavy rain -- the monsoon. Last year, over large parts of India, the rains did not come. Crops could not be planted, or the young plants withered and died in the fields. Agricultural output, which needed to increase, was drastically reduced. Not since our own dustbowl years of the nineteen-thirties has there been a greater agricultural disaster.

Indian leaders have rightly turned to the world for help. Pope Paul VI has endorsed their plea. So has the World Council of Churches. So has the Secretary General of the United Nations. So has the Director General of the Food and Agriculture Organization. And so, in this message does the President of the United States.

I have said that effective action will not be cheap. India's need is for at least 11 to 12 million tons of imported grain from January to December 1966.

Food in this world is no longer easy to find.

But find it we must.

Here is what I propose.

The Program

Last fiscal year we supplied six million tons of food grain to India. So far in this fiscal year, I have allotted 6.5 million tons of grain for shipment to India -- more than the total of six million tons which we had planned to provide as a continuation of past arrangements. It is even more necessary in this emergency to keep the pipelines full and flowing and to insure that there is no congestion of rail or sea transport. India, furthermore, estimates an additional six to seven million tons of food grain will be necessary through next December beyond what has already been committed or expected.

I propose that the United States provide three and one-half million tons of that requirement, with the remaining three and a half million tons coming from those nations which have either the food to offer or the means to buy food. I invite those nations to match the amount which we will supply. For example, I am delighted to be informed that Canada is prepared to provide a million tons of wheat and flour to India.

Every agriculturally advanced country can, by close scrutiny of its available supplies, make a substantial contribution. I ask that every government seek to supply the maximum it can spare -- and then a little more. I ask those industrial countries which cannot send food to supply a generous equivalent in fertilizer, or in shipping, or in funds for the purchase of these requisites. All know the Indian balance of payments is badly overburdened. Food and other materials should be supplied against payment in rupees, which is our practice, or as a gift.

It is not our nature to drive a hard mathematical bargain where hunger is involved. Children will not know that they suffered hunger because American assistance was not matched. We will expect and press for the most energetic and compassionate action by all countries of all political faiths. But if their response is insufficient, and if we must provide more, before we stand by and watch children starve, we will do so. I, therefore, ask your endorsement for this emergency action.

I have spoken mostly of bread-grains. The Prime Minister of India spoke also of other commodities which can meet part of the requirements or replace part of the need. In response to her needs, I propose that we allot up to 200,000 tons of corn, up to 150 million pounds of vegetable oils, and up to 125 million pounds of milk powder to India. The vegetable oil and milk powder are especially needed for supplementing the diets of Indian children.

In addition, India's own exchange resources can be released for food and fertilizer purchases if we make substantial shipments of cotton and tobacco. I am suggesting the allotment for this purpose of 325-700,000 bales of cotton and 2-4 million pounds of tobacco. Both of these commodities we have in relative abundance.

I request prompt Congressional endorsement of this action.

I urge, also, the strong and warmhearted and generous support of this program by the American people.

And I urge the strong and generous response of governments and people the world around.

India is a good and deserving friend. Let it never be said that "bread should be so dear, and flesh and blood so cheap" that we turned in indifference from her bitter need.

Further Action

The Indian People want to be self-supporting in their food supply.

Their government has adopted a far-reaching program to increase fertilizer production, improve water and soil management, provide rural credit, improve plant protection and control food loss. These essentials must be accompanied by a strong training and education program.

I have directed the Secretary of Agriculture, in cooperation with AID, to consult with the Indian government to ascertain if there are ways and means by which we can strengthen this effort. We have long experience with short courses, extension training and similar programs. If they can be used, I feel certain that American agricultural experts would respond to an appeal to serve in India as a part of an Agricultural Training Corps or through an expanded Peace Corps. Many of our younger men and women would especially welcome the opportunity.

I am determined that in our assistance to the Indian government we not be narrowly limited by what has been done in the past. Let us not be afraid of our own enthusiasm. Let us be willing to experiment.

The Indian government believes that there can be no effective solution of the Indian food problem that does not include population control. The

choice is now between a comprehensive and humane program for limiting births and the brutal curb that is imposed by famine. As Mrs. Gandhi told me, the Indian government is making vigorous efforts on this front.

Following long and careful planning and after discussions in recent days with Prime Minister Gandhi, I have proposed the establishment of the Indo-U.S. Foundation. This Foundation will be financed by rupees, surplus to our need, now on deposit in India. It will be governed by distinguished citizens of both countries. It will be a vigorous and imaginative enterprise designed to give new stimulus to education and scientific research in India. There is no field where, I hope, this stimulus will be greater than in the field of agriculture and agricultural development.

Finally, in these last days, the Prime Minister and I have talked about the prospects for the Indian economy. The threat of war with China and the unhappy conflict with Pakistan seriously interrupted India's economic progress. Steps had to be taken to protect dwindling exchange resources. These also had a strangling effect on the economy. Indian leaders are determined now to put their economy again on the upward path. Extensive discussions have been held with the World Bank, which heads the consortium of aid-giving countries.

The United States interferes neither in the internal politics nor the internal economic structure of other countries. The record of the last fifteen years is a sufficient proof that we ask only for results. We are naturally concerned with results -- with insuring that our aid be used in the context of strong and energetic policies calculated to produce the most rapid possible economic development.

We believe Indian plans now under discussion show high promise. We are impressed by the vigor and determination of the Indian economic leadership. As their plans are implemented, we look forward to providing economic assistance on a scale that is related to the great needs of our sister democracy.

An India free from want and deprivation will, as Mahatma Gandhi himself once predicted, "be a mighty force for the good of mankind."

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

THE WHITE HOUSE,

March 30, 1966.

March 29, 1966
Tuesday

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Latest Draft of Food Message. Here's a clean draft with minor essential revisions to make the arithmetic scan, etc.

1. The one big remaining problem is the paragraph on page 4 about disappearance of our surpluses. Schultze and Schnittker think this will drive prices up pronto. Schultze urges dropping it entirely and going on to "Here is what I propose."

As a poor second, we would drop the last sentence of the surplus paragraph and substitute: "Nevertheless, the food can be found."

2. You asked that we be sure we were asking for maximums, so we could go down but not up. The one problem here is the 3.5 million tons of food grains, to be matched by a like amount from others. It would be much more realistic to make this four million from us and three million from others. But we are protected by the later caveat that you'll go higher if necessary, so we won't fight this problem any further.

We'll have a conforming Joint Resolution available this evening. What sort of sponsorship do you contemplate?

Rusk, Bell, Freeman, and Schultze will submit memoranda tomorrow endorsing the program. You have their oral endorsement now.

R. W. Komer

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

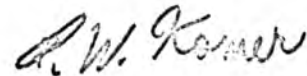
March 30, 1966

MEMORANDUM FOR RECORD

The attached draft Joint Resolution was prepared by Budget Bureau, sent to me by Director Schultze, and submitted by me to the President as Tab C of my final draft revision of the special food message the night of 29 March.

Subsequently, Mr. Valenti and Mr. Wilson asked for copies to send to the Hill urgently. I gave them the same draft.

In the event a question arises as to why the draft Joint Resolution does not mention specific quantities, we left these out because the food message specifies a range of amounts for several key commodities (e. g. cotton, tobacco); the message also contains the so-called "emergency clause" whereby if the 3.5 million tons recommended is not matched by other countries, the U. S. might later make another allocation to help meet the remainder of the emergency need. Under these circumstances it was felt that a simple "sense of Congress" resolution was preferable.



R W. Komer

JOINT RESOLUTION

To support United States participation in relieving victims of hunger in India and to enhance India's capacity to meet the nutritional needs of its people.

Whereas the Congress has declared it to be the policy of the

United States to make maximum efficient use of this nation's agricultural abundance in furtherance of the foreign policy of the United States;

Whereas the Congress is considering legislation to govern the response of the United States to the mounting world food problem;

Whereas critical food shortages in India threatening the health if not the lives of tens of millions of people require an urgent prior response; Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress ^{ENDORSES} ~~approves~~ and supports the President's initiative in organizing substantial American participation in an urgent international effort designed to:

(a) Help meet India's pressing food shortages by selling to India under Public Law 480 agricultural commodities to meet India's normal import needs plus added quantities of agricultural commodities as the United States' share in the international response to the Indian emergency.

(b) Help combat malnutrition, especially in mothers and children, via a special program;

(c) Encourage and assist those measures which the Government of India is planning to expand India's own agricultural production;

That the Congress urges the President to join India in pressing on other nations the urgency of sharing appropriately in a truly international response to India's critical need.

MARCH 30, 1966

NOTICE: There should be no premature release of this Message to the Congress, nor should its contents be paraphrased, alluded to or hinted at in earlier stories. There is a total embargo on this message until 12:00 noon March 30, 1966, which includes any and all references to any material in this message.

Bill Moyers

THE WHITE HOUSE

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

In recent months I have been watching with deep concern the emerging problem of world food supply. And I have been especially concerned with the prospect for India. During this past week I have discussed the Indian food problem with the Prime Minister of India, who has been our welcome and distinguished guest here in Washington. I am persuaded that we may stand, at this moment on the threshold of a great tragedy. The facts are simple; their implications are grave. India faces an unprecedented drought. Unless the world responds, India faces famine.

Strong efforts by the Indian government, and our help, have so far averted famine. But in the absence of cooperative and energetic action by the United States, by other nations and by India herself, some millions of people will suffer needlessly before the next crop is harvested. This, in our day and age, must not happen. Can we let it be said that man, who can travel into space and explore the stars, cannot feed his own?

Because widespread famine must not and cannot be allowed to happen, I am today placing the facts fully before the Congress. I am asking the endorsement of the Congress for a program that is small neither in magnitude nor concept. I am asking the Congress, and the American people, to join with me in an appeal to the conscience of all nations that can render help.

I invite any information that the Congress can supply. Our people will welcome any judgments the Congress can provide. The executive branch, this nation and the world will take appropriate note and give proper attention to any contributions in counsel and advice that Congressional debate may produce.

If we all rally to this task, the suffering can be limited. A sister democracy will not suffer the terrible strains which famine imposes on free government.

Nor is this all. The Indians are a proud and self-respecting people. So are their leaders. The natural disaster which they now face is not of their making. They have not asked our help needlessly; they deeply prefer to help themselves. The Indian government has sound plans for strengthening its agricultural economy and its economic system. These steps will help India help herself. They will prevent a recurrence of this disaster. I also propose action through the World Bank and the Agency for International Development to support this strong initiative by the Government of India.

MORE

The Crisis

Since independence India has done much to increase her output of agricultural products. Her agriculture has not been neglected. From 1950 to 1965 she increased food production 75 percent. This is a creditable achievement. But India has had to contend with a continuing and relentless increase in population. Her people have also consumed more from a higher income. Accordingly, she has remained heavily dependent on our help. Last year we provided, under Public Law 480, more than 6 million tons of wheat, equal to more than two-fifths of our own consumption. To keep this supply moving, the equivalent of two fully loaded liberty ships had to put in at an Indian port every day of the year.

Now India has been the victim of merciless natural disaster. Nothing is so important for the Indian farmer as the annual season of heavy rain -- the monsoon. Last year, over large parts of India, the rains did not come. Crops could not be planted, or the young plants withered and died in the fields. Agricultural output, which needed to increase, was drastically reduced. Not since our own dustbowl years of the nineteen-thirties has there been a greater agricultural disaster.

Indian leaders have rightly turned to the world for help. Pope Paul VI has endorsed their plea. So has the World Council of Churches. So has the Secretary General of the United Nations. So has the Director General of the Food and Agriculture Organization. And so, in this message, does the President of the United States.

I have said that effective action will not be cheap. India's need is for at least 11 to 12 million tons of imported grain from January to December 1966.

Food in this world is no longer easy to find.

But find it we must.

Here is what I propose.

The Program

Last fiscal year we supplied six million tons of food grain to India. So far in this fiscal year, I have allotted 6.5 million tons of grain for shipment to India -- more than the total of six million tons which we had planned to provide as a continuation of past arrangements. It is even more necessary in this emergency to keep the pipelines full and flowing and to insure that there is no congestion of rail or sea transport. India, furthermore, estimates an additional six to seven million tons of food grain will be necessary through next December beyond what has already been committed or expected.

I propose that the United States provide three and one-half million tons of that requirement, with the remaining three and a half million tons coming from those nations which have either the food to offer or the means to buy food. I invite those nations to match the amount which we will supply. For example, I am delighted to be informed that Canada is prepared to provide a million tons of wheat and flour to India.

MORE

Every agriculturally advanced country can, by close scrutiny of its available supplies, make a substantial contribution. I ask that every government seek to supply the maximum it can spare -- and then a little more. I ask those industrial countries which cannot send food to supply a generous equivalent in fertilizer, or in shipping, or in funds for the purchase of these requisites. All know the Indian balance of payments is badly overburdened. Food and other materials should be supplied against payment in rupees, which is our practice, or as a gift.

It is not our nature to drive a hard mathematical bargain where hunger is involved. Children will not know that they suffered hunger because American assistance was not matched. We will expect and press for the most energetic and compassionate action by all countries of all political faiths. But if their response is insufficient, and if we must provide more, before we stand by and watch children starve, we will do so. I, therefore, ask your endorsement for this emergency action.

I have spoken mostly of bread-grains. The Prime Minister of India spoke also of other commodities which can meet part of the requirements or replace part of the need. In response to her needs, I propose that we allot up to 200,000 tons of corn, up to 150 million pounds of vegetable oils, and up to 125 million pounds of milk powder to India. The vegetable oil and milk powder are especially needed for supplementing the diets of Indian children.

In addition, India's own exchange resources can be released for food and fertilizer purchases if we make substantial shipments of cotton and tobacco. I am suggesting the allotment for this purpose of 325-700,000 bales of cotton and 2-4 million pounds of tobacco. Both of these commodities we have in relative abundance.

I request prompt Congressional endorsement of this action.

I urge, also, the strong and warmhearted and generous support of this program by the American people.

And I urge the strong and generous response of governments and people the world around.

India is a good and deserving friend. Let it never be said that "bread should be so dear, and flesh and blood so cheap" that we turned in indifference from her bitter need.

Further Action

The Indian people want to be self-supporting in their food supply.

Their government has adopted a far-reaching program to increase fertilizer production, improve water and soil management, provide rural credit, improve plant protection and control food loss. These essentials must be accompanied by a strong training and education program.

I have directed the Secretary of Agriculture, in cooperation with AID, to consult with the Indian government to ascertain if there are ways and means by which we can strengthen this effort. We have long experience with short courses, extension training and similar programs. If they can

MORE

be used, I feel certain that American agricultural experts would respond to an appeal to serve in India as a part of an Agricultural Training Corps or through an expanded Peace Corps. Many of our younger men and women would especially welcome the opportunity.

I am determined that in our assistance to the Indian government we not be narrowly limited by what has been done in the past. Let us not be afraid of our own enthusiasm. Let us be willing to experiment.

The Indian government believes that there can be no effective solution of the Indian food problem that does not include population control. The choice is now between a comprehensive and humane program for limiting births and the brutal curb that is imposed by famine. As Mrs. Gandhi told me, the Indian government is making vigorous efforts on this front.

Following long and careful planning and after discussions in recent days with Prime Minister Gandhi, I have proposed the establishment of the Indo-U.S. Foundation. This Foundation will be financed by rupees surplus to our need, now on deposit in India. It will be governed by distinguished citizens of both countries. It will be a vigorous and imaginative enterprise designed to give new stimulus to education and scientific research in India. There is no field where, I hope, this stimulus will be greater than in the field of agriculture and agricultural development.

Finally, in these last days, the Prime Minister and I have talked about the prospects for the Indian economy. The threat of war with China and the unhappy conflict with Pakistan seriously interrupted India's economic progress. Steps had to be taken to protect dwindling exchange resources. These also had a strangling effect on the economy. Indian leaders are determined now to put their economy again on the upward path. Extensive discussions have been held with the World Bank, which heads the consortium of aid-giving countries.

The United States interferes neither in the internal politics nor the internal economic structure of other countries. The record of the last fifteen years is a sufficient proof that we ask only for results. We are naturally concerned with results -- with insuring that our aid be used in the context of strong and energetic policies calculated to produce the most rapid possible economic development.

We believe Indian plans now under discussion show high promise. We are impressed by the vigor and determination of the Indian economic leadership. As their plans are implemented, we look forward to providing economic assistance on a scale that is related to the great needs of our sister democracy.

An India free from want and deprivation will, as Mahatma Gandhi himself once predicted, "be a mighty force for the good of mankind."

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

THE WHITE HOUSE

March 30, 1966

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(30)
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

March 30, 1966

File (E)
Agriculture
EXECUTIVE
FO3-2/CO121
CO121
Cm/For a
FG150

MEMORANDUM

To: The President

From: The Secretary

As you know I have kept a close watch on the Indian food situation for the past six months. The grain which you have allocated to India in recent months has been shipped efficiently and is being received and used effectively by the Indian Government. But there are great needs yet to be filled.

My most recent messages from Minister Subramaniam and a new survey by members of my staff indicate that India needs about 7 million tons of wheat and sorghum for the remainder of this calendar year, in addition to the grain which is being shipped from previous authorizations.

In addition, India will need 35 to 75 thousand tons of vegetable oils, up to 125 million pounds of milk powder, 325 to 700 thousand bales of cotton, 150 to 200 thousand tons of corn, and a small amount of tobacco.

Therefore, I strongly recommend that you make the allocations of food consistent with India's needs as outlined above. Total cost of the program will be about \$1 billion, well above the level of our previous India programs.

We cannot simply stand by as a free democracy and the well-being of millions are threatened in a great nation. The need is urgent. Our response should be generous.

The actual level of programming for the commodities listed above will depend upon India's total needs as the year develops, and the extent to which other nations match the U.S. contribution. Every effort should be made through diplomatic channels and international organizations to insure that the contribution of the rest of the world during the remainder of this year is equal to the contribution of the U.S. in meeting the Indian crisis.

I recommend that we schedule our authorizations of the commodities on a month to month basis or at least periodically, and that we continue our studies of India's total effort in agricultural development as decisions are made on additional food aid within the quantities approved by the Congress.

Nothing else sent to
Central Files as of 11/2/66

filed
11/2/66

JOINT RESOLUTION

To support United States participation in relieving victims of hunger in India and to enhance India's capacity to meet the nutritional needs of its people.

Whereas the Congress has declared it to be the policy of the United States to make maximum efficient use of this nation's agricultural abundance in furtherance of the foreign policy of the United States;

Whereas the Congress is considering legislation to govern the response of the United States to the mounting world food problem;

Whereas critical food shortages in India threatening the health if not the lives of tens of millions of people require an urgent prior response; Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress ^{EXPRESSES} ~~APPROVES~~ and supports the President's initiative in organizing substantial American participation in an urgent international effort designed to:

(a) Help meet India's pressing food shortages by selling to India under Public Law 480 agricultural commodities to meet India's normal import needs plus added quantities of agricultural commodities as the United States' share in the international response to the Indian emergency.

(b) Help combat malnutrition, especially in mothers and children, via a special program;

(c) Encourage and assist those measures which the Government of India is planning to expand India's own agricultural production;

~~—(d) Establish a Bi-National Foundation in India to support education and scientific research, including agriculture;—~~

~~—(e) Join other nations and the World Bank in providing general assistance to support Indian development plans in agriculture and other sectors of the economy.—~~

That the Congress urges the President to join India in pressing on other nations the urgency of sharing appropriately in a truly international response to India's critical need.

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

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INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

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Origin

CPR

Info

ACTION: Her Excellency
Indira Gandhi
Prime Minister of India
Carlyle Hotel,

APR 1 12 51 PM '66

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C/O CHIEF OF PROTOCOL

Madison Avenue and 76th Street
New York, New York

~~xxxxx~~

*Gandhi
visit
India*

Dear Prime Minister Gandhi:

May I say again as you leave for home how honored we have been to have had you with us. I want you to know how much I enjoyed our conversations; especially as you came with all the opportunities and problems of a great sister democracy. I am sure that you have learned once more how deeply interested we all are in India. And I need not say again how much we value your friendship. I for one am ^{wholly} ~~wholly~~ confident that India under your leadership will find increasing value in its great human resources. For as so often in the past, today's concerns will be tomorrow's strength. We shall continue to need each other's help. You can count on ours.

Mrs. Johnson and I were both concerned that the heavy schedule here might be overtaking your energies, despite the

Drafted by:

Tel. Ext.

Telegraphic transmission and

Text received from White House Classification approved by: S/CPR:James W. Symington

Clearance:

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Her Excellency Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India
Page 2 of telegram to Carlyle Hotel, Madison Ave. & 76th St., NY, NY

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buoyancy and good cheer you displayed. Do take a day or two to rest when you return.

You may be sure I have your very kind invitation to come back to India very much in my mind. I hope it will be possible to accept.

Sincerely,

Lyndon B. Johnson

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ANDREWS PASS TO CROWN

BT

TO PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

YOUR WARM AND FRIENDLY MESSAGE HAS BEEN DELIVERED TO ME AS MY PLANE TAKES OFF FROM NEW YORK. THE HOSPITALITY, GOOD WILL AND UNDERSTANDING WHICH YOU AND YOUR PEOPLE HAVE SHOWN ME HAS LEFT A DEEP IMPRESSION ON ME. WHAT MIGHT OTHERWISE HAVE BEEN A STRENOUS VISIT BECAME A HAPPY AND PLEASANT EXPERIENCE. I CONVEY MY THANKS TO YOU AND TO MRS. JOHNSON. WITH WARM PERSONAL REGARDS AND BEST WISHES.

INDIRA GANDHI

BT

*Gandhi
visit
X India*

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BT

ANDREWS PASS TO CROWN

BT

TO PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

YOUR WARM AND FRIENDLY MESSAGE HAS BEEN DELIVERED TO ME AS MY
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WITH WARM PERSONAL REGARDS AND BEST WISHES.

INDIRA GANDHI

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प्रधान मंत्री भवन
PRIME MINISTER'S HOUSE
NEW DELHI

LONDON
2nd April, 1966.

Dear Mr. President,

May I thank you for the warmth of your welcome. I greatly enjoyed the friendly informality of our talks. It was, indeed, a privilege to have an exchange of views with you and to get to know the vision which animates your thoughts and actions.

The demonstration of friendship and regard for my country by you, Mr. President, and by the other leaders whom I met as, indeed, by the people of the United States, has left an impression on me which will abide. I was deeply moved by the kindness and affection which I received in such an abundant measure.

Our two countries hold many ideals in common. Your sensitive understanding of the complexities and difficulties of nurturing a democracy was a source of encouragement to me. In the days ahead, I now look forward to increasing cooperation and mutual understanding of the problems we face in our respective countries. Our talks have thus been immensely beneficial and, I believe, have laid a basis for an enduring and ever-widening understanding and friendship between our two countries.

May I now take this opportunity of expressing to you, Mr. President, my deep appreciation and gratitude for your warm hospitality and to say how honoured and happy I am that you and Mrs. Johnson were able to accept my invitation to visit India. I hope that this will be possible in the near future.

With warmest regards,

Yours sincerely,

Indira Gandhi
(Indira Gandhi)

EXECUTIVE

LE/FO3-2/CO121

FO3-2/CO121

CO121

THE WHITE HOUSE FG105

WASHINGTON

April 5, 1966

4:45 p

Mr. President:

Mr. Hanley of Secretary Rusk's Office called and said the Senate Committee have had hearings on your Resolution on Food for India.

They made two small amendments which he understands you wanted.

The Committee unanimously passed the bill and expects it will be voted on by the Senate tomorrow.

Marvin

INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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RUFJKP/AMEMBASSY RAWALPINDI 216
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Gandhi visit

IN TWO PARTS

PART ONE OF TWO

FOLLOWING TEXT OF STATEMENT PRIMIN GANDHI BOTH HOUSES OF
PARLIAMENT APRIL 7 ON HER VISIT ABROAD. (UNNECESSARY WORDS
OMITTED). BEGIN TEXT

AS HOUSE IS AWARE, I PAID AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO UNITED
STATES FROM 28 MARCH TO 1 APRIL IN RESPONSE TO INVITATION FROM
PRESIDENT JOHNSON. ON THE WAY, I BROKE JOURNEY AT PARIS,
WHERE I MET PRESIDENT DE GAULLE AND PRIME MINISTER POMPIDOU.
ON RETURN JOURNEY, I MET PRIME MINISTER WILSON IN COURSE OF
BRIEF STOP-OVER IN LONDON. I ALSO MADE HALT AT MOSCOW, WHERE
I HAD DISCUSSIONS WITH CHAIRMAN KOSYGIN.

PAGE 2 RUDSND 409

IN PARIS, I WAS RECEIVED WITH MUCH WARMTH AND CORDIALITY.
PRESIDENT DE GAULLE SHOWED DEEP INTEREST OUR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS
AND ASSURED ME OF EARNEST DESIRE OF FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE
HELP US IN DEALING WITH THEM. IN PARTICULAR, FRENCH GOVERNMENT
IS READY HELP DEVELOP FURTHER CULTURAL, SCIENTIFIC AND TECH-
NICAL COOPERATION BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. A TEAM OF FRENCH
TECHNICAL EXPERTS IS VISITING INDIA SOON IN PURSUANCE THIS OB-
JECTIVE. MY TALKS WITH FRENCH PRESIDENT REVEALED FULL
UNDERSTANDING OUR POSITION ON VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL ISSUES AND
SUBSTANTIAL AREA OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN FRANCE AND INDIA ON MAY
ISSUES. I FEEL SURE MY MEETING WITH PRESIDENT DE GAULLE WILL
FURTHER STRENGTHEN CLOSE AND FRINEDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR
TWO COUNTRIES.

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-2- 2718, APRIL 7, FROM NEW DELHI

BEFORE COMING TO MAIN POINTS OF DISCUSSION WITH PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND IMPRESSIONS OF MY VISIT TO UNITED STATES, I SHOULD LIKE TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO TELL THE HOUSE OF GREAT WARMTH AND GRACIOUSNESS OF HOSPITALITY AND COURTESY SHOWN ME BY PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND AMERICAN PEOPLE, AND EXPRESS MY SINCERE THANKS TO THEM FOR IT. IF HAD FULL AND FRANK DISCUSSIONS WITH PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND HIS COLLEAGUES AND BROAD

PAGE 3 RUDSND 409 UNCLAS

SUBSTANCE OF OUR DISCUSSIONS IS SET OUT IN JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT END OF VISIT. COPY OF COMMUNIQUE IS PLACED ON TABLE OF THE HOUSE. I SHOULD PERHAPS MENTION BRIEFLY GENERAL SPIRIT IN WHICH OUR TALKS TOOK PLACE. IN FAST CHANGING WORLD OF TODAY SUCH MEETINGS ARE NECESSARY EVEN BETWEEN FRIENDS WHO SHARE MANY VALUES IN COMMON. OUR OBJECT WAS PRIMARILY TO ESTABLISH CLOSE RAPPORT AND UNDERSTANDING AND NOT EXCHANGE ADVICE OF FAVOURS I BELIEVE IN THIS WE SUCCEEDED IN FULL MEASURE - AN OUTCOME WHICH OWES MUCH TO COMPLETE CANDOUR AND MUTUAL CONFIDENCE WITH WHICH WE APPROACHED OUR TASK. CONVERSATIONS RANGED OVER WIDE FIELD. PRESIDENT JOHNSON EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING AND APPRECIATION OUR OWN MASSIVE EFFORTS TO RAISE LIVING STANDARDS OF OUR PEOPLE. HE ASSURED ME OF DEEP INTEREST OF HIS GOVERNMENT IN CONTINUING ASSIST US IN EFFORTS PROMOTE SUCH DEVELOPMENT, BY PLAYING ITS FULL PART IN CONSORTIUM WHICH HAS EXISTED FOR SOME YEARS TO MOBILISE EXTERNAL SUPPORT FOR OUR PLANS UNDER AUSPICES OF WORLD BANK.

ON OUR EMERGENCY NEEDS FOR FOOD, PRESIDENT JOHNSON SENT URGENT MESSAGE TO US CONGRESS IMMEDIATELY AFTER OUR DISCUSSION, SEEKING CONGRESIONAL APPROVAL FOR GENEROUS ADDITIONAL SUPPLIES OF FOODGRAINS, COTTON AND OTHER AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES.

PAGE 4 RUDSND 409 UNCLAS

THE MESSAGE SET OUR ECONOMIC PROGRESS AND CURRENT PROBLEMS IN PERSPECTIVE. I AM SURE THE HOUSE WOULD LIKE JOIN ME IN EXPRESSING APPRECIATION AT ITS SPEEDY PASSAGE THROUGH THE U S CONGRESS. DURING OUR TALKS IN INDIA'S FOOD PROBLEM, PRESIDENT JOHNSON LIKEWISE DISPLAYED A SYMPATHETIC UNDERSTANDING AND APPRECIATION OF OUR EFFORTS HELP OURSELVES, OF PROMISE OF OUR PLANS FOR INCREASING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND OUR PROGRAMMES FOR POPULATION CONTROL.

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-3- 2718, APRIL 7, FROM NEW DELHI

PRESIDENT ALSO ANNOUNCED ESTABLISHMENT OF INDO-US FOUNDATION TO HELP DEVELOP NEW TEACHING TECHNIQUES IN FARM AND FACTORY, TO ADVANCE SCIENCE AND EXTEND RESEARCH FACILITIES. SUCH PROPOSAL HAD IN FACT BEEN UNDER CONSIDERATION FOR QUITE SOME TIME AND WAS APPROVED BY GOVERNMENT ABOUT A YEAR AGO. FOUNDATION WILL BE ADMINISTERED IN MANNER CONSISTENT WITH GOVERNMENT OF INDIA'S EDUCATIONAL PLANS AND PROGRAMMES AND WITH VIEW TO FURTHER NATIONAL INTEREST AND HEALTH OF ECONOMY.

AS THE HOUSE IS AWARE, WE VIEW EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE ONLY AS MEANS OF SUPPLEMENTING OUR OWN EFFORTS AND AS AID TOWARDS ACHIEVING SELF-RELIANCE IN SHORTEST POSSIBLE TIME.

PAGE 5 RUDSND 409 UNCLAS

IN COURSE OF OUR TALKS, PRESIDENT JOHNSON REPEATEDLY STATED UNITED STATES VIEWS ITS ASSISTANCE TO US IN SAME SPIRIT OF PROMOTING SELF-HELP AND EARLY SELF-RELIANCE ON OUR PART WITHOUT INTERFERING WITH OUR POLICIES OR PLANS.

THERE WAS REFERENCE TO INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN DURING TALKS. I REITERATED INDIA'S DESIRE PROMOTE FRIENDLIEST RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN IN KEEPING WITH TASHKENT SPIRIT, DESPITE DIFFICULTIES CREATED.

WE AGREED THAT PEACEFUL PROCESSES SET IN MOTION BY TASHKENT DECLARATION SHOULD BE CONTINUED. PRESIDENT JOHNSON EXPRESSED HIS STRONG SUPPORT FOR TASHKENT DECLARATION AND HIS DESIRE THAT THERE SHOULD BE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN. REFERENCE WAS ALSO MADE TO THREAT POSED TO INDIA'S SECURITY BY CHINA'S AGGRESSIVE DESIGNS AND POSTURES. APART FROM REAFFIRMING OUR DETERMINATION DEFEND OUR FREEDOM AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AGAINST ANY THREAT, FROM WHATEVER QUARTER IT MAY COME, I EMPHASISED FACT THAT LONG RANGE CHALLENGE OF CHINA IS AS MUCH POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC AS MILITARY. I ALSO EXPLAINED INDIA'S GIGANTIC EFFORT ATTAIN GOAL OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM AND OF ACHIEVEMENT IN FIELD OF DEVELOPMENT, IN CONDITIONS OF STABILITY, WAS ITSELF NOTABLE CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE (MORE TO FOLLOW) GREENE
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INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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PART TWO OF TWO

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SITUATION IN VIETNAM WAS BRIEFLY DISCUSSED. I REITERATED INDIA'S CONTINUING DESIRE SEE JUST AND PEACEFUL SOLUTION THIS PROBLEM

CIA

NSA

I EXTENDED INVITATION TO PRESIDENT AND MRS JOHNSON TO VISIT INDIA AND PRESIDENT HAS EXPRESSED HOPE IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR HIM TO VISIT INDIA AGAIN.

DOD

NIC

AID

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IN NEW YORK, I HAD USEFUL MEETING WITH SECRETARY GENERAL U THANT AT UNITED NATIONS AND TOOK OPPORTUNITY ADDRESS THE AFRO-ASIAN GROUP.

PC

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BESIDES DISCUSSION WHICH I HAD WITH PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND HIS COLLEAGUES, I HAD OCCASION DURING STAY IN UNITED STATES TO MEET AND SHARE BY THOUGHTS WITH LARGE NUMBER OF DISTINGUISHED AMERICAN CITIZENS IN COURSE OF VARIOUS PUBLIC ENGAGEMENTS.

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PAGE 2 RUDSND 409 UNCLAS

I REITERATED OUR STAND ON KASHMIR AND ITS WIDER IMPLICATIONS. THESE CONTACTS HAVE, I THINK, HELPED PROMOTE BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF INDIA'S POSITION. MR WILSON EXPRESSED BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S READINESS JOIN OTHER COUNTRIES IN GIVING URGENT CONSIDERATION TO IMMEDIATE STEPS FOR PROVIDING FURTHER ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO INDIA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. I HAVE INVITED MR WILSON TO VISIT INDIA AND HE HAS ACCEPTED THE INVITATION.

IN MOSCOW, I HAD VALUABLE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH CHAIRMAN KOPYGIN IN COURSE OF WHICH WE REVIEWED INTERNATIONAL SCENE AND

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-2- 2718, APRIL 7, FROM NEW DELHI

IN PARTICULAR DEVELOPMENTS FOLLOWING SIGNING OF TASHKENT DECLARATION. AS THE HOUSE IS AWARE, INDO-SOVIET COOPERATION IN ECONOMIC AND OTHER FIELDS HAS GROWN STEADILY DURING PAST MANY YEAR. A NUMBER OF PROJECTS ARE CURRENTLY UNDER EXECUTION WITH SOVIET ASSISTANCE, AND BOKARO STEEL PLANT HAS BEEN ADDED TO THE LIST VERY RECENTLY. SOVIET UNION CONTINUES TAKE FRIENDLY AND SYMPATHETIC INTEREST IN OUR FOURTH PLAN AND DURING TALKS IN MOSCOW, WE AGREED THAT PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION WHICH WE HAVE ALREADY HAD IN THIS REGARD WILL BE EXPEDITIOUSLY PURSUED.

PAGE 3 RUDSND 409 UNCLAS

CHAIRMAN AND MRS KOSYGIN HAVE AGREED VISIT INDIA LATER THIS YEAR THIS WILL GIVE US YET ANOTHER OPPORTUNITY STRENGTHEN BONDS OF FRIENDSHIP AND GOODWILL BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

I WAS RELUCTANT TO BE AWAY FROM INDIA EVEN FOR BRIEF PERIOD WHEN PARLIAMENT IS IN SESSION AND AT TIME WHEN WE HAVE MANY PRESSING PROBLEMS TO TACKLE AT HOME. BUT AS THE HOUSE WILL APPRECIATE, DESPITE URGENCY OF OUR TASKS AND UNDERLYING FRIENDSHIP OF OTHER NATIONS TOWARD US. IT NECESSARY DEVELOP CONTACTS AT PERSONAL LEVEL FROM TIME TO TIME WITH LEADERS OF COUNTRIES WITH WHICH WE HAVE ESTABLISHED STRONG TIES OF COOPERATION AND UNDERSTANDING. I HAVE EVERY HOPE MY DISCUSSIONS DURING VISIT ABROAD WILL ADVANCE CAUSE OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION NOT ONLY BETWEEN OUR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES BUT ALSO IN WIDER COMITY OF NATIONS.

THROUGHOUT MY TEN-DAY VISIT, I FOUND ABUNDANCE OF FRIENDSHIP AND GOODWILL FOR INDIA AND GROWING UNDERSTANDING OF SIGNIFICANCE OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY AND OF ITS DEVELOPMENTAL EFFORTS. WE CAN DERIVE SATISFACTION AND STRENGTH FROM THESE MANIFESTATIONS OF FRIENDSHIP. BUT WE MUST NEVER FORGET THERE IS NO

PAGE 4 RUDSND 409 UNCLAS

SUBSTITUTE FOR HARD AND DETERMINED EFFORT AND SACRIFICE ON PART OF INDIAN PEOPLE. NATIONS OF THE WORLD ARE WATCHING THE INDIAN EXPERIMENT AND THEY WILL RESPECT US AND BE WILLING TO ASSIST US ONLY IN THE MEASURE OF OUR OWN EFFORT AND SENSE OF DEDICATION. THIS IS TASK TO WHICH WE MUST NOW, AS BEFORE, ADDRESS OURSELVES, WITH FAITH AND CONFIDENCE IN CAPACITY OF OUR PEOPLE TO SHAPE DESTINY OF INDIA. END TEXT

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UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

EXECUTIVE

FO3-2/CO121

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SP2-3/1466/FO3-2/CO121

FG-296

FG-296-1

DIRECTOR

April 8, 1966

Rec'd
4-9-66
12 noon

MEMORANDUM FOR: The President

The following will briefly summarize our efforts to publicize the "Food for India" program.

1. The full text of your speech on Food for India was carried over the wireless file to posts in 105 countries, and broadcast over the VOA on all language services.
2. Subsequent to the speech, the wireless file has directed to the Asian area 12 stories on the subject. These included stories on Japanese, Canadian and other governmental efforts to aid India, congressional reaction to the message, editorial comment, commentary and a backgrounder.
3. The wireless file to other areas has carried similar stories.
4. The VOA through its worldwide and regional programs has reported developments regularly. Since your message, there have been two commentaries, four correspondents reports and two features on the subject.
5. Additional programs are planned.

"Tell him that's excellent."

LBJ/vm
4/10/66
9:45 pm

H. Marks

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~To the President from Moyers~~

There follows a suggested statement
for use in approving H.J. Res. 997
(the Indian food program.)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 11, 1966

NOTE FOR BILL MOYERS

This is a draft from Rostow on the
President's remarks on the signing
of the India Food Resolution.

Jack Valenti

DRAFT

April 9, 1966

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I have approved H. J. Res. 997, "To support United States participation in relieving victims of hunger in India and to enhance India's capacity to meet the nutritional needs of its people."

Through this Joint Resolution the Congress has acted with dispatch, statesmanship and humanity.

It supports and endorses my recent offer to enlarge our food shipments to the people of India to help them avoid the suffering that would otherwise result from the worst drought in a century.

India simply cannot sustain its 500 million people from its drought-stricken resources until the next major harvest in November.

Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives approved this resolution within a week of my special message on India. In so doing, they reflected the tradition and will of our people.

When others were in need and we could help, our people have always responded with responsibility and compassion.

However distant other lands may be, in the end our people understand that we are a part of a human family.

I am confident that the prompt reaction of the Congress will encourage the governments of other nations to help bridge the gap left in India by this great natural disaster. Some nations, among them Canada,

WAS BY THE PRESIDENT

have already responded on a substantial scale. Others, with limited resources of their own, have, nevertheless, reached out generously to help.

We hope that all nations will pause now and ask themselves: what more can we do?

At stake is the salvation of countless families and, in particular, millions of children: a great nation's future citizens.

None of us can rest easy until we know in our hearts that we have done everything that is possible to protect them from malnutrition, hunger, and even from starvation itself.

I am confident from my talks with Prime Minister Gandhi that the Indian Government will use the time gained by our assistance -- and that of others -- to mount a determined and effective policy to raise India's own agricultural production. In the end, only by its own efforts can the people of India be fed.

Our assistance has already looked beyond the present drought to enlarging the next harvest. We granted sometime ago a \$50 million loan for chemical fertilizers and are helping Indian agriculture in many other ways. The assistance of many governments, international organizations, and private industry will all be required in this essential long-run effort.

In other times, famine in one nation was regarded as a fact to be passively accepted.

Now, however imperfect our organization, we must learn to behave like a world community; for modern communications have brought nations closer than our own states were, not so long ago.

The Joint Resolution I approve today recognizes and contributes to this vision of where we are and where we must go.

EE3381
PP WTE10
DE WTE 923

FROM: BILL MOYERS
TO : THE PRESIDENT
CITE: WH60150

UNCLASSIFIED

THERE FOLLOWS A SUGGESTED STATEMENT FOR USE IN APPROVING
H.J. RES. 997 (THE INDIAN FOOD PROGRAM.)

DRAFT

APRIL 9, 1966

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I HAVE APPROVED H.J. RES. 997, "TO SUPPORT UNITED STATES PARTICIPATION IN RELIEVING VICTIMS OF HUNGER IN INDIA AND TO ENHANCE INDIA'S CAPACITY TO MEET THE NUTRITIONAL NEEDS OF ITS PEOPLE."

THROUGH THIS JOINT RESOLUTION THE CONGRESS HAS ACTED WITH DISPATCH, STATESMANSHIP AND HUMANITY.

IT SUPPORTS AND ENDORSES MY RECENT OFFER TO ENLARGE OUR FOOD SHIPMENTS TO THE PEOPLE OF INDIA TO HELP THEM AVOID THE SUFFERING THAT WOULD OTHERWISE RESULT FROM THE WORST DROUGHT IN A CENTURY.

INDIA SIMPLY CANNOT SUSTAIN ITS 500 MILLION PEOPLE FROM ITS DROUGHT-STRIKEN RESOURCES UNTIL THE NEXT MAJOR HARVEST IN NOVEMBER.

MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES APPROVED THIS RESOLUTION WITHIN A WEEK OF MY SPECIAL MESSAGE ON INDIA. IN SO DOING, THEY REFLECTED THE TRADITION AND WILL OF OUR PEOPLE.

WHEN OTHERS WERE IN NEED AND WE COULD HELP, OUR PEOPLE HAVE ALWAYS RESPONDED WITH RESPONSIBILITY AND COMPASSION.

HOWEVER DISTANT OTHER LANDS MAY BE, IN THE END OUR PEOPLE UNDERSTAND THAT WE ARE A PART OF A HUMAN FAMILY.

I AM CONFIDENT THAT THE PROMPT REACTION OF THE CONGRESS WILL ENCOURAGE THE GOVERNMENTS OF OTHER NATIONS TO HELP BRIDGE THE GAP LEFT IN INDIA BY THIS GREAT NATURAL DISASTER. OTHER NATIONS, AMONG THEM CANADA, HAVE ALREADY RESPONDED ON A

Filed by Press Office
APR 12 1966

SUBSTANTIAL SCALE. OTHERS, WITH LIMITED RESOURCES OF THEIR OWN, HAVE, NEVERTHELESS, REACHED OUT GENEROUSLY TO HELP.

WE HOPE THAT ALL NATIONS WILL PAUSE NOW AND ASK THEMSELVES: WHAT MORE CAN WE DO?

AT STAKE IS THE SALVATION OF COUNTLESS FAMILIES AND, IN PARTICULAR, MILLIONS OF CHILDREN: A GREAT NATION'S FUTURE CITIZENS.

NONE OF US CAN REST EASY UNTIL WE KNOW IN OUR HEARTS THAT WE HAVE DONE EVERYTHING THAT IS POSSIBLE TO PROTECT THEM FROM MALNUTRITION, HUNGER, AND EVEN FROM STARVATION ITSELF.

I AM CONFIDENT FROM MY TALKS WITH PRIME MINISTER GANDHI THAT THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT WILL USE THE TIME GAINED BY OUR ASSISTANCE -- AND THAT OF OTHERS -- TO MOUNT A DETERMINED AND EFFECTIVE POLICY TO RAISE INDIA'S OWN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION. IN THE END, ONLY BY ITS OWN EFFORTS CAN THE PEOPLE OF INDIA BE FED.

OUR ASSISTANCE HAS ALREADY LOOKED BEYOND THE PRESENT DROUGHT TO ENLARGING THE NEXT HARVEST. WE GRANTED SOMETIME AGO A \$50 MILLION LOAN FOR CHEMICAL FERTILIZERS AND ARE HELPING INDIAN AGRICULTURE IN MANY OTHER WAYS. THE ASSISTANCE OF MANY GOVERNMENTS, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, AND PRIVATE INDUSTRY WILL ALL BE REQUIRED IN THIS ESSENTIAL LONG-RUN EFFORT.

IN OTHER TIMES, FAMINE IN ONE NATION WAS REGARDED AS A FACT TO BE PASSIVELY ACCEPTED.

NOW, HOWEVER IMPERFECT OUR ORGANIZATION, WE MUST LEARN TO BEHAVE LIKE A WORLD COMMUNITY; FOR MODERN COMMUNICATIONS HAVE BROUGHT NATIONS CLOSER THAN OUR OWN STATES WERE, NOT SO LONG AGO.

THE JOINT RESOLUTION I APPROVE TODAY RECOGNIZES AND CONTRIBUTES TO THIS VISION OF WHERE WE ARE AND WHERE WE MUST GO.

DTG: 11/2013Z APR 1966

APRIL 19, 1966

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I have approved H.J. Res. 997, "To support United States participation in relieving victims of hunger in India and to enhance India's capacity to meet the nutritional needs of its people."

Through this joint resolution the Congress has acted with dispatch, statesmanship and humanity.

It supports and endorses my recent offer to enlarge our food shipments to the people of India to help them avoid the suffering that would otherwise result from the worst drought in a century.

India simply cannot sustain its 500 million people from its drought-stricken resources until the next major harvest in November.

When others were in need and we could help, our people have always responded with responsibility and compassion.

However distant other lands may be, in the end our people understand that we are a part of a human family.

I am confident that the prompt reaction of the Congress will encourage the governments of other nations to help bridge the gap left in India by this great natural disaster.

Some nations, among them Canada, have already responded on a substantial scale. Others, with limited resources of their own, have, nevertheless, reached out generously to help.

We hope that all nations will pause now and ask themselves: what more can we do?

At stake is the salvation of countless families and, in particular, millions of children: a great nation's future citizens.

None of us can rest easy until we know in our hearts that we have done everything that is possible to protect them from malnutrition, hunger, and even from starvation itself.

I am confident from my talks with Prime Minister Gandhi that the Indian government will use the time gained by our assistance -- and that of others -- to mount a determined and effective policy to raise India's own Agricultural production. In the end, only by its own efforts can the people of India be fed.

Our assistance has already looked beyond the present drought to enlarging the next harvest. We granted sometime ago a \$50 million loan for chemical fertilizers and are helping Indian agriculture in many other ways. The assistance of many governments, international organizations, and private industry will all be required in this essential long-run effort.

In other times, famine in one nation was regarded as a fact to be passively accepted.

MORE

To Fed with 17 compliments
PHK

*India
loan
(file with food
message)*

Now, however imperfect our organization, we must learn to behave like a world community; for modern communications have brought nations closer than our own states were, not so long ago.

The joint resolution I approve today recognizes and contributes to this vision of where we are and where we must go.

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DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE UNDER SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20250

EXECUTIVE

F03-2/C0121③

C0121

CM/food

BE5-2

4/25/

CS

where is
Carter from
mensory
Indians?

April 22, 1966

MEMORANDUM TO: Joseph A. Califano, Jr.
The White House

FROM : John A. Schnittker

The memorandum for the President on the India Program is attached and we are ready to talk about it.

Regarding our price meeting this morning, I've talked with our people about a shopping tour by Cabinet wives and I am inclined to recommend against it. Farmers and cattlemen have reacted much more adversely to the President's shopping suggestions of a few weeks ago than had been anticipated. A shopping tour involving the Cabinet of the White House would probably increase the tempo of the criticism from rural people.

John A. Schnittker

APR 25 1966

RECEIVED

RECEIVED
JUL 6 1966
CENTRAL FILES



DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF THE UNDER SECRETARY

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20250

April 22, 1966

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

India Program

Most of the domestic economic and political impact of the India food aid package represented by the Congressional resolution and Secretary Freeman's April 14 memorandum to the President (attached) has already been felt.

We can hold commodity prices fairly stable by programming these shipments carefully, so there should be no major adverse political impact.

The main positive political impact came from the President's Message to Congress and passage of the resolution. We will make news, however, when we sign an agreement with India, and we can dramatize some of the initial shipments to add to the positive political impact.

The markets expect the commodities and quantities in the resolution to be shipped largely before the 1966 harvests, beginning in June and July. We can do this without any major price effects, as follows:

1. Wheat prices yesterday were within 5 cents per bushel of December 15 prices for all grades -- some higher and some lower. The new crop continues to look good and we expect wheat prices to move lower soon unless the weather turns bad in the Plains.
2. The corn involved is too little to have any material effect on the market. Crop conditions are very good.
3. For oil, we would make the initial agreement with India for only 35,000 tons -- half the amount certified by Congress. Then we would ship this oil in small quantities and with great care to minimize the price impact. Since the trade expects the full 70,000 tons to be sent soon, our actions here would be bearish.
4. Cotton is a problem because India wants a quality of Western cotton for which we have a strong commercial demand and no surplus. We may ship them some of the preferred cotton, but we will protect our home markets too by substituting surplus qualities.
5. Milk powder would not be in the initial authorization. The dairy people may take note of this and urge us to start programming it right away. We have just begun to acquire some milk under the price support program, and can program some shortly.

John A. Schnittker
John A. Schnittker
Under Secretary

EXECUTIVE

F03-2/C0121

C0121

CM/wheat

FG 150

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

November 25, 1966

TN

MEMORANDUM

To: The President
The White House

From: Orville L. Freeman
Secretary of Agriculture

Subject: Calendar 1966 India Rescue Mission - Actions taken
pursuant to National Security Action Memorandum 339

The attached memorandum reviews the actions taken to make it possible for India to receive and distribute almost 11 million tons of grain during calendar year 1966.

I believe this report will be of interest to the President by way of reviewing actions taken last year and possibly as a background for decisions to be made for the year ahead. It is also possible that such a report in a more narrative popularized version might be publicly released. With that in mind we are preparing such a version. I submit that this record of accomplishment will bring credit to the Administration and might be useful in negating some of the current criticism.

Enclosure

RECEIVED

DEC 1 5 1966

GENERAL

Nothing else sent to
Central Files as of 12-27-66

LB



DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

November 25, 1966

MEMORANDUM

To: The President
The White House

From: Orville L. Freeman
Secretary of Agriculture *Orville L. Freeman*

Subject: Indian Food Emergency - Actions taken pursuant to
National Security Action Memorandum 339

About this time last year it became apparent that the failure of the monsoons would have a serious effect on the 1965-66 foodgrain harvest in India. During his visit to Washington the latter part of December, Food and Agriculture Minister Subramaniam informed you and several of us that the Indian estimate for the food grain crop was about 76.0 million tons as compared to the record 88.4 million tons harvested in 1964-65 (July-June). (Most recent Indian reports indicate the crop to have been only 72.0 million tons.) He asked that we provide emergency quantities of food to help meet a total request of 10-11 million tons during 1966.

You instructed me in National Security Action Memorandum 339 to take such measures as were necessary to avert a critical food shortage and possible starvation in India. Following is an account of the principal efforts required, the problems encountered, and the actions taken to solve them in carrying out this mission.

1. Management of the mission

An Interagency Task Force was formed under the leadership of a senior member of my staff to give direction to what became one of the largest food movements in history. The contributions and cooperation of many agencies and individuals in the U.S. Government were outstanding.

2. Appraisal of the problem

A Food Grains Team went to India for a rapid reconnaissance of requirements and logistical problems in January. It surveyed a number of key problems which needed solution if this mammoth job were to be done.

We needed to agree on requirements to prevent famine. The Team examined Indian statistics on production and requirements by

2--The President

States on a monthly basis. Based on this examination, a month by month schedule of movement to individual States was established with the Government of India as a guide for action through the summer. Only in this way was it possible to provide for needs in areas which became inaccessible during the rainy season by movement and storage of grain during the dry spring months.

Total requirements for the calendar year were established at 11 million tons on an arrival basis.

We needed to assess the port and transportation capacity. India had rarely received and handled more than half a million tons of grain in a single month and the few instances of a larger volume were isolated. The consensus among most knowledgeable people in the transportation field was that the limit of such movement would be much less than a million tons. After a quick survey of all major ports in India, the Food Grains Team, working with the Government of India, established 1.2 million tons of grain and other bulk cargo as a feasible target for the non-monsoon months. Grain leaving the United States after mid-April and arriving in India in the monsoon months of June, July and August faces formidable weather problems in most Indian ports. This placed a high priority on shipments to arrive in April and May since it was already too late for massive arrivals during the winter months.

We needed to confirm that inland distribution facilities and procedures were adequate. The Team visited three of the States most heavily affected -- Maharashtra, Gujarat and Rajasthan. It also examined food distribution operations in several major cities and rural areas. It satisfied itself that a workable system was in effect which, if food could reach India, would meet the emergency. Different from this year, the 1965-66 drought was very general and therefore the principal problem was to feed the urban population. This year large rural populations are affected which will make distribution a much more difficult task.

We needed to plan the use of ships which could be accommodated in Indian ports. In the past, Indian food grain movements under our concessional sales programs had been confined to relatively small, dry bulk carriers and medium sized tankers. With the

3--The President

increased pressure on Indian ports the Team considered and proposed the use of large tankers of up to 100,000 ton capacity for selected movements with off-loading at sea off the coast of India to smaller ships which could disperse to a number of local ports for unloading. This plan extended the total unloading capacity of India ports.

3. Special representative in the field

The Indian Minister of Food and Agriculture arranged for my special representative to set up an office in his Ministry to act as liaison and to cooperate with the Ministry, port authorities and Ministries of Transport, Railways and Finance in solving problems of food movement and distribution. My representative worked as a member of the Indian team in planning food arrivals and distribution within India. Similarly he acted as an expeditor in giving rapid effect to actions requiring agreement of the Embassy, the AID Mission and the Government of India. Half of his time was spent in the field where during the summer he kept a close watch on the key points of potential trouble in the movement of grain.

4. Port management

An outstanding port administrator from the South Carolina State Port Authority was engaged to assist in expediting grain movements in Indian ports during the period of heaviest movement. He worked as an expert associate of my special representative, traveling to port cities and advising Indian port administrators on methods of breaking bottlenecks and keeping food grains moving.

5. Industry participation

Senior representatives of the three manufacturers of pneumatic grain handling equipment being used in India were asked to go to India to improve the rate of discharge of grain sorghums using their equipment in view of the importance of that commodity in meeting the food crisis. The companies responded immediately by putting technicians and training crews to work in the ports in time to prepare for the heaviest movement of milo.

4--The President

6. U. S. trade groups cooperate

A team of grain specialists was assembled under the leadership of the U. S. Feed Grains Council and Western Wheat Associates (commodity organizations cooperating with the USDA for export market promotion) to advise Indian officials and technicians on receiving, transporting and storing grain, particularly grain sorghums. A particular problem was that of storing sorghums during the rainy season since this grain is more susceptible to damage than most other cereals. One of the team members was selected from the sorghum area of Amarillo, Texas, because of this problem.

7. Consumer acceptance of grain sorghums

Coupled with the problems of handling and storing milo in large quantities was the problem of people getting used to a new food. Grain sorghums and millets bulk large in the Indian food grain picture but our milo has different characteristics of taste from those they know.

We sent a home economist with long experience in Asia out in March to work on this problem of developing recipes, conducting demonstrations and assisting Indian home science staffs to acquaint consumers with this type of milo. During the summer she made an extensive trip by train and automobile to ten broadly distributed cities to initiate this program. The work continued into the fall and will have a helpful effect on India's ability to use milo in the current crisis.

8. U. S. Logistics

A movement of grain as large as the Indian program has a marked impact on domestic transportation and market facilities. Eight million tons of grain is equivalent to a 20-25 percent of a normal U. S. wheat crop. An extremely tight time schedule made this movement even more difficult than it would have been under more normal circumstances. It demanded careful scheduling and coordination to get the most out of our own facilities which were strained to the maximum.

- (1) Ocean shipping had to be engaged by the Indian Supply Mission designating ports of call before authorizations were issued. Later the Commodity Credit Corporation and the grain trade had to meet these schedules at the designated ports of loading. We did not have the flexibility which prior authorizations would have provided.

5--The President

- (2) Last summer saw a renewal of a major boxcar shortage which made the problem of grain movement to meet tight and inflexible schedules a continuing transportation crisis. The railroads cooperated by establishing nine unit trains with hopper cars that went straight through from loading points such as Minneapolis to the designated port. The unit train would then deadhead back for another load. This proved to be a great timesaver, saving at least 15 days per trip over ordinary boxcar transport. Scheduling would have broken down otherwise. One such train provided a daily ration of 10 ounces of wheat for 29,760,000 people. \$240,000 in transportation charges was saved. You might find the enclosed article from the Pennsylvania Railway of interest.
- (3) Commercial movements of grain from our ports is very large beginning in early summer. Last summer it was unusually heavy because of larger than usual commercial export demand for all grains. Moreover, the use of large tankers for movement to India (required to make possible off-loading through small ports as explained above) put a strain on U. S. port elevators and port facilities, since most of them cannot handle ships of this draft and size. At times there was more of a problem of congestion in U. S. ports than in those of India. Nonetheless time deadlines were met.

Results

During this last year of effort directed toward meeting the food problem in India the following principal jobs were done:

Over 11 million tons of food grain will have been received in India by the end of December or the first half of January.

Indian ports have demonstrated for several months that they can handle well over a million tons of bulk cargo a month.

Grain was moved into India and out to areas which later became inaccessible during the rainy season in time to avoid unmanageable food crises.

Indian dock labor, which the Food Grain Team conferred with during their survey, stayed on the job during the most crucial months of the spring and summer in spite of very bad working conditions.

6--The President

Several large tankers were employed in moving grain into India for the first time. This practice will result in financial savings as well as more effective use of ports.

The Indian Government learned by experience that a concerted effort by others as well as themselves can avoid famine which in the past has claimed millions of lives under circumstances no worse than those of the past year.

Conclusions

You can be proud of the record of your country and your Government for their part in meeting the Indian food crisis. This was probably the largest rescue mission of its kind in history. It was successfully carried out.

It is a cruel trick of fate that we may have to help do it all over again this next year.

Enclosure