

Chapter IV

Growing Nations and a World Without Hunger

The problems of world food supply and demand in relation to resources invested in agriculture were not faced realistically during the 1950's and early 1960's. Foods, especially grains, were in surplus supply. The complex of political forces was such as to continue production at levels substantially above normal market demands. This, in turn, left a large volume of food available for concessional sales or foreign donation. The humanitarian appeal of food aid combined with the opportunity to dispose of surpluses made Food for Peace a very popular form of foreign assistance.

On the part of the receiving countries, the easy availability of food aid at little or no cost made it possible for them to concentrate available resources on non-food production.

The question of the overall adequacy of world food supplies was first brought to public attention by the Department of Agriculture in a publication "The World Food Deficit, A First Approximation," issued in March, 1961. This was the first result of the work of a special Task Force appointed by the new Secretary of Agriculture, Orville L. Freeman, in February 1961. A more comprehensive study entitled "The World Food Budget, 1962 and 1966," was first issued in October, 1961 and revised in January 1962. 1/

1/ The World Food Deficit, A First Approximation, Foreign Agricultural Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., March 1961. The World Food Budget, 1962 and 1966, Foreign Agricultural Economic Report No. 4, Economic Research Service in cooperation with the Foreign Agricultural Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., October 1961 and 1962.

- 2 -

Immense difficulties of statistical compilation and reconciliation beset this study. Many gaps in needed information were encountered for which informed estimates had to be made. Despite its shortcomings it documented the fact that there were serious imbalances between food and people which demanded increased world attention to the problems of food production.

Several key presentations were made by Department personnel on the basis of data collected for the World Food Budget. Sherman E. Johnson, Deputy Administrator for Foreign Economics, of the Economic Research Service published "The Strategy of Food Aid." 1/ Willard Cochrane, Director of Agricultural Economics, spoke to the World Food Forum on "The World Food Budget: A Foreward Look to 2000 and Beyond." 2/ Lester R. Brown, a young economist in the Regional Analysis Division of the Economic Research Service, published Man, Land, and Food, Looking Ahead at World Food Needs. 3/

1/ Sherman E. Johnson, "The Strategy of Food Aid" Agricultural Marketing, Vol. 7, No. 2, p. 8-9, February 1962.

2/ Willard W. Cochrane "The World Food Budget: A Foreward Look to 2000 and Beyond," Proceedings, World Food Forum, Washington D.C., January 1963.

3/ Lester R. Brown, Man, Land, and Food, Foreign Agricultural Economic Report No. 11, USDA, Economic Research Service, November 1963.

- 3 -

In 1961 and 1962 the administration sought to expand the Food for Peace program. School lunch programs were started in several countries with PL.480 food grants. In November 1961, the United States delegation, led by Secretary of Agriculture, Orville L. Freeman, to the Biennial Conference of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, proposed a plan for a World Food Bank. 1/ This proposal was accepted by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations for a three year trial period. 2/

As a part of the observance of the United States Department of Agricultural Centennial a World Food Forum was held in Washington May 15, 16 and 17, 1962. Participants included leaders from government, academic circles, the United States Congress, farm organizations, and a few foreign countries. This platform gave valuable public exposure to the yet rather obscure question of food and population balance. 3/

The Food and Agriculture Organization had inaugurated a 5 year Freedom from Hunger Campaign in 1960. To mark the half-way point in this campaign and to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the FAO organization a World Food Congress was planned for 1963. At the time of the 1961 FAO Conference an invitation to hold the World Food Congress in

1/ Address by Orville L. Freeman before the Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization at Rome, November 8, 1961, USDA Press release No. 3739-61.

2/ New York Times, April 19, 1962

3/ The World Food Forum, Proceedings, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., January 1963.

- 4 -

the United States was issued and favorably received. The Congress was held in Washington, D.C., June 4-18, 1963. About 1,200 outstanding political and academic leaders from all over the world attended the Congress.

It was reported in the press that FAO Director B.R. Sen had wanted the Congress to endorse a 5 year \$12 billion food aid program but that United States delegates had objected that United States public opinion was not prepared to endorse a program of this magnitude. 1/

Economists in the Department of Agriculture, utilizing data from the FAO's Third World Food Survey and the USDA's World Food Budget prepared an analysis of the world food deficit to be expected by 1980. In substance, their finding was that with projected rates of population increase and growth in per-capita income it would be impossible for developing countries to increase their food production fast enough to keep up with increasing demand. Consequently, they would need vastly increased food imports, part of which would be on commercial terms and the balance on concessional terms. Secretary Freeman presented these findings at the FAO Conference in Rome on November 19, 1963. In an effort to answer the problems raised at the World Food Congress, Secretary Freeman called for expanding world trade as well as increased aid. 2/ Secretary Freeman repeated this analysis in a speech on

1/ "Americans Warn on U.N. Food Drive" The New York Times, June 14, 1963; "Action to Feed World Urged to Avert Disaster", Washington Post, June 19, 1963; "Hunger is Called a Peril to Peace" The New York Times, June 19, 1963.

2/ Address of Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman, Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Rome, Italy, November 19, 1963, USDA Press Release No. 3803-63.

- 5 -

December 5, 1963. 3/ Thus it can be considered to be the position of the United States on food aid at the time that President Johnson took office. The United States stood opposed to a large multilateral food-aid program under the auspices of the United Nations and to a significant expansion of the activities of the Food and Agriculture Organization in the field of technical assistance. 3a/

The United States Department of Agriculture had a long history of interest in, and in some cases participation in, the agricultural development of other countries. This arose through its mandate in the Act of May 15, 1862, creating the Department, to collect and disseminate agricultural information for the benefit of American farmers. 4/

In less than 40 years the United States Department of Agriculture became the world's leading repository of agricultural knowledge. Foreign governments sought, with or without the approval of the Secretary, to hire United States Department of Agriculture scientists to help them improve their agriculture. During the Second World War the provision of technical assistance in agriculture to the countries of Latin America became

3/ Remarks by Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman at the St. Luke Evangelical Lutheran Church, Baltimore, Maryland, December 5, 1963, USDA Press Release No. 4132-63.

3a/ Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman to Charles Murphy, Roland Renne, Willard Cochrane, John Schnittker, Dorothy Jacobson, Ken Birkhead, Clarence Eskildson, December 31, 1963 in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological Correspondence File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

4/ U.S. Congress, Congressional Globe, 1846-62, Washington, D.C.

a part of the "Good Neighbor" policy. After the war, the Department participated in the rehabilitation of agriculture in the war-torn countries, and in agricultural development of Asia and Latin America under the Point IV program.

The Department of Agriculture's participation in technical assistance and agricultural development programs was interrupted from 1953-62 when all foreign aid programs were centralized in one agency, first called the Foreign Operations Administration and later the International Cooperation Administration. The one exception to this reorganization was the program for training foreign students in agriculture. This program was retained in the Department of Agriculture, due largely to strong pressure exerted by the Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities. 1/

The World Food Budget studies were financed from funds budgeted to the Department of Agriculture for foreign market development and the collection of statistics on foreign trade. In 1961 and 1962 the Department of Agriculture had neither authority nor funds to study or promote foreign agricultural development. The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, approved September 4, 1961 stated that "in providing technical assistance under this act in the field of education, health, housing or agriculture, or in other fields the head of any such agency or such officer shall utilize, to the fullest extent practicable the facilities

1/ Proceedings of the Association of Land Grant Colleges and State Universities, Sixty-Seventh Annual Convention, November 10-12, 1953, pp. 79-81.

and resources of the federal agency or agencies with primary responsibility for domestic programs in such fields. 1/

A realignment of the duties assigned to Assistant Secretaries of Agriculture which took place gradually during 1962 provided an Assistant Secretaryship for International Affairs. On January 24, 1963, Ronald R. Renne was nominated by Secretary Freeman for this position. 2/ On June 25, 1963 the International Agricultural Development Committee was established under the chairmanship of the Assistant Secretary for International Affairs, with a membership consisting of heads of Department agencies. This Committee was responsible for making recommendations on basic objectives, policies and proposals arising in the administration of the Department's technical assistance and agricultural development activities abroad, and for developing ways and means for fully utilizing Department competence and other resources in support of the U.S. foreign economic and technical assistance responsibilities assigned to this Department. This committee has been an active consultative body during the entire administration of President Johnson. 3/

1/ P.L. 87-195 Section 621(a), 75 Stat. 445.

2/ USDA Secretary's Memorandum No. 1495, February 20, 1962; USDA Press Release #251 January 24, 1963.

3/ USDA, Secretary's Memorandum No. 1536, June 25, 1963 and supplements. Secretary's Memorandum No. 1654, April 30, 1968.

- 8 -

The Foreign Agricultural Service, which had responsibility for foreign trade, agricultural attaches, foreign training, and relations with international organizations was the nucleus from which the new international programs agency was developed. The International Agricultural Development Service was established effective August 5, 1963 with the Foreign Training Division and the International Organizations Staff as its initial components. 1/

Although the predecessor agencies of the AID had had authority to negotiate with agencies of the Department of Agriculture for specialized services under a Memorandum of Agreement between the Department of Agriculture and the Foreign Operations Administration dated February 18, 1954, little use had been made of Department of Agriculture services.2/ In 1961 and 1962 both agencies were undergoing reorganizations. In the Department of Agriculture, economic research was being consolidated in the Economic Research Service and the Statistical Reporting Service established on February 24, 1961. A position of Deputy Administrator

1/ USDA, Secretary's Memorandum No. 1541, July 12, 1963 and Supplement 1, August 2, 1963.

2/ Memorandum of Agreement Between the Department of Agriculture and the Foreign Operations Administration, February 18, 1954 and Appendices I and II, April 14, 1954. USDA Secretary's Memorandum No. 1353, April 13, 1954.

- 9 -

for Foreign Agriculture in the Economic Research Service was established to supervise the work of two new divisions, the Agricultural Regional Analysis Division and the Development and Trade Analysis Division. 1/

In December 1962 David Bell became Administrator of the AID and negotiations between the Economic Research Service and AID were initiated which led to an agreement, consummated March 20, 1963, providing the authority and funds for the Economic Research Service to make a study of factors associated with differences and changes in agricultural production in underdeveloped countries. 2/ Thus it took over two years to accomplish the legislative and administrative changes necessary to put the Department of Agriculture into a position where it could begin to move in the field of international agricultural development.

One of the first pieces of legislation to be approved by President Johnson was the Foreign Assistance Act of 1963. This act extended the technical assistance features of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 for one year and made several amendments of interest to the Department of Agriculture. The use of public funds for research into population problems was authorized for the first time. It established an Advisory Committee on Private Enterprise in Foreign Aid. It extended and broadened the investment guarantee program. 3/ The Department of Agriculture had

1/ ERS General Memorandum #1, April 4, 1961, processed.

2/ Participating Agency Agreement Between the Agency for International Development and the Economic Research Service, AID Document No. 12-17-0017-132, processed.

3/ Public Law 88-205, 88th Congress, Approved December 16, 1963. 77 Stat. 379.

- 10 -

learned through its activities under Public Law 480, Food for Peace, that the lack of food processing and distribution facilities in the less developed countries was a major obstacle to the development of a market economy. On September 21, 1961, Secretary Freeman had established a Committee on Food Processing in Developing Countries, including representation from AID and the Director of Food for Peace as well as the Administrators of Department research, marketing, foreign agriculture and economic research agencies. This committee continued to be active throughout the administration of President Johnson. 1/

On December 19, 1963, shortly before his first visit to the L.B.J. ranch, Secretary Freeman commented on the publication Man, Land, and Food as follows: "The real future of export markets for America's growing agricultural production will be determined by how rapidly the developing nations can achieve full commercial status as trading partners. If the developing nations are to trade, they will need to grow economically. Their rate of growth will be substantially affected by the extent of food aid from developed nations. The strategy of food aid, then, is a vital key to the future of the developing nations, and to the needs of the United States and other highly developed nations." 2/

1/ USDA Secretary's Memorandum No. 1478, December 11, 1961 and supplements, January 22, 1962, March 14, 1963, December 15, 1964, July 7, 1965, and June 10, 1968.

2/ USDA Press Release, No. 4301-63, December 19, 1963.

- 11 -

On December 26, Secretary Freeman held discussions with David Bell of AID, Richard Reuter of Food For Peace and Robert Lee of the State Department on Public Law 480. Reuter wanted to "bring a bright new bill" which would stress the use of food aid for economic development. Charles Murphy, the Under-Secretary of Agriculture, pointed out that the executive really had very broad powers under existing legislation and the critical point was appropriations. It was feared that an attempt to refocus the legislation, in view of the mood of Congress, might result in added restrictions being written into the legislation. 1/ The next day Secretary Freeman visited President Johnson at the LBJ ranch. On the plane returning from the ranch, Secretary Freeman had a three hour visit with Assistant Secretary of State Thomas C. Mann, during which he discussed the importance of food in economic development, particularly as related to Latin America, and past relationships between the Department of Agriculture and the Department of State. 2/

On December 31, 1963, Secretary Freeman discussed international agriculture, trade, aid, legislation and current operational problems under P.L. 480 with Richard Reuter, Director of Food For Peace. Reuter felt very strongly that the underlying philosophy of surplus disposal restricted the effective use of P.L. 480. Freeman agreed but argued that we must give first priority to our domestic agricultural problems.

1/ Memorandum for the Files, Orville L. Freeman, December 26, 1963 in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological Correspondence File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ Orville L. Freeman to Thomas C. Mann, December 31, 1963, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological Correspondence File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

- 12 -

He persuaded Reuter that the most effective tactic would be to try to build up the multiple purposes of P.L. 480 in public statements and testimony before Congress. Reuter wanted more flexibility in the use of Title I programs and more authority under Title II and III to expand the donations programs, both as to volume and variety of foods made available. Freeman agreed that this would be desirable if the commodities were available but felt that domestic donations programs left little or no surplus of perishables. They agreed to begin to try to build a favorable public climate for suggesting increases in these programs. 1/ On January 22, 1964, Secretary Freeman held a conference to consider the Administration's position with regard to P.L. 480 to which George W. Ball, David E. Bell, Richard Reuter, and Herbert J. Waters were invited. 2/ On January 31, 1964, the President asked for a 5 year extension of Titles I and II of P.L. 480 which were scheduled to expire at the end of 1964, but no substantive changes in the law. 3/ Secretary Freeman introduced the idea of food-aid as a tool in foreign economic development in his testimony before the House Agriculture and Appropriation Committees and, as he had forecast, ran

1/ Orville L. Freeman to Charley Murphy, Roland Renne, Willard Cochrane, John Schnittker, Dorothy Jacobson, Ken Birkhead, Clarence Eskildsen, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ Orville L. Freeman to George W. Ball, David E. Bell, Richard W. Reuter, Herbert G. Waters, January 18, 1964, Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

3/ Lyndon B. Johnson, Message to the Congress on Agriculture, Public Papers of Lyndon Baines Johnson, 1964, vol. 1.

- 13 -

into trouble. 1/ In response to this criticism, Secretary Freeman ordered that a study be made of the effects, good and bad, of foreign assistance on foreign markets for American agriculture. Preliminary results of studies, which showed that agricultural technical assistance as it contributes to economic development expands markets for American agriculture abroad, were sent to Jamie Whitten in June, 1964. 2/

Much of the Agriculture Committee criticism of P.L. 480 centered around India. It was alleged that we were giving the Indians food at cut rate prices while they used their resources to raise cotton to sell in competition with American cotton in world markets. A four-year \$1,276 million P.L. 480 agreement with India was nearing expiration. Prospects for the food situation in India had turned quite pessimistic. Population was rising more rapidly than food production and the food deficit was growing, year by year. On February 3, 1964, Willard W. Cochrane suggested that Secretary Freeman join him in an on the spot inspection of the Indian food and agriculture situation and Secretary Freeman agreed. 3/ After confering with Secretary of State Dean Rusk and AID Director David Bell, Secretary Freeman decided to go to India. This trip, from April 17 to April 25, 1964,

1/ Orville L. Freeman to Dorothy Jacobson and Joe Robertson, February 21, 1964, Orville L. Freeman Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. U.S. Congress, 88th House, Agriculture Subcommittee of Committee on Appropriations, Hearings on the Department of Agriculture Appropriations for 1965, February 19, 1964, p. 43, 126-131 and U.S. Congress, 88th House, Agriculture Committee. Hearings on the Extension of Titles I and II of Public Law 480, February 18, 1964, p. 2-36, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1964.

2/ Orville L. Freeman to Dorothy Jacobson and Joe Robertson, February 21, 1964 and Orville L. Freeman to Charley Murphy, Dorothy Jacobson, Ray Jones, Clarence Eskildsen, Ken Birkhead, Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

3/ Willard W. Cochrane to The Secretary, February 3, 1964, and Orville L. Freeman to Chester Bowles, February 24, 1964, in folder "Foreign Relations 2," Secretary's Files, USDA.

- 14 -

convinced Secretary Freeman that several changes should be made in the legislative authorization and administration of P.L. 480. First, more foreward thinking should go into the programing of commodities and and the Department should have authority to go into the market to buy commodities needed to meet commitment in cases where Commodity Credit Corporation stocks became exhausted. He had found that the Indian School Lunch Program was running out of dry skim milk. Secondly, "We ought to, in negotiating Title I agreements pin down the use of Title I grant or loan money to some specific and dramatic projects properly labled as U.S. donated." Secretary Freeman introduced this idea into his testimony before the Senate on the extension of P.L. 480. 1/

Congressional discussion in committee and on the floor focused on four aspects of P.L. 480. (1) The prohibition of Title I sales to communist countries; (2) The interest rate on loans of Title I currencies, (3) The payment of shipping charges on commodities sold under Title I; and, most importantly, (4) Congressional overview and/or control of loans and grants of Title I foreign currencies. 2/

1/ Orville L. Freeman to Dorothy Jacobson, April 28, 1964; Orville L. Freeman to The President, April 27, 1964; Orville L. Freeman to Charley Murphy, Dorothy Jacobson, Ray Jones, Clarence Eskildsen, Ken Birkhead, June 19, 1964; Orville L. Freeman to Richard W. Reuter, June 29, 1964; in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological file, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ U.S. Congress, 88th, Senate, Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, Hearings on the Extension of Public Law 480, 83rd Congress, August 12, 1964, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1964, p. 30-31.

- 15 -

The Administration was strongly opposed to placing further restrictions on P.L. 480, particularly on the making of loans and grants of Title I currencies. 1/ Finally a compromise to the effect that (1) the President would appoint a joint advisory committee made up of congressional leaders and heads of administrative agencies; (2) Congressional Agriculture Committees would be given 30 days (60 days when Congress was not in session) to disapprove of future P.L. 480 grants or loans before they became effective; and (3) the United States would pay shipping charges only to the extent that the cost of shipping in United States boats exceeded the cost of shipping in foreign boats. The extension of P.L. 480 was approved on October 8, 1964. 2/

Secretary Freeman's April 1964 trip to India also resulted in a rapid escalation of Department of Agriculture involvement in Indian agricultural development. Secretary Freeman told top Indian officials that the only possible means of satisfying India's rapidly increasing food needs was for the Indians to invest more of their very limited resources in agriculture. He particularly singled out the limited availability and high price of fertilizer as a factor limiting production and extolled the advantages of free enterprise in efficiently producing and distributing fertilizer and other agricultural inputs. Secretary

1/ Orville L. Freeman to the President, September 3, 1964, Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ P.L. 88-638, 88th Congress, 78 Stat. 1035.

- 16 -

Freeman sought to persuade India to give more emphasis to agriculture in her fourth 5-year plan which was then being planned. 1/

Secretary Freeman's recommendations led to requests to AID from the Indian government for U.S. specialists to advise on price programs. In August 1964 two top USDA specialists, Arthur T. Thompson, Director, Grain Policy Staff, Agricultural Conservation Service and Martin E. Abel, of the Economic Research Service, were sent to India. In September they were joined by Willard W. Cochrane, Professor of Agricultural Economics, University of Minnesota, and until June, 1964, Director of Economics for the U.S. Department of Agriculture. 2/ This team's recommendation for an effective price support program was to establish an Indian Food Grains Trading Corporation, patterned after the United States Commodity Credit Corporation. Willard W. Cochrane emphasized that it was important to send some well qualified men to India to help them in the establishment of actual price-support levels and the Food Corporation. 3/

India's dependence upon the United States for food grains provided powerful leverage in securing the adaption of American recommendations for agricultural planning. As early as May, 1963, when Mr. Pati of

1/ Orville L. Freeman to the President, April 27, 1964, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ IADS Fact Sheet #6, August 18, 1964.

3/ Willard W. Cochrane to the Secretary, September 24, 1964, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. Willard W. Cochrane, Arthur T. Thompson, Martin E. Abel, "Some Observations and Recommendations with regard to a Price Support Program for Food grains in India," September 12, 1964. India File, History Branch, ERS, USDA.

- 17 -

India was visiting the United States, inquiries were made as to the possibility of extending the Title I, P.L. 480 agreement with India which was to expire June 30, 1964. (see press release of May 1963). The Secretary agreed to this request on May 18, 1964. 1/

On February 29, 1964, United States Ambassador to India, Chester Bowles, wrote to Secretary Freeman.

"I would appreciate it, Orville if you could give me a preview of how you and your associates would look upon another large multi-year Title I, P.L. 480 agreement with India. How much wheat could we make available per year, and over what period of time? Also, what about rice? The Indians have not talked to me officially about this yet. I expect the question to be raised soon." 2/

Secretary Freeman did not want to announce a new P.L. 480 agreement with India while the extension of P.L. 480 was being debated by Congress. He wanted no publicity until P.L. 480 had been passed by Congress. To maintain an uninterrupted flow of food grains to India the wheat arrangement under the 1964 agreement was extended over the summer. In negotiating a new agreement, Secretary Freeman insisted

1/ Dorothy H. Jacobson to The Secretary, May 14, 1964, in folder "Foreign Relations 3" Secretary's Files, USDA.

2/ Chester Bowles to Orville L. Freeman, February 29, 1964, in folder "Foreign Relations 3", Secretary's Files, USDA.

- 18 -

that soft currencies should be earmarked for clearly identifiable projects. 1/

On September 8, 1964, Secretary Freeman announced that the United States was increasing wheat shipments under Title I, P.L. 480 to 600,000 tons a month. This was about 200,000 tons a month above the already increased rate at which shipments were being made during the late spring and summer. 2/ On September 30, 1964 a one-year \$398.3 million Title I agreement with India was signed. Eighty percent of the Indian rupees received in payment were to be made available for loans to finance economic development projects. 3/

Meanwhile the Department of Agriculture was providing more and more personnel and services to AID in dealing with the food and agriculture situation in India. Sherman E. Johnson, Deputy Administrator for Foreign Economics, Economic Research Service, went to India in July, 1964 where he consulted with Ambassador Chester Bowles, AID-India, and Ford Foundation officials. Ambassador Bowles was desperate to get United States assistance in dealing with Indian economic problems. On July 23, 1964 he cabled the Secretary of States "While delighted to have Johnson now and Cochrane in September, I am dismayed that,

1/ Orville L. Freeman to Richard W. Reuter, June 29, 1964, Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. Richard W. Reuter to Orville L. Freeman, July 1, 1964, in folder "Foreign Relations 3, Secretary's Files, USDA.

2/ USDA Press Release No. 3032-64, September 8, 1964.

3/ USDA Press Release No. 3318-64, September 30, 1964.

- 19 -

four months after Orville Freeman's offer of assistance in this field to Swaran Singh and a full month after initial request, AID staff only now "planning" approach USDA ... We planned on Team I for early August." Secretary Freeman's comment was to the effect that the Department of Agriculture was ready to send Arthur Thompson immediately, what was holding it up? 1/ During the last two weeks of July, 1964 discussions between AID and USDA personally involved Secretary Freeman, Assistant Secretary Jacobson, John P. Lewis of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, Willard Cochrane and a number of other USDA Officials. 2/ John P. Lewis was sent to India to head up the AID Mission for three years in August 1964. 3/

Meanwhile the AID Mission in New Delhi had been working on a "Long Range Assistance Strategy for India." A copy of this study was sent to Secretary Freeman on August 31, 1964. The Mission concluded that "For the foreseeable future, agricultural production is the Mission's foremost economic problem; it is first on our list of urgent problems

1/ Telegram, Bowles to Secretary of State, July 22, 1964, in Orville L. Freeman, Action Memos file, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ Telegram, Rusk to Bowles, July 29, 1964, in Foreign Relations, Secretary's Files, USDA.

3/ John P. Lewis to Orville L. Freeman, August 1, 1964, in Orville L. Freeman, Action Memos, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

- 20 -

on which Indian policy is unsatisfactory." The Mission emphasized need for improvements in fertilizer availability, irrigation and extension. The necessity for a new price-policy for agriculture was also recognized. 1/

Willard Cochrane spent 3 weeks in September 1964, in India, and Martin Able of the Economic Research Service spent 3 months there, returning November 20, 1964. Arthur Thompson remained for another three months. On November 21, 1964 John A. Schnittker summarized their findings in a memorandum for the Secretary. "The situation in India is very bad. The food crises, the political crises and the development crises (which is first of all a long-run food crises) are serious and inseparable." The political crises included a threatened breakdown in Federal-State relations in India with serious consequences in slowing or stopping the movement of food from surplus areas to deficit areas. Also the determination of the Government of India to impose price ceilings and food rationing was regarded by United States advisers as unenforceable and certain to further weaken the central government. In mid-October the Department of Agriculture sent Charles Kiefer, Director of the Office of Management Services to India for six weeks to help the AID mission and the Ford Foundation in advising on organizational relationships within the Central Ministry of Food and Agriculture and

1/ Dorothy H. Jacobson to The Secretary, September 16, 1964, in file Foreign Relations 2, Secretary's Files, USDA.

- 21 -

between the Center, States and Districts. Essentially the problem was one of implementing an effective educational chain of command from the central government to the individual cultivator. 1/

Thus, in the last 5 months of 1964, the USDA had sent five of its top men to India on short term assignments. Their recommendations called for extensive changes in Indian food and agriculture policy, some of which ran counter to firmly established Indian philosophy. India had maintained a "cheap-food" policy for the benefit of the low-income masses. The U.S. recommended incentive prices to cultivators threatened this policy. India's Fabian socialist government deeply distrusted private enterprise. The U.S. recommended that private business be encouraged to invest in fertilizer plants. Although the Indian Minister of Agriculture, C. Subramaniam, endorsed the U.S. recommendations, the Indian government remained lukewarm. In December, when the Government of India asked for an increase in the Title I agreement to provide more rice, the United States agreed to provide only 1/4 as much as was requested. It was indicated that Indian performance would be considered in providing future allocations. 2/

1/ Douglas Ensminger to Orville L. Freeman, December 7, 1964 and Joseph M. Robertson to Douglas Ensminger, December 23, 1964, in file "Personnel", Secretary's files, USDA.

2/ Art Mead to John Schnittker, December 9, 1964, in John Schnittker Chronological Files, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. "USDA Announces Amendment to Food for Peace Agreement with India," USDA Press Release No. 4414-64, December 31, 1964.

- 22 -

A parallel case of food shortages leading to expanded USDA involvement in technical assistance was unfolding concurrently in Brazil, the largest recipient of food for peace in Latin America. Brazil's large, economically depressed and drouth susceptible North East region was one of the areas in which experimental food-for-work programs had been undertaken by AID. The experimental school lunch program using donated P.L. 480 commodities was put into operation in Brazil in 1962. The Brazilian Government encountered serious difficulties in maintaining adequate food supplies at reasonable prices in the larger cities during 1962 and 1963. The problem in Rio de Janeiro became so serious that a food riot occurred in July, 1962. 1/ The Brazilian Government and the AID Mission in Brazil asked the USDA for help in stabilizing rapidly rising food prices. On July 15, 1964 an agreement between AID and the USDA for USDA technical assistance to Brazil was signed. A three man team, all from the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service went to Brazil on August 8, 1964 for 30 to 60 days. This was followed by a resident team of 16 specialists from various agencies of the Department to help in the organizing of marketing services, farm credit, and livestock health programs. 2/

1/ "Operation of the P.L. 480 Program in Brazil", ERS Foreign 59, Development and Trade Analysis Division, Economic Research Service, USDA, Washington D. C., October 1963.

2/ IADS Fact Sheet No. 5, August 12, 1964, mimeographed.

- 23 -

Meanwhile, under the direction of Secretary Freeman, Department of Agriculture researchers were exploring the possibilities and political feasibility of reorienting agricultural policies and programs toward producing food to meet recognized needs and using that food as a catalyst in accelerating agricultural development in food deficit areas. 1/

On November 19, 1964, Secretary Freeman sent President Johnson a long memorandum on "International Aspects of Agricultural Policy, Trade and Aid." He said that if we could launch and support programs to provide foods most seriously needed by diet deficit countries and coordinate food programs closely with agricultural technical assistance we would go far toward eliminating the menace of hunger and at the same time enhance the economic position of the American farmer. 2/

President Johnson was wary of the congressional opposition to a reorientation of P.L. 480 but Secretary Freeman argued that the developing countries would not move forward until real agricultural

1/ John A. Schnittker to The Secretary, The Under Secretary, Memorandum on the Presidential Task Force on Foreign Economic Policy, September 16, 1964. Ray Ioanes to The Secretary, October 22, 1964, Lester R. Brown to Dorothy Jacobson, November 16, 1964, in John A. Schnittker Chronological file, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library; Orville L. Freeman to Dorothy Jacobson, October 27, 1964 in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. The World Food Budget 1970, Foreign Agricultural Economic Report No. 19, Economic Research Service, USDA, October, 1964.

2/ Orville L. Freeman to The President, November 19, 1964, attachment to John A. Schnittker to The Under Secretary, James Sundquist, Horace Godfrey, November 20, 1964, in Secretary's Files, USDA.

- 24 -

development took place. He cited India as an example and Walter W. Rostow's recent planning papers as confirmation for this analysis. 1/ After a week of discussion, Secretary Freeman was directed to launch his ideas as a trial balloon. 2/ This was accomplished in a speech, on December 4, 1964 at West Point, N.Y. 3/ On December 16, 1964 Secretary Freeman expressed his convictions strongly to Bill Moyers. "There will be political difficulty on this but I think it is of crucial importance if we are to have the kind of food program that makes sense.... it is right, imaginative, creative and with the President's skill and determination it can be done." 4/

The year 1965 was the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations. To mark this anniversary, President Johnson proclaimed International Cooperation Year. 5/ From the point of view of the United States Department of Agriculture, this was prophetic. With crop failures in India, the food problem grew from serious, to crisis proportions. To avert wide-spread famine the United States undertook to ship such a large volume of food grains to India that the American railroad shipping and port facilities were strained. Our mountainous surpluses disappeared

1/ Orville L. Freeman to The President in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ Orville L. Freeman to The President, November 27, 1964, in Orville L. Freeman Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

3/ Orville L. Freeman, Remarks to Annual Student Conference on United States Affairs at the United States Military Academy, West Point, December 4, 1964, USDA Press Release No. 4090-64.

4/ Orville L. Freeman to Bill Moyers, December 16, 1964, in Orville L. Freeman Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

5/ Public Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, 1964, October 2, 1964, vol. 2., p. 1186-88.

- 25 -

at an alarming rate. For the first time the American people began to realize that American agriculture could not feed the world. The realization was also dawning that the United States could not survive indefinitely as an island of opulence in a sea of misery. Although Secretary Freeman felt that his "trial balloon" of December 4, 1964 had been well received, the administration was not sufficiently convinced of the critical need to move forward in this area. The publication of the results of research, the development of position papers and task force reports, and developments on both the national and international scene during 1965 all contributed to building up the momentum for a major redirection of foreign aid policy.

Since 1963 the Economic Research Service under a participating Agency Service Agreement with AID had been studying the agricultural development of less developed countries. The results of the first phase of this study were published in October 1965 under the title "Changes in Agriculture in 26 Developing Nations, 1948 to 1963." 1/ Another study, by Lester R. Brown

1/ Changes in Agriculture in 26 Developing Nations, 1948-1963, Foreign Agricultural Economic Report No. 27, Economic Research Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, October 1965.

- 26 -

entitled "Increasing World Food Output, Problems and Prospects," was published in April 1965. 1/

Early in January 1965, an interagency task force composed of representatives of the USDA, AID and the Bureau of the Budget was formed. It was directed to analyze methodically the facts and make some solid estimates on world food availability, needs, and possible causes of action. Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Dorothy Jacobson was Chairman of this task force. Secretary Freeman hoped that it would propose programs which could be included in the Department's legislative recommendations for 1965 but the task force apparently had difficulty in reaching a consensus. Its report went through at least seven drafts without being finalized. The controversy centered around two points: (1) the finding that in many cases food-aid appeared to have reduced incentives to agricultural producers in the less developed countries and (2) the recommendation that United States agricultural production continue to be restricted while expanded production was being encouraged in the less developed countries. However, Secretary Freeman discussed the

1/ Lester R. Brown, Increasing World Food Output, Problems and Prospects, Foreign Agricultural Economic Report No. 25, Foreign Regional Analysis Division, Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, April, 1965.

contents of the draft report in various memorandums to the President and White House staff and a preliminary report was sent to the President during the last week of September, 1965. 1/

President Johnson during this time carefully avoided making public statements in the area of general foreign agricultural development policies. His Foreign aid message to Congress on January 14, 1965 gave cautiously worded support to technical assistance in agriculture. 2/ His February 4, 1965 message to Congress on agriculture called for a continuation

1/ The Secretary to Dorothy Jacobson, February 15, 1965; The Secretary to Dorothy Jacobson, March 1, 1965; The Secretary to John Baker, George Mehren, Dorothy Jacobson, John Schnittker, Nyle Brady, Jim Sundquist, Rod Leonard, Ray Ioanes, Matthew Drosdoff, Clarence Eskildsen, May 5, 1965; Orville L. Freeman to the President, July 2, 1965; The Secretary to Dorothy Jacobson, September 10, 1965 (2 memoranda); The Secretary to John Schnittker, October 11, 1965; Orville L. Freeman to The President, September 24, 1965; The Secretary to John Schnittker, October 11, 1965, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. Dorothy H. Jacobson to Robert **Komer**, The White House, July 16, 1965 in file folder "Foreign Relations 11-2, Secretary's Files, USDA.

2/ Public Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, 1965, vol. 1, p. 48.

- 28 -

of Public Law 480 and postulated that it might be necessary to provide "more flexibility to assure proper nutritional balance" in the Food for Peace program. 1/

Walter W. Rostow and Secretary Freeman both urged President Johnson to make the food-population problem a major theme of his speech on June 25, 1965 at the 20th Anniversary celebration of the United Nations in San Francisco. Walter W. Rostow saw a large role for the USDA in the development of "President Johnson's equivalent of the Marshall Plan." 2/ The course of world events, however, was such that an emphasis on peace-keeping activities of the United Nations seemed to be more timely to President Johnson. 3/

The United States had become increasingly involved in the war in Vietnam since August 2, 1964 when two United States destroyers were attacked in the Gulf of Tonkin. In an attempt to produce a peaceful settlement, President Johnson in an address at Johns Hopkins University, April 7, 1965, stated that the United States was prepared to offer a \$1 billion economic development program to South East Asia including North

1/ Ibid., p. 147.

2/ John A. Schnittker to the Secretary, June 16, 1965 and attachment, W.W. Rostow to the Secretary of State, June 15, 1965; Matthew Drosdoff to The Secretary, June 16, 1965, John A. Schnittker to McGeorge Bundy, Walt W. Rostow, and David E. Bell, June 16, 1965 and attachment, Orville L. Freeman to the President June 16, 1965, in John A. Schnittker, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

3/ Public Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, 1965, vol. 2, p. 703-706.

- 29 -

Vietnam as soon as peaceful cooperation between the nations in that area was achieved. 1/ On April 9, 1965, Secretary Freeman established a task force under the direction of Matthew Drosdoff to report on the agricultural needs of that area and the contributions that the USDA could make to an agricultural development program there. The task force report was sent to President Johnson before the end of April. This task force report reflected the recommendations of the USDA-AID-BOB task force applying them to one region. 2/

The Department of Agriculture's involvement in food and agriculture programs in India continued and became more extensive. Willard Cochrane and Arthur T. Thompson made a second trip to India on the price support program returning to the United States during the second week of April 1965. John P. Lewis, director of the AID mission in India asked for help in evaluating the agricultural section of the Indian fourth 5-year plan. Martin Abel and Lester Brown were sent out in late April for 3 to 4 weeks. 3/ John P. Lewis had discussed the possibility of the USDA staffing certain functions of the Agriculture Division of the India AID missions in January 1965. This discussion was resumed when John Lewis

1/ Public Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, 1965, vol. 1, p. 394.

2/ The Secretary to Matt Drosdoff, April 9, 1965; Orville L. Freeman to Harry McPherson, The White House, April 22, 1965, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

3/ E.T. Ransom, Asia Coordinator, IADS to Dr. Schnittker, January 21, 1965; John A. Schnittker to Nathan Koffsky, Lester Brown, and Charles Kiefer, March 16, 1965; John A. Schnittker to The Secretary, April 15, 1965; Martin Abel and Les Brown to John A. Schnittker, Dorothy H. Jacobson, and Nathan M. Koffsky, Memorandum on "The imput needs of Indian agriculture during the Fourth-Five-Year-Plan for rapid economic development," May 20, 1965, and attachment, John A. Schnittker to The Secretary, May 21, 1965; in John A. Schnittker, Chronological file, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

- 30 -

visited Washington in June 1965. He was interested in a PASA arrangement patterned after the USDA-Brazil program. However, neither he nor the U.S. Ambassador to India, Chester Bowles were ready to commit their support to a get-tough policy on food-aid. John Schnittker felt that AID had not been cooperating very well with the top-level manpower that the USDA had been sending to India. He felt that the successes of the USDA teams in India had been due to the close support of the Ford Foundation and the cordial relationships between the Foundation and the Government of India. 1/

The first rumors of a short food crop in India in 1965-66 reached the USDA in early July, 1965. At this time the question of whether the United States would continue to provide food for India and Pakistan in ever increasing amounts was the subject of high level meetings in Washington. The President was unwilling to go ahead without a mandate from Congress. 2/

The Department was asked to provide materials for a Presidential statement on this subject and the recommendations of Secretary Freeman and Walter W. Rostow, together with the report of Martin Abel and Les Brown on India and a copy of draft 7 of the Task force report were sent to the White House. 3/ However, no statement was made from the White House. In a cablegram dated August 11, 1965, Ambassador to India, Chester Bowles, strongly urged that the United States negotiate a new 24 month

1/ John A. Schnittker to Mrs Jacobson and Mr. Koffsky, June 7, 1965; John A. Schnittker to The Secretary, June 10, 1965 in John A. Schnittker, Chronological file, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ Nathan M. Koffsky to John A. Schnittker, July 2, 1965, in John A. Schnittker, July 2, 1965, in John A. Schnittker, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

3/ John A. Schnittker to The Secretary, July 14, 1965 in John A. Schnittker, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. Dorothy H. Jacobson to Robert Kromer, The White House, July 16, 1965 in file public relations 11-2, Secretary's Files, USDA.

- 31 -

P.L. 480 agreement with India, saying that the Indian effort to achieve self-sufficiency in food grains was vigorous and effective. 1/ Charles F. Kiefer of the USDA in India at that time reported that he was not satisfied with the resources allocated to agricultural development in the Indian fourth 5 - year plan and that the United States should continue to exert pressure, particularly in view of the faltering effort to expand fertilizer production and the resistance to expenditures large enough to import needed fertilizer. Under Secretary John Schnittker supported this view. 2/

Secretary Freeman and President Johnson continued to watch the Indian situation closely. A four man team from the USDA was scheduled to go to India at the end of August to help the Indian Government with food production problems. The delay of the onset of the monsoon and the light sporadic rains were being watched in Washington with increasing concern. 3/ The start of Indian-Pakistan War froze everything. Following the cease fire on September 22, 1965, plans to send out the food production team were again set in motion. 4/ The President, however, directed

1/ Chester Bowles to The Secretary of State, August 11, 1965, in John A. Schnittker, Chronological file, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ Charles F. Kiefer to The Under Secretary, August 13, 1965; John Schnittker to The Secretary in John A. Schnittker, Chronological file, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

3/ Orville L. Freeman to The President, August 28, 1965, file "farm production 8-2" in Secretary's Files, USDA.

4/ Rodney E. Leonard to Royce Redman, Assistant to Bill Moyers, October 8, 1965, file "reports 2-1", Secretary's files, USDA.

- 32 -

Secretary Freeman to try to minimize public attention to the International Agriculture-Food for Peace-P.L. 480 area while he studied the situation. 1/

Secretary Freeman went to the Biennial Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization in Rome the fourth week of November 1965, with instructions from President Johnson to discuss with Food Minister S. Subramaniam of India, terms for continuing United States food-aid to India. 2/ The meetings with Subramaniam resulted in an agreement. Subramaniam, on his return to India, presented the agreed-upon program to the Indian Congress. Secretary Freeman spent the first weekend in December at the LBJ Ranch discussing the concrete problems of implementing the Indian program. 3/ Subramaniam was invited to come to Washington on December 20, 1965, to meet with the President and Secretary Freeman. 4/ By this time

1/ Orville L. Freeman to The President, November 15, 1965, in file "foreign relations 3", Secretary's files, USDA.

2/ Orville L. Freeman, Memoranda (2) for the Files, November 17, 1965, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological file, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library; Orville L. Freeman to The President, November 20, 1965, in file "foreign relations 3", Secretary's files, USDA.

3/ Orville L. Freeman to The President, December 1, 1965, and December 3, 1965; Orville L. Freeman to The President, December 6, 1965 and Lester Brown to The Secretary, December 6, 1965, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

4/ John A. Schnittker to The Secretary, December 13, 1965, in John A. Schnittker, Chronological file, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. Orville L. Freeman, Memorandum for the Files, December 14, 1965; Orville L. Freeman to Joseph A. Califano, December 20, 1965, file "foreign relations 2", Secretary's files, USDA.

- 33 -

the desperate food situation in India was an established fact. Subramaniam estimated India's grain import needs for the coming year at 10 million tons. 1/ On a monthly basis it amounted to about 1/3 more than had ever been handled through Indian ports. It was equivalent to the maximum level of exports from the United States at the height of the post-World War II relief effort. During Subramaniam's visits these logistics problems and the previously agreed upon plans for expanding Indian agricultural production were discussed in detail with top level and staff personnel from USDA, AID, the Food for Peace Office, and the World Bank. About 25 members of the United States Congress took part in a dinner discussion. They heard him speak and questioned him closely, particularly in regard to self help efforts in India. 2/

Shortly after the meeting between S. Subramaniam and President Johnson, National Security Action Memorandum No. 339 was issued. Pursuant to this directive, Secretary Freeman on December 22, 1965 called a meeting for December 27, 1965 of the Secretaries of State, Defense, and Commerce, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, the Administrator of AID, and the President's Special Assistant for Science and Technology. At this meeting an executive committee on aid to India, chaired by Dorothy Jacobson was established. Task forces on Food Shipment Operations and Assistance

1/ Rodney E. Leonard to W. Thomas Johnson, Assistant to the Press Secretary, The White House, December 21, 1965, in file "foreign relations 3", Secretary's files USDA.

2/ Orville L. Freeman to The President, December 23, 1965, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological file, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

- 34 -

to India's Agricultural Productivity were to report to the executive Committee. 1/ President Johnson invited Indian Prime Minister Shastri to visit Washington early in February 1966. 2/

In reporting on these events to Indian Ambassador Chester Bowles, Secretary Freeman said: "We feel strongly that the heat should be put on other advanced countries to help in this rescue operation. Countries such as Canada, Australia and France could supplement our efforts by providing a few million tons of grain on concessional terms. Other advanced industrial countries could provide shipping and donate sizable quantities of fertilizer." 3/

The Indian food crisis had become the laboratory in which the policies advocated by Secretary Freeman and his staff could be tested. The success of the Indian negotiations was undoubtedly influential in the President's decision to call Secretary Freeman on December 28, 1965, and tell him to take the leadership in developing an agricultural development program for Vietnam. 4/

1/ Orville L. Freeman to Honorable Dean Rusk and others, December 22, 1965; Orville L. Freeman to Secretary of State Dean Rusk and others, December 27, 1965, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological file, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. Donald F. Hornig to Orville L. Freeman, December 30, 1965, in file "foreign relations 2", Secretary's file, USDA.

2/ Orville L. Freeman to Honorable C. Subramaniam, December 27, 1965, in file "meetings 4-1", Secretary's files, USDA.

3/ Orville L. Freeman to Honorable Chester Bowles, December 29, 1965, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological file, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

4/ Orville L. Freeman to The President, December 29, 1965, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological file, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

- 35 -

Several other areas in the international food field received increasing attention by the Department of Agriculture during 1965. The question of high protein foods which could be provided under P. L. 480 at feasible cost either through processing or through encouraging increased production of certain commodities by farmers was given intensive study. 1/

An intensive effort was made to establish dialogue between the Department of Agriculture and the agri-business community, including food processing industries and farm input supply industries, with the object of encouraging them to expand their operations in developing countries. 2/

The Secretary in his discussions with his staff stressed repeatedly the importance of building public understanding of and support for international food and agriculture programs. In August 1965 Secretary Freeman decided that the Report of the USDA-AID-BOB Task Force should be followed up by an article in a leading national magazine and by a book. 3/

1/ The Secretary to Dorothy Jacobson, March 1, 1965; The Secretary to Gene Olson, November 12, 1965 in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological file, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ The Secretary to Jim Sundquist, April 12, 1965; The Secretary to Dorothy Jacobson, April 12, 1965; Orville L. Freeman to the President, April 28, 1968; Orville L. Freeman to the President, December 23, 1965, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological file, in Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

3/ Gene Olson to Martin Abel, John Greenison, and Wayne Rasmussen, August 18, 1965, in History Branch Files, ERS, USDA.

- 36 -

A White House Conference on International Cooperation was held in November 1965. 1/

The Secretary worked very hard to establish and maintain friendly and cooperative arrangements between the Department of Agriculture and AID and the State Department. He was quite successful in this at the top eschelon despite some very fundamental differences of opinion on major policy issues. Coordination at the working level proved more difficult due to animosities of many years standing between these agencies. On occasions, problems were resolved at luncheon meetings between Secretary Freeman and David Bell. Although Secretary Freeman continuously pressed for an opportunity for USDA specialists to sit in on reviews of individual country development plans, this was not accomplished except in the case of India.

1/ Message of The President to the White House Conference on International Cooperation, November 29, 1965, Public Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, 1965, V. 2, p. 1128.

The conclusions of the USDA-AID-BOB interagency task force emerged as recommended national policy in a memorandum from Charles Schultz and Joseph Califano to the President on January 4, 1966. They recommended that the President publicly announce this decision as the central theme of his message to the Congress on foreign economic aid. The problem of developing the human resources to implement the new program was to be handled in separate messages on international education and health. 1/

Secretary Freeman moved with confidence into 1966, feeling that he had the support of President Johnson. On January 4, 1966, he addressed a memorandum to the Vice President, the Secretary of State, the Special Assistants to the President, the Administrator of AID and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, as follows:

"It has been pretty well determined that Food Aid will be integrated with our over-all foreign assistance program. This involves a strong United States effort to integrate food assistance and agricultural technical assistance.... Further, our basic policy in connection with food reserves needs to be established. Accordingly we are drafting in the Department of Agriculture, and will submit for your comments shortly, draft legislation to replace PL 480 and to establish a program for commodity reserves." 2/

1/ Charles Schultz and Joe Califano to The President, January 4, 1966 in John A. Schnittker, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ Orville L. Freeman to the Vice President, Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, McGeorge Bundy, Joseph A. Califano, Harry McPherson, Jack J. Valenti, David E. Bell, and Charles L. Schultz. January 4, 1966, Administratively Confidential, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

- 38 -

The proposed new legislation would eliminate the "surplus" concept, replacing it by "available agricultural commodities" as determined by the Secretary of Agriculture. It would tie food aid to local development efforts. Continued emphasis on long and short term development of markets for United States agricultural products through promoting economic growth would help to mobilize domestic support for the program. The obligation and responsibility of the Secretary of Agriculture to determine which commodities would be available under the new legislation, together with his responsibility under the Agricultural Act of 1965 for gearing agricultural production to domestic and foreign needs, would mean that this would continue to be an agricultural program. From a practical political point of view, it was important that the jurisdiction of the Agriculture Committees of Congress be continued. This would mean that the new food-aid program would be legislatively and administratively separate from other foreign-aid programs but closely coordinated with them.

There were a number of problems involved in the new policy. Some old hands in the Department of Agriculture felt that the State Department and AID were preparing to move in on the food program and in effect to make foreign policy considerations controlling. Such feelings were also held by members of the Agriculture Committees of Congress. On the other hand, Secretary Freeman had been told by the White House that in the future the Department of Agriculture would

be expected to review the farm and food policy considerations of every AID agreement.^{1/} AID was expected to be sensitive to this encroachment on its prerogatives.

The idea of using the carrot and the stick to promote agricultural development was fraught with both domestic and international problems. Agriculturally oriented congressmen had traditionally blocked United States assistance in the overseas production of commodities produced in the United States, including all major food grains. Congress had been willing to give away burdensome surpluses acquired by the government through price support operations but was not expected to be so generous in providing funds to purchase programs specifically produced for food-aid programs. The policy of granting large portions of the foreign currencies received as proceeds from Title I sales had been discontinued in the early 1960's because of Congressional opposition. Instead, such currencies were being loaned for economic development projects. The new program envisaged a renewal and expansion of grants, particularly in the hungry countries where we were seeking to promote agricultural development. On the other hand, a world-wide trend towards hardening the terms of economic aid was reflected in demands that local currency sales be shifted to sales for dollars on long term credit. It was argued that countries

1/ John A. Schnittker to the Secretary, January 5, 1966 and Charles Schultze and Joe Califano to the President, December 11, 1965, re-drafted January 4, 1966, in John A. Schnittker, Chronological File; Orville L. Freeman, Memorandum for the files, January 20, 1966, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

would place a higher value on food aid and would increase their efforts to improve their own agriculture if the terms of aid were hardened.

From an international point of view, it was feared that the attempt to interfere in the domestic policies of sovereign countries might result in a political backlash which would bring into power governments unfriendly to the United States.

The President's State of the Union Message to the Congress called for "new and daring direction to our foreign aid program, designed to make a maximum attack on hunger, disease and ignorance in those countries that are determined to help themselves." ^{1/} His message on the Foreign Aid Program called for an increase in AID efforts in the field of agriculture of more than 1/3 to nearly \$500 million a year. One third of this total was to be used to finance imports of fertilizer from the United States. In addition larger contributions to multilateral and regional organizations were recommended. More effort was to be expended in promoting private investment in developing countries, both by seeking improvements in their investment climates and in providing more United States government services and guarantees. These recommendations were based on the report of the President's Advisory Committee on Private Enterprise in Foreign Aid, sometimes called the "Watson Committee". The President further requested a 5 year authorization for foreign aid so that programs could be planned on a longer term basis. ^{2/}

^{1/} Public Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, 1966, January, Vol. I, pp. 3-12.

^{2/} Public Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, 1966, February 1, 1966, Vol. I, pp. 117-126.

The next day a message on International Education and Health proposed grants to United States universities to expand their capabilities in international education and research in the problems of less developed countries, including research on food production. Educational AID programs proposed included the establishment of Bi-National Educational foundations in countries where the United States held large quantities of local currencies. The health section of this message called for programs to combat malnutrition in the developing countries by reaching more children through Food for Peace programs and by using more AID funds to enrich Food for Peace commodities. This section also contained provisions for expanded population control programs. 1/

President Johnson's message on food aid, sent to the Congress on February 10, 1966, called for a world-wide war on hunger, elimination of the surplus concept, self-help criteria to determine eligibility for food aid, emphasis on the nutritional adequacy of food aid, and the establishment of a food reserves policy by statute. 2/

1/ Public Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, 1966, February 2, 1966, Vol. 1, pp. 128-137.

2/ Public Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, 1966, February 10, 1966. Vol. 1, pp. 163-169. Dorothy Jacobson to Edward K. Hamilton, January 14, 1966. John A. Schnittker to The President, February 10, 1966, file "Farm program", Secretary's files, USDA.

- 42 -

Under the United States system of government, the President may propose programs but it is the prerogative of the Congress to decide whether these programs will be carried out. The members of the executive branch, consequently, use their influence, both directly with members of the Congress and indirectly in building public opinion to encourage the enactment of legislation proposed by the executive. The Secretary of Agriculture and his staff had the primary responsibility for getting the Food for Freedom program through the Congress in a form satisfactory to the Administration. Secretary Freeman and his aides were in constant contact with the chairmen and members of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and the House Committee on Agriculture during most of the first nine months of 1966. Secretary Freeman had to convince the committees that the elimination of the "surplus" concept would not be detrimental to the interests of United States agriculture, that the production overseas of food crops for domestic consumption would not cut into the foreign demand for United States agriculture, that the President's discretionary powers in deciding whether a country was friendly to the United States should be preserved, in preserving flexibility in programming the use of foreign currencies, in providing for harder terms without making the terms too hard for the receiving countries, and finally, in changing the name of the program from "Food for Peace" to "Food for Freedom". It was also necessary to convince the Congress and the

public that all-out agricultural production in the United States would not solve the world food problem. 1/

1/ Orville L. Freeman to Hon. Harold D. Cooley, April 13, 1966, Orville L. Freeman to Secretary of State Dean Rusk and AID Administrator David Bell, April 13, 1966, Orville L. Freeman to John A. Schnittker, Dorothy Jacobson, Tom Hughes, Ken Birkhead, Clarence Eskildsen and Claude Coffman, May 12, 1966, Orville L. Freeman to Senator George D. Aiken, June 28, 1966, Orville L. Freeman to Gerald W. Heaney, July 21, 1966, Orville L. Freeman to Senator Allan J. Ellender, July 29, 1966, Orville L. Freeman to Senator Allan J. Ellender, August 12, 1966, Orville L. Freeman to Walt. W. Rostow August 29, 1966, Orville L. Freeman to Secretary of State Dean Rusk, September 14, 1966, Orville L. Freeman to The President, September 14, 1966, Orville L. Freeman to Senator Spessard Holland, September 16, 1966, Orville L. Freeman to Hon. Harold D. Cooley, September 19, 1966, Orville L. Freeman to Senator Allan J. Ellender September 19, 1966, Orville L. Freeman to The President, September 20, 1966, Orville L. Freeman to Clarence Eskildsen September 28, 1966, in Orville L. Freeman Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. U. S. Congress, 89th, 2nd Sess., House, Committee on Agriculture. Hearings on World War on Hunger, Part 2, testimony of Secretary Freeman, February 23, 1966, pp. 187-238. Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, Hearings on Food For Freedom Program and Commodity Reserves, testimony of Secretary Freeman, March 2, 1966. G.P.O. Washington, 1966.

- 44 -

The Food for Peace program had always enjoyed strong support from farmers as a surplus removal program. As a humanitarian program it had the support of religious and charitable organizations. The world food crisis, as dramatized by the crisis in India, brought forth strong support from economists, demographers, planners and political theorists. On December 9, 1965 the representatives of about 150 national organizations formed an ad hoc Committee on the World Food Crisis. ^{1/} These organizations and the mass media generated a flood of mail to the Congress in support of Food for Freedom. Secretary Freeman spoke on the world food problem before every suitable audience. ^{2/}

1/ Committee on the World Food Congress, brochures and speeches in History Branch Files, E&SA Division, ERS, USDA.

2/ Orville L. Freeman, Address before the International Development Conference, March 22, 1966, USDA Press Release no. 864-66, Remarks at the Washington Seminar for Lutheran Students, April 5, 1966, USDA Press Release no. 1051-66. _____, Speech before the Overseas Press Club, April 13, 1966, USDA Press Release no. 1122-66. Address before the Planned Parenthood Federation, Washington, D. C. May 6, 1966, USDA Press Release no. 1048-66. _____, Address at Commencement exercises, Fairleigh-Dickinson University, Madison, New Jersey, June 11, 1966, USDA Press Release no. 1738-66. _____, on Meet the Press, July 24, 1966, V. 10 no. 30. Merkle Press Inc. Washington, D. C. _____, Address at Animal Industry Day at Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Virginia July 29, 1966. USDA Press Release no. 2370-66. _____, Address before the National Hadassah Convention, Boston, Massachusetts, August 16, 1966, USDA Press Release no. 2641-66. _____, Remarks at the Annual Faculty Dinner of the U. S. Department of Agriculture Graduate School. September 7, 1966, USDA Press Release no. 2857-66.

The Under-Secretary, Assistant Secretaries, and top administrators also made numerous speeches on behalf of the program. 1/ Vice President Humphrey made Food for Freedom the subject of speeches. 2/

1/ John A. Schnittker, "A Better World through Development and Trade", speech at the annual dinner program of the Fresno County Farm Bureau, Fresno, California, April 14, 1966, USDA Press Release no. 1128-66. John A. Schnittker, Address before the Iowa State Convention of the National Farmers Association, Des Moines, Iowa, September 8, 1966, USDA Press Release no. 2877-66. George L. Mehren, "Agriculture's Challenge, Today and Tomorrow," Address before The Conference on Nutrition and Food Technology on the World Food Shortage, Chicago, Illinois, September 19, 1966, USDA Press Release no. 2968-66. Dorothy Jacobson, Address at the Upper Midwest Conference on Agricultural Export Trade, Minneapolis, May 18, 1966, USDA Press Release no. 1514-66. Lester R. Brown, "Protein, Food, and the Future of Man", address before the Pacific Northwest Farm Forum, February 8, 1966, USDA Press Release no. 393-66. M.L. Upchurch, "Changes in United States Farm Production to meet the challenge of world food needs", talk before the Southwestern Conference on the World Population Explosion and Its Implications for Agriculture in the South, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, April 28, 1966, copy in History Branch Files, E&SA Div., ERS, USDA. R.F. Daly, "World Hunger and U.S. Food Supplies," Address before the Idaho Annual Health Conference, Sun Valley, Idaho, May 24, 1966. Raymond A. Ioanes, "The World Food Problem and its Implications for U.S. Agriculture", address at the DARE Conference, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, April 27, 1966. In Congressional Record, Appendix, June 2, 1966.

2/ Hubert H. Humphrey, Remarks at Huron College, Huron, South Dakota, May 31, 1966, copy in History Branch Files, E&SA Div., ERS, USDA. Hubert H. Humphrey, Remarks before Midcontinent Farmers Association, Columbia, Missouri, August 8, 1966, copy in History Branch Files, E&SA Div., ERS, USDA.

- 46 -

The American Freedom from Hunger Foundation held a National Conference on Food Aid Legislation on February 24, 1966 at which Orville L. Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture; David E. Bell, Administrator of AID; William H. Stewart, Surgeon General; Richard Reuter, Director of Food for Peace; Senators George S. McGovern and Walter F. Mondale and Congressmen Bob Dole and Lynn E. Stalbaum spoke. ^{1/}

The controversial features of the new program were thoroughly aired in Congress. To assure that the program remained agricultural, the Chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, Harold Cooley, introduced his own bill on January 19, 1966. ^{2/} Senator McGovern asked and received from the Senate unanimous consent to transfer his world food bill, introduced in June, 1965 from the Foreign Relations Committee to the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry. The President's proposal to eliminate the "surplus" concept was anticipated in Congressman Cooley's bill as was the self-help principle and emphasis on agricultural development.

There was overwhelming support in the House of Representatives for both of these proposals; but in the Senate, Chairman Ellender was opposed to eliminating the surplus concept and to producing for give-

1/ American Freedom from Hunger Foundation, National Conference on Food-Aid Legislation, Program, January 24, 1966, in History Branch Files, E&SA Division, E.R.S., U.S.D.A.

2/ U. S. Congress, 89th 2nd Sess, Congressional Record, January 20, 1966

- 47 -

away programs. He did introduce the administration bill "by request" and ultimately supported it.

The credit terms on dollar sales were the subject of much debate. The administration wanted 40 years with a 10 year grace period and low interest rates. Ultimately, this issue was compromised on twenty years with a two year grace period.

while
On March 17, 1966/the Food for Peace legislation was being discussed by the House Agriculture Committee, Representative Bob Dole introduced a bill to establish a Bread and Butter Corps (HR 13753), which in a shortened version was incorporated by amendment, (Section 406 and 104i), in the House version of the Food for Freedom Bill (HR 14929). This became known as the Farmer to Farmer Program. This authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to initiate a program to recruit and train volunteers, with farm backgrounds, to serve as grass roots level technicians in foreign agricultural aid programs. The program carried an annual authorization of \$33 million in addition to whatever local currencies it could effectively use. Secretary Freeman testified that he supported the objectives of such a program but thought they could be accomplished under existing legislation. William S. Gaud stated flatly that the executive branch was opposed to this section. ^{1/}

1/ U. S. Congress 89th, 2nd Sess. House Committee on Agriculture Report on the Food for Freedom Act of 1966, Report no. 1558, May 27, 1966, G.P.O. Washington, 1966. p. 50-53, 106-109 Senate, Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, Hearings on Food for Freedom and Commodity Reserves, June 15, 1966, G.P.O. Washington, 1966. p. 501-502, 511, 512.

The Farmer to Farmer program was retained in the new Food for Peace Act. 1/ However, there were no funds for implementing it the 1967 budget. For fiscal 1968, the Bureau of the Budget disallowed the Department of Agriculture's request for funds on the grounds of budget stringencies. 2/

A tempest in a teapot occurred over the title of the bill. The Administration insisted on its title "Food for Freedom" and Congress insisted on retaining the "Food for Peace" title. The Administration finally gave in but continued to use "Food for Freedom" as the name of the program conducted under the "Food for Peace" act.

The toughest compromise was over the "Findley Amendment" which forbade the sale of commodities for local currencies to countries trading with Cuba or North Vietnam. After the House of Representatives rejected the conference report on the bill the House finally agreed to allow the shipment of medical supplies and surplus agricultural commodities to Cuba. The big issue involved was India's sale of jute to Cuba. The Administration feared that U. S. prohibition of this relatively unimportant trade would cause serious political repercussions in India.

The new Food for Peace Act authorized expenditures of \$3.2 billion annually for two years. This was less than the Administration request but much more than past authorizations. The budget for fiscal year 1967,

1/ 89th Congress, Public Law 808, Approved November 11, 1966.

2/ Les Brown to Wayne Rasmussen, November 21, 1968, History Branch Files, ERS, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

- 49 -

sent to Congress on January 24, 1966, provided for a cut in P. L. 480 grants (Title II of the new law) from \$298.5 million to \$200 million. Sales for foreign currency were cut by \$104 million. Some of these cuts were made up in an increase in allowance for losses in long-term dollar credit sales but there remained a net cut in the proposed budget of \$41 million. 1/ Congress accepted this budget unchanged. 2/

The President's proposal to establish food and fiber reserves died quietly in the committees of the House and Senate.

In his Food for Freedom message of February 10, 1966, President Johnson directed his Science Advisory Committee to:

"search out new ways to:

- develop inexpensive, high-quality synthetic foods as dietary supplements...
- improve the quality and the nutritional content of food crops.
- apply all the resources of technology to increasing food production."

The panel and sub-panels on the World Food Supply, appointed under this mandate consisted of experts from government, universities and research institutions, foundations, and private industry. The Department of Agriculture and AID contributed much staff work to the report, released in May 1967. Its conclusions supported the President's program unanimously. It called for even stronger efforts to secure

1/ U. S. Congress, 89th, 2nd Sess., House Doc. 335, pp. 857-65.

2/ Public Law 89-556, September 7, 1966.

- 50 -

the support of other developed nations for the promotion of economic development in the poor nations and for a continuing and sustained commitment by the United States. 1/

Meanwhile, Secretary Freeman and the Department of Agriculture shouldered increased responsibilities for international programs without corresponding increases in staff. The Indian program in 1965 and 1966 strained the resources of the Department. The death of Indian Prime Minister Tal Bahadur Shastri on January 11, 1966 forced the postponement of a meeting between President Johnson and the Indian head of state. Since President Johnson was determined to keep the pressure on India to improve her own agriculture and on the developed countries to provide more help for India, the allocations of United States food were made for short periods of time only. This policy complicated the logistics problems of the supply effort. On December 9, 1965 the shipment of 1.5 million tons of food grains to India had been authorized. At the urging of the United States, India had actively solicited other nations for help in meeting her food shortage.

1/ President's Science Advisory Committee, Report of Panel on World Food Supply, The World Food Problem, 3 vols. The White House, May 1967.

Although a number of countries made token offers of help,^{1/} only Canada and Australia had made significant contributions. A multilateral food grains survey team headed by C. R. Eskildsen, Associate Administrator of the Department of Agriculture's Foreign Agricultural Service, went to India in January and reported on February 1, 1966. An allocation of 3 million tons was made on February 4, 1966 to tide India over until the new Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi could plan a visit to Washington.^{2/} The United States insisted, over strong Indian government objections, that a part of this food grain be in sorghum.^{3/}

On January 20, 1966 Secretary Freeman assigned a personal representative, Horace Davis, to the Indian Food Ministry to keep him informed on Indian performance.^{4/}

1/ Orville L. Freeman to The President, January 26, 1966, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ Orville L. Freeman to The President, February 1, 1966, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. February 7, 1966, USDA Press release no. 395-66.

3/ Orville L. Freeman to The President, March 22, 1964 in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

4/ Orville L. Freeman to C. Subramaniam, January 20, 1966; Orville L. Freeman to Horace Davis, January 20, 1966, Orville L. Freeman to Ambassador Chester Bowles, January 20, 1966 in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological file, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

- 52 -

Vice President Humphrey and Secretary Rusk went to India for the funeral of Prime Minister Shastri and received assurances that the Government of India would stand by its food and agriculture commitment. ^{1/} Vice President Humphrey visited India again in mid-February 1966 soon after the opening of the Indian Parliament, at which time he announced a \$100 million loan to India to buy raw materials and spare parts. ^{2/} Vice President Humphrey also arranged for Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to visit Washington in March, 1966.

Secretary Freeman meanwhile was trying to organize a world-wide India relief effort. On January 18, he attended the Pledging Conference of the UN/FAO World Food Program at the United Nations headquarters. On behalf of the United States he pledged \$130 million in commodities, cash and shipping services. The three year goal of the program was \$275 million, an increase of \$175 million over the preceding three year program. ^{3/} This conference afforded him the opportunity to discuss the Indian supply problem with the officers of international agencies and high level representatives of other governments. In discussions with Secretary General U Thant of the United Nations and Executive Director of the World Food Program Addeke H. Boerma, Secretary Freeman suggested that vigorous action

1/ Orville L. Freeman to The President, January 18, 1966, Administratively Confidential, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ "\$100 Million Indian Loan Disclosed by Humphrey", Washington Post, February 18, 1966.

3/ USDA Press Release no. 157-66.

on their part to get other countries to contribute significantly would not only help India, but help the United States to get popular support for its participation and strengthen the positions of their organizations as leaders in world economic development efforts. ^{1/}

Following this visit, it was agreed that a strongly worded appeal would be issued on January 31, 1966. India, however, protested the language, claiming that it would cause political repercussions for a new government facing a tense domestic situation and the appeal was not issued. Food riots and severe criticism of the government by the press, by the political opposition and by members of the governing Congress Party were threatening the stability of the Government of India. ^{2/}

The Director General of the FAO conferred in Washington with President Johnson and Secretary Freeman on March 23 to 25, 1966.

1/ Orville L. Freeman to The President, January 18, 1966
Administratively Confidential, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ Orville L. Freeman to The President, February 2, 1966, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

3/ "India Shuts Schools in Kerala State as Food Riots Continue to Spread" Washington Post, February 3, 1966; "Five killed in Calcutta Riots as Mobs Demand Food." Washington Post, February 3, 1966; "India Awaits Humphrey's Visit", Washington Post, February 13, 1966; "Indian Toll Rises as Riots Continue", New York Times, March 12, 1966; "Fire Set by Mob Kills 3 in India's Ruling Party", New York Times, March 17, 1966; "Violence Mounts in Land of Gandhi", New York Times, March 17, 1966.

President Johnson conferred with the Indian Prime Minister on March 28 and 29, 1966. On March 30, 1966 President Johnson, in a special message to Congress, proposed that the United States supply one-half of the 7 million additional tons of food grains needed to tide India over until the next harvest. The other developed nations should, he said, supply the balance; but regardless, the United States would not let India starve.^{1/} The next day the Department of Agriculture announced that Canada had raised her contribution to Indian relief to 1 million tons of wheat.^{2/} The Congress received The President's proposal very favorably. The main question raised was whether the food should be a gift or a sale. Congress wanted to be benevolent but the Administration wanted the control of Indian rupees to be used for agricultural development loans and to pay workers on projects which would contribute to agricultural development.^{3/} Congress unanimously passed a joint resolution concurring in The President's proposal.^{4/}

President Johnson had asked Secretary Freeman to take the lead in the United States Government in reviewing the possibilities for strengthening training and education programs for the Indian cultivator.

1/ Public Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, 1966, Vol. 1, p. 368.

2/ March 31, 1966, USDA Press Release No. 987-66

3/ U.S. Congress, 89th, 2nd Sess., House, Committee on Agriculture, Hearings on H.J. Res. 997, March 31, 1966; Senate, Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, Hearings on S. J.Res. 149, April 5, 1966. G.P.O. Washington, D. C. 1966.

4/ Public Law 89-406, (80 Stat. 131) April 19, 1966.

- 55 -

Secretary Freeman recommended (1) that India request a sizeable number of Peace Corps volunteers from the United States, and (2) that the agricultural competence of village level workers in the Indian Community Development Program/ be raised. Secretary Freeman offered to send United States Extension people to teach in Indian village worker training centers if they would be acceptable to Indians. ^{1/} Just two weeks before this, President Johnson had proposed the allocation of \$300 million worth of United States owned Indian rupees for the establishment of an Indo-American Foundation to promote education. ^{2/}

Programing foods for India presented many problems. Government owned wheat was stored all over the country. Railroad boxcars were in short supply. Some ports were congested. The United States pressed India to take 750,000 tons of grain sorghums and the Indians resisted. ^{3/} There was danger that procurement of other commodities such as soybean oil and dry skim milk would push up U. S. prices. ^{4/}

1/ Orville L. Freeman to C. Subramaniam, April 15, 1966, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ "Toast to Prime Minister Gandhi of India," Public Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, 1966, Vol. 1, p. 361.

3/ Orville L. Freeman to The President, April 14, 1966; Orville L. Freeman to C. Subramaniam, April 15, 1966; Orville L. Freeman to Walt W. Rostow, May 4, 1966; Orville L. Freeman to John A. Schnittker and others, April 29, 1966; Orville L. Freeman to John A. Schnittker, Dorothy Jacobson, Ray Ioanes, Clarence Eskildsen, and Edward Jaenke, May 10, 1966, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

4/ John A. Schnittker to The President, April 22, 1966, in John A. Schnittker, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

Port facilities in India were overloaded and the onset of the monsoon would reduce their capacity. The United States was checking closely on Indian performance in improving her own agriculture and concrete results were slow to appear. This was particularly true of building new fertilizer plants in India. Private investors complained that negotiations with the Indian government were unreasonably delayed. The Indian press and parliament attacked the government for making too favorable terms to private investors. ^{1/}

By the summer of 1966, there was concern over diminishing world supplies of food grains. The United States wheat carryover was down to 500 million bushels and it was felt that this level needed to be maintained as a normal reserve. Secretary Freeman visited India, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Japan in July 1966. ^{2/} He reported that not only would India need an additional 2 million tons to get her through to the end of the calendar year, but Pakistan and Afghanistan had also suffered from the drought and needed additional imports of food grains. The Secretary recommended that the United States negotiate Title I agreements to supply the bulk of these needs. ^{3/} Throughout

1/ Orville L. Freeman to Les Brown May 17, 1966; Orville L. Freeman to The President, confidential, July 19, 1966; Orville L. Freeman to C. Subramaniam, August 9, 1966; Orville L. Freeman to George D. Woods, September 30, 1966; Orville L. Freeman to Les Brown, October 24, 1966; in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. John A. Schnittker to Orville L. Freeman, September 24, 1966, in John A. Schnittker, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ Orville L. Freeman to The President, July 19, 1966, confidential, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

3/ Orville L. Freeman to The President, July 26, 1966 in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

- 57 -

the summer and fall the President approved food allocations only in quantities to meet immediate needs and barely in time to prevent an interruption in the food supply line. 1/

The 1965-66 drought was followed by a second drought in 1966-67. While in 1966, the food shortage mainly affected urban populations, large areas of the countryside were threatened with starvation during the winter of 1966-67. On November 14, 1966, Secretary Freeman, at the request of the President, sent Arthur T. Thompson and Martin Abel to India to make an on-the-spot assessment of the crisis. The team reported to the Secretary on November 27, 1966, and the Secretary immediately discussed its conclusions with the President.

Several members of Congress visited India in December 1966. Senators Gale W. McGee and Frank E. Moss were on an Asian-wide tour and reported to Under Secretary John A. Schnittker on December 7 and 8 that the situation in Bihar was desperate. Senator McGee strongly urged immediate action to assure that minimum requirements be met. Senators Jack Miller and Walter F. Mondale and Congressmen Bob Pogue and Bob Dole visited India in mid-December 1966. On December 19, 1966 Secretary Freeman, who was at the L.B.J. Ranch conferring with President Johnson, cabled Congressman Pogue

1/ John A. Schnittker to the President, October 13, 1966 in John A. Schnittker, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. Orville L. Freeman to Clarence Eskildsen and Les Brown, October 31, 1966; Orville L. Freeman to John A. Schnittker, Ray Ioanes, Clarence Eskildsen and Les Brown, November 3, 1966; Orville L. Freeman to Walt W. Rostow, November 7, 1966; in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

to cable President Johnson his assessment of India's food needs and agricultural performance. 1/ In a press conference the same day, Secretary Freeman said that the United States could not save India alone. "We are continuing to work, to discuss and to urge others to join with us so that this great threat to human life and well-being can be met on a joint international basis." 2/

1/ John A. Schnittker to Marvin Watson, December 20, 1966, in John A. Schnittker, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ "U. S. Expects Others to Match Its Gifts of Wheat to India," New York Times, December 20, 1966.

- 58 -

The United States press and members of Congress criticized President Johnson during December 1966 for playing politics with hunger in withholding food from India. 1/ Finally, on December 22, 1966, Secretary Freeman, with the President's approval, announced an allocation of food to tide India over until Congress could be consulted on further aid to India in 1967. 2/

The new authorization provided for 900,000 tons of grain under Title I of Public Law 480 to be sold for Indian rupees. The sale, instead of gift, of this food gave the United States control of additional rupees which, under the new P.L. 480 legislation, could be used for self-help programs without having to go through the process of securing Congressional approval for each project. 3/ The same day New Delhi disclosed a gift of 200,000 tons from the Soviet Union. The previous week Australia had given 150,000 tons and Canada, 250,000 tons, making a total of 600,000 tons from three countries since mid-November 1966. 4/

1/ "Mrs. Gandhi's Dilemma", Washington Post, December 11, 1966; "Food for India", Editorial, Washington Post, December 11, 1966; "LBJ Motives Questioned in Indian Grain Delay", Washington Post, December 11, 1966; "LBJ Scored on Delaying Food to India", Washington Post, December 21, 1966; "Gambling with Famine", New York Times, editorial, December 22, 1966.

2/ Orville L. Freeman to The President, December 22, 1966, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

3/ Orville L. Freeman, Memorandum for the files, December 22, 1966; Orville L. Freeman to The President, December 28, 1966, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

4/ USDA Press Release no. December 22, 1966. "US Ends 'Freeze' on Food for India", Washington Post, December 23, 1966. "US and Soviet Providing Emergency Grain for India", New York Times, December 23, 1966.

- 59 -

The President's directive to Secretary Freeman on December 28, 1965 led the Department of Agriculture into a commitment to improve the state of agriculture in Vietnam. By the middle of January 1966, Secretary Freeman had, with the approval of AID, State, USIA, Defense and the Ambassador to Vietnam, made plans to visit Vietnam, accompanied by 8 or 10 carefully selected specialists from the Department, the land grant colleges and private industry.

President Johnson's conference with South Vietnamese Premier Nguyen Cao Ky in Honolulu on February 8 and 9 provided a suitable point of departure for a Presidential mission. The party was headed by Vice President Hubert Humphrey and included Health, Education and Welfare Secretary John Gardner and Presidential adviser McGeorge Bundy as well as Secretary Freeman. Secretary Freeman and his advisers remained in Vietnam while the rest of the Presidential party went on to Laos, India, and Pakistan. Part of Secretary Freeman's mission was to attract public attention to what the United States was doing for the people of Vietnam, in contrast to what the war had been doing to the people of Vietnam. 1/ The mission had good press coverage. 2/

1/ Orville L. Freeman to The President, January 17, 1966 "Administratively Confidential", in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological file, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ "Freeman Touring Vietnam, Stresses Crop Aid", New York Times, February 12, 1966; "Freeman in Vietnam, Pledges Farmers Aid", The Evening Star, Washington, February 12, 1966; "Chief of Farm Research Put in Viet Army Ranks", Washington Post, February 12, 1966; "Secretary Travels to Hue", New York Times, February 13, 1966; "Freeman Ranges Through Vietnam", New York Times, February 14, 1966; "Freeman Opens Viet Farm Front", Washington Post, February 15, 1966; "Freeman Offers Farm War Plan", New York Times, February 17, 1966; "Freeman Hopeful on Viet Farms", Washington Post, February 17, 1966.

The 10 experts who were on the Presidential agricultural mission made 43 specific recommendations for the agricultural second front of the war in Vietnam. These included crops, livestock, fisheries, forestry, plant protection, water control, agricultural education and extension, rural credit and cooperatives, land reform, and human nutrition.^{1/}

Secretary Freeman reported that helping agriculture might not be the easiest, but it was the surest way to earn the loyalty of the Vietnamese peasants. He was distressed to find that the Vietnamese were drafting scarce, highly-trained agricultural specialists into the army. The U. S. military advisers were using whatever personnel with agricultural backgrounds they happened to have. Secretary Freeman recommended that there be a deliberate effort to assign men with farm backgrounds to military civil affairs units. He recommended that some army men be assigned temporarily to AID until more agriculturists could be recruited by AID for Vietnam service. He also asked the cooperation of the military in seeing that agricultural supplies, such as seed and fertilizer, were delivered to the rural areas.^{2/} Secretary Freeman was directed to develop a sustained follow-through on his recommendations in cooperation with AID and the Department of Defense.^{3/}

1/ USDA Press Release no. 809-66 March 15, 1966. Orville L. Freeman, Statement before the National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber, March 24, 1966, USDA Press Release 901-66, March 24, 1966. USDA Employee Newsletter, Vol. 25, no. 7, March 31, 1966.

2/ Orville L. Freeman to Robert S. McNamara, February 21, 1966, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

3/ Orville L. Freeman to The President, February 25, 1966 Administratively Confidential in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

- 61 -

On March 17, five top U. S. Department of Agriculture officials left for Vietnam to "work with the AID Mission and Vietnamese Government officials to put into effect the recommendations involving USDA's participation in the 'second front' of the war in Vietnam". They were to spend about 1 month in Vietnam.^{1/}

On March 29, 1966 Secretary Freeman announced that the Federal Extension Service, with the cooperation of the Land Grant Colleges and State Extension Services would recruit 40 to 50 young county agents and other professional workers in agriculture to be trained for service as provincial agricultural advisers in Vietnam.

On August 4, Secretary Freeman summarized the new departures in agricultural aid to Vietnam. AID was providing 90,000 tons of fertilizer acquired through the barter of U.S. agricultural commodities. 35,000 Vietnamese farmers were being provided with supervised agricultural credit totaling \$5.8 million. Some 20 American military officers with farm experience and agricultural college degrees had been assigned to help Vietnamese provincial agricultural agents and 14 young American extension workers were already in training to replace them. Three USDA price analysts had gone to Saigon to recommend price programs for foods and for the fertilizer, seed and feed that farmers have to buy. A USDA forestry team had gone to Vietnam to set up plans to increase the domestic

1/ USDA Press Release no. 809-66 March 15, 1966.

production of lumber and plan for long-range forestry development. A USDA fisheries expert laid out plans to greatly increase the production of fish in the fresh water ponds while the Vietnamese government had embarked on a greatly expanded program to motorize the salt water fishing fleet. The USDA was helping AID to recruit direct-hire agricultural specialists for Vietnam. ^{1/}

A Public Law 480, Title I agreement was signed with Vietnam on March 21, 1966 to provide U.S. foods to combat inflation and hunger in the cities and refugee areas of Vietnam. ^{2/}

On October 21, 1966, the USDA and AID announced an agreement that the USDA would provide technical assistance in four specific projects: irrigation and agricultural engineering, forestry, plant and seed multiplication, and credit and cooperative organizations. The Assistant Director for Agriculture of the AID mission to Vietnam was to have overall control of the program and he was to have a senior USDA administrator as his deputy. ^{3/}

1/ USDA Press Releases no. 1554-66, May 19, 1966; no. 2408-66, July 29, 1966; no. 2538-66, August 4, 1966.

2/ USDA Press Release no. 881-66 March 22, 1966.

3/ USDA Press Releases, no. 3318-66 October 21, 1966; no. 3801-66 November 29, 1966.

- 63 -

In April 1966, Secretary Freeman visited Latin America. He addressed the Pan American Soil Conservation Congress in Brazil and the first Latin American Livestock Conference in Venezuela. His audiences included a cross-section of Latin American agricultural leaders. In each instance, he urged his audience to join in the war on hunger. 1/ Perhaps more importantly, he sized up the political and economic situation in each country, reviewed the agricultural technical assistance effort and made a report and recommendations to the President. The Policy Planning Council of the Department of State did a study on South America which resulted in President Johnson's issuing, on May 31, 1966, National Security Action Memorandum No. 349 on the development of the frontiers of South America. 2/ On June 2, 1966 Secretary Freeman put Assistant Secretary Dorothy Jacobson in charge of the Department of Agriculture's part in carrying out the recommendations of this study. 3/ The USDA was already deeply involved in Brazil,

1/ USDA Press releases No. 1174-66, April 16, 1966; No. 1181-66, April 24, 1966.

2/ Orville L. Freeman to The President, April 27, 1966, Administratively Confidential, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

3/ Orville L. Freeman to John A. Schnittker, Dorothy Jacobson, Ken Birkhead, Nate Koffsky, and Gene Olson, June 2, 1966.

- 64 -

having a 21 man PASA team there working mainly on problems connected with commercial agriculture in southern Brazil. Secretary Freeman's recommendations, with regard to the adoption of a land settlement policy for western Brazil and redevelopment of the drought ridden impoverished North East Brazil, were leading to further USDA involvement. By the end of 1966 the USDA had PASA resident teams in Brazil, El Salvador, Nicaragua, The Dominican Republic, Columbia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Paraguay and Guatemala. ^{1/}

The Department of Agriculture's involvement in the world food problem and the agricultural development of hungry countries led inevitably to increasing involvement with international agencies and multilateral associations with activities in these fields. In the Indian food crisis, The President had made Secretary Freeman responsible for lining up a world-wide relief effort.

His successful efforts to gain the support of U.N. Secretary General U Thant and FAO Secretary General B.R. Sen have been noted. By the end of 1966 Secretary Freeman was advising President Johnson that the Food and Agriculture Organization had a reservoir of experience and the potential to lead an international war on hunger if it had vigorous leadership and the backing of the large developed nations. ^{2/} Efforts to recruit a U. S. candidate were not successful

1/ Annual Summary, International Agricultural Development, 1966, International Agricultural Development Service, USDA, G.P.O. Washington, 1967, p. 19-20.

2/ Orville L. Freeman to The President, December 15, 1966, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

and Secretary Freeman proposed that the term of Secretary General Sen be extended for one year to cover the Second World Food Congress in 1968.

The declaration of a War on Hunger by The President in his Food for Freedom message to the Congress called on all nations to join together. Secretary Freeman's address at the Fifth Annual High Level Meeting of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development Assistance Committee (DAC) on July 21, 1966 was an important statement of U. S. policy. ^{1/} The DAC then recommended that greater emphasis be given to agriculture in aid programs of member countries and international organizations.

The deeper USDA involvement in international agricultural development also led to increasing cooperation with private industry, particularly those industries which supply the materials for production to farmers and those which process and market foods. We have noted the pressure placed on the Government of India to contract with private industry for the production and distribution of fertilizer. By mid-summer of 1966, Secretary Freeman was becoming concerned over the possibility of world wide fertilizer shortages and assigned a Department specialist to be responsible for keeping the situation under close surveillance. ^{2/}

1/ USDA Press Release no. 2265-66 Orville L. Freeman, Memorandum for the Files, July 29, 1966, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ Orville L. Freeman to George Mehren, July 19, 1966; Orville L. Freeman to Les Brown, August 18, 1966; Orville L. Freeman to George D. Woods, September 30, 1966; Orville L. Freeman to Les Brown, October 24, 1966; in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

In the development and marketing of food additives, dietary supplements and high protein foods, the Department of Agriculture took the initiative early in 1965.^{1/} The Department of Agriculture had pioneered in nutrition research early in the twentieth century. During and after the Second World War, vitamin enrichment of foods for domestic consumption and for lend-lease had become standard procedure. The enrichment of foods for donation under Titles II and III of Public Law 480 became an important objective of Department policy.^{2/} In May of 1965 during a tour of USDA research installations, Secretary Freeman was very impressed by the seed protein research being carried out by Dr. Aaron Altschul at the Southern Regional Research Laboratory at New Orleans.^{3/}

1/ The Secretary to Dorothy Jacobson March 1, 1965, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ The Secretary to John Schnittker, June 21, 1965; The Secretary to Gene Olson, November 12, 1965, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

3/ Orville L. Freeman, Address at a dinner meeting jointly sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce of the New Orleans Area and the Federal Business Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, May 28, 1965, USDA Press Release no. 1660-65.

Dr. Altschul was a scientist who could talk to businessmen and administrators. Secretary Freeman placed him in charge of protein-foods development. ^{1/} President Johnson endorsed an expanded program for international nutrition improvement by proposing to Congress special legislation for an international health program. ^{2/} One of Secretary Freeman's objects was to provide every child in the world with a protein beverage. Seed proteins were the most widely available and cheapest raw materials for such beverages. He sought to get the American food processing industry to invest in the manufacture and distribution of such beverages in the developing countries. ^{3/}

1/ The Secretary to Gene Olson and Aaron Altschul, January 3, 1966, January 27, 1966, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. "Dr. Altschul Heads USDA Efforts to Develop Protein Sources", USDA Press Release, February 18, 1966.

2/ Special Message to the Congress Proposing International Education and Health Programs, February 2, 1966, in Public Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson 1966, V. 1, p. 133-134. The Secretary to Aaron Altschul and Gene Olson, February 23, 1966, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

3/ Orville L. Freeman to The President, April 15, 1966, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

Other major thrusts in the nutrition field were in fortifying cereal grains with lysine and other essential amino acids to improve the quality of their protein, and the breeding of new varieties of cereal grains with more protein of higher quality. ^{1/} High Lysine corn had been discovered at the Purdue Agricultural Experiment Station in 1963, but it had certain qualities which disqualified it as a commercial crop. Experiment Stations in the United States and Mexico embarked on crash research programs to produce a commercially feasible product containing 50 percent more usable protein than conventional corn. On June 21-22, 1966 a conference on High Lysine corn at Purdue, Indiana was attended by more than 350 scientists. ^{2/} At that time it was estimated that such a corn would be available to farmers by 1971. This time table was cut by 3 years when one commercial company announced September 19, 1968 that it would have the new corn available for spring planting in 1969. ^{3/} Research on the development of new processing techniques and the development of food blends which would provide balanced diets were accelerated by both public and

1/ Aaron Altschul, Address before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, December 19, 1966, USDA Press Release no. 4005-66.

2/ Proceedings: High Lysine Corn Conference, published by Corn Industries Research Foundation, a division of Corn Refiners Association Inc., Washington, D. C., 1966.

3/ "High Protein Corn to be Ready for Planting Next Spring, 2 or 3 Years Ahead of Schedule", Wall Street Journal, September 19, 1968.

private research agencies and numerous new low-cost foods began to appear. 1/

Secretary Freeman, after discussing with David Bell the subject of fortifying Food for Peace grain with lysine, decided to seek the counsel of the Food and Nutrition Board. On March 11, 1966 he wrote Frederick Seitz, President of the National Academy of Sciences,

1/ Orville L. Freeman, Address at Dedication Dinner, Academy of Food Marketing, St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia, Pa., April 28, 1965, USDA Press Release no. 1329-65. Orville L. Freeman to The President, April 15, 1966, folder Farm Programs 8-2, Secretary's Files, USDA. Orville L. Freeman to Dorothy Jacobson, June 22, 1966; Orville L. Freeman to Gordon Edwards, President, National Dairy Products Association, June 29, 1966; Orville L. Freeman to Aaron Altschul, June 25, 1966; Orville L. Freeman to Jim Thornton, November 26, 1966; Orville L. Freeman to The President, November 28, 1966; Orville L. Freeman to Aaron Altschul, December 22, 1966, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. USDA Develops New Ways to Process High-Protein Foods," April 11, 1966, USDA Press Release no. 1114-66; "USDA Scientists Studying Soybean Flour as Protein Source for Developing Countries," April 14, 1966, USDA Press Release no. 1151-66; "USDA Develops Ways to Strip High-Protein Flour from Milling Byproducts." July 19, 1966, USDA Press Release no. 2237-66. "New Corn Food Will Help Feed Children Abroad." Washington Daily News, May 4, 1966.

- 69a -

"for an opinion about the validity of these claims (lysine fortification of wheat) and for any suggestion you may have for additional tests or designs for practical problems." The Board's reply was transmitted in a letter dated April 2 from Grace Goldsmith, Chairman of the Board, to Frederick Seitz and is as follows:

At its meeting April 2, 1966, the Food and Nutrition Board considered the questions in Secretary Freeman's letter of March 11 concerning the possible nutritional advantages of adding lysine to wheat shipped to aid programs.

The Board recognized the fact that the addition of lysine to wheat enhances the value of wheat protein for animals and might be expected to have similar effects in human populations where the diet is largely wheat and deficient in protein.

Since little direct evidence of benefit under practical feeding situations is available, the Board judged the present knowledge of the effects of lysine fortifications of wheat on its protein value would justify an immediate large scale pilot project to study, first, the practicality of providing lysine fortified wheat or wheat flour to people in need, and assuring that the lysine will be available to the ultimate consumer, and secondly, to study the measurable effects that might be observed on the well-being of the consumers, particularly undernourished preschool children and pregnant or lactating women, that would justify extension of the program.

The Board agreed to continue its evaluation of the problem through its Committee on Amino Acids and will be pleased to cooperate further with the Department of Agriculture if requested.

Both directly and indirectly as a result of this historic correspondence, fortification as a means of solving the protein problem

- 69b -

is a major world issue. It has been recommended in the report of the President's Science Advisory Committee on the "World Food Problem" and by the Protein Report of ECOSOC (UN).

Some recent achievements are the following: "Modern Bread," containing vitamins, minerals and lysine, is being produced in India in government bakeries; the Department of Nutrition at Harvard is undertaking a research project supported by AID to study the effects of fortifying rice diets in Thailand; lysine is being added to the world-famous, special protein food Incaparina; a field trial to define the efficacy and feasibility of fortifying wheat with lysine under real-life conditions, has been planned for Tunisia; and the Government of Peru has issued Supreme Decree No. D.S. 032-68-A6 which states that "...lysine enrichment of popularly consumed grains and their derivative is of social interest and national necessity," and is taking steps to implement this Decree.

The expansion of USDA activities in the international field made close working relationships with the Department of State and the Agency for International Development of vital importance. Early in 1966 a new memorandum of agreement with AID was negotiated to replace the agreement of 1954. This agreement specifically authorized joint planning, coordination and consultation. 1/ Secretary Freeman

1/ General Agreement Between the Department of Agriculture and the Agency for International Development and five appendices, signed by William S. Gaud, January 19, 1966 and by John A. Schnittker, February 15, 1966.

was concerned about the development of this new relationship. He said:

The question now becomes whether State and AID as a practical matter will let us into this planning process on the basis of equality as a coordinated equal and whether we have the resources to engage in the planning effectively. I see no alternative if we eliminate the surplus requirement but that this must be done. Otherwise we would be purely a quartermaster and hardly that." 1/

Secretary Freeman wrote to AID Administrator, David E. Bell on February 17, 1966, as follows:

Obviously we will have to work out some of the relationships involved here as we learn on the job. However, I do think it is important for political reasons and also to strengthen the program that we have a clear cut understanding on this fairly early at least in terms of the broad frame of relationship and certainly of our mutual objectives. This is sensitive. There are people in both AID and in USDA who feel strongly about it. Probably some of the strong feelings that are entertained today will evaporate as we move ahead with mutual confidence and good faith to implement the program and reach joint objectives. On the other hand, I think we must recognize that some of the concerns are not necessarily idle. That is true in the Department of Agriculture for on balance around the world there is some feeling that agriculture has not commanded the kind of attention that it should. I know you share this judgment and I don't speak in any way critically, certainly not of you and really not of AID, when I refer to it. It is really a product of the times. Nonetheless, the times

1/ Orville L. Freeman, Memorandum for the Files, January 21, 1966, In Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

now I think demonstrate that agriculture is a critical component in forward planning if we're to reach our goals. That being the case, I believe it important that we mobilize all the resources we have all over the place to get there. The message that started with you and in part with myself and which the President now has ringingly proclaimed needs to reach everyone around the world in both the USDA and the AID with strong impact. We honestly believe that a full participation in the process by USDA will mobilize more skills and help you in making the impact which you have demonstrated you feel to be so important. 1/

Only a week later he wrote confidentially to Assistant Secretary

Dorothy Jacobson:

2. I am troubled about the situation with AID and State on the Food for Freedom Program. I told Dean Rusk last night that he should be careful before the House Committee to make it clear that Agriculture continues with all its prerogatives in the food field, but will be deeply involved in all levels of the economic planning involving agriculture. He agrees and made the point that he and I certainly weren't going to get in a jurisdictional conflict. I agreed.

Dave Bell agrees. However, I think Dave is increasingly sensitive. Yesterday when I spoke to the Freedom from Hunger group I got a question from the floor about agricultural technical assistance. He was near me on the platform and insisted in almost a loud voice that he should answer that question. You are familiar with his testimony as planned for the House. We're going to need to watch this one very carefully. On the one hand Dave's sensitivity is understandable. I believe he is in good faith and if we move forward in good faith ourselves as a practical matter I think the operating relationships will sort themselves out satisfactorily in light of the basic agreements we have reached.

1/ Orville L. Freeman to David S. Bell, February 17, 1966 in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

On the other hand, operating people are going to try and short-circuit us every way they can. Therefore, we need to be alert and flexible and in effect earn our inclusion in what has been their bailiwick. By the same token we need to move ahead more vigorously with the goods. One way to do that is to involve ourselves more actively in recruiting and to send people on a contract basis, but protect their position within the Department.

We might also want to give a bit more leadership in getting the same thing done in the Land-Grant Colleges. President Ellis is very receptive to this, as you know.

In any event I think we ought to think through, get down on paper, and systematically plan our forward motion on this one. 1/

The first test of the new arrangement was in implementing the recommendations of Secretary Freeman's mission to Vietnam. Matthew Drosdoff reported to Secretary Freeman.

There has been agreement with AID on action on most of the Specialists' Recommendations. Implementation is moving ahead with the exception of roadblocks on the following two important and urgent matters:

1. Twenty-five Agriculturists for Field Support. As I reported to you last Friday I thought we had agreed with AID, among other things, to request Saigon Mission concurrence for USDA under a PASA to take responsibility for agricultural field support. You will recall that when we were in Vietnam, Carl van Haeften, Chief of the Agriculture Division in AID first suggested this. This would require on our part recruitment and backstopping for twenty-five provincial agriculturists who will support the AID and Military provincial operations. On Monday, I was informed by Mr. Ladenheim that it was the decision of Rud Poats and, apparently the other decision making people in the Far East Bureau, that the twenty-five provincial **agriculturists** should be under AID direct hire. They want our help to recruit these people but insist once recruited, they should be on a regular assignment with AID. In other words, they now reject the idea of a PASA arrangement for these people. Their arguments, to me, are not persuasive. It is my considered judgment that the Far East Bureau is overly concerned with administrative and management problems in dealing with us. This makes them reluctant to engage the Department's resources to the fullest extent possible in pushing ahead with full force on the agricultural front.

1/ The Secretary to Dorothy Jacobson, February 25, 1966 in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

I am convinced that the most effective way to get the job done is to have the Department fully committed and involved in the recruiting, backstopping, and support for these agricultural field operations. Certainly, there will be administrative problems under a PASA arrangement for this field support, but it seems to me that these could be resolved with the will to do so on both sides. I think the vital importance of this program is such that we should make every effort to see that this job is done in the best way possible.

There is another alternative, and that is to have the Department take the responsibility for recruiting these agriculturists for assignment to AID. They would remain as Department employees but would be assigned to AID to work under their direction.

2. Twenty-five Military Officers for Interim Agricultural Duty with USAID. The Pentagon from the first has been most cooperative on this and willing to supply either from within Vietnam or, if not available there, will send from the United States. USDA's proposal was twenty-five officers with agricultural degrees for a one-year assignment, and the Pentagon agreed. However, Monday AID attempted to modify this to include enlisted men with only high school vocational agricultural training and shorten the stay to a three to six month period. Finally, after much discussion USDA compromised on twenty-five officers or enlisted men with college agricultural degrees for a minimum of nine months. AID agreed. The Pentagon prepared a message to MACV requesting them to supply personnel with these qualifications as soon as possible to USAID Saigon and stated that the Pentagon is willing to assign from the U. S. any number to bring the total up to twenty-five. Mr. Olson concurred with the Pentagon on this message immediately for USDA, but was informed Wednesday by the Pentagon that AID requested delay pending their clearance. Thursday, the cable went out as originally agreed on Monday. We do not know the reason for the delay. 1/

1/Matthew Drosdoff to The Secretary, March 11, 1966 in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

Secretary Freeman discussed the problem with the AID Administrator on Monday March 14, 1966^{1/}. At this conference the assignments were specifically divided up. Some to be carried out by AID, others by Agriculture. AID was to recruit and train 30 provincial agricultural advisers with the assistance of the USDA. The Department of Agriculture was to recruit and train agriculturists to serve under a PASA. Matthew Drosdoff was directed to follow through on the conference decisions.

Will you work with Lloyd David in this recruitment and in the process further refine the procedure outlined in the memorandum he forwarded to me dated March 16. This refinement ought to include some of the suggestions which were discussed in Mr. Bell's office which would make possible a continuing identification by such people with the Department of Agriculture through such means as having a special agricultural coordinating supervisor in the area, tying agricultural PASA people together through the medium of a newsletter, making visitations to agricultural people in the field by top ranking USDA officials and other means which maintain identity, morale and communication with the Department. In this connection, please consider with Lloyd Davis developing a flexible recruiting system so we will be able to find people throughout the Department as well as throughout the Land-Grant Colleges and in Extension willing, able, and even anxious to serve as a part of their professional experience, training, and background in an overseas assignment. We ought to think in terms of such service as a part of the normal training and work experience of a USDA employee. 2/

1/ Orville L. Freeman to David E. Bell, March 11, 1966, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ The Secretary to Matthew Drosdoff, March 18, 1966 in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

On March 22, 1966 President Johnson had named Robert Komer as his special assistant whose primary duty was to supervise the peaceful reconstruction of Vietnam. ^{1/}

On April 6, 1966, Secretary Freeman alerted The President to the existence of an inter-agency conflict with AID.

By and large our Missions around the world are weakly staffed with Agricultural specialists. Dave Bell and I have been working to correct this. It is not simple. It is extremely difficult for the AID Agency to recruit agriculturalists. In the first place they are in short supply with a strong domestic demand from the agri-business community. Secondly, talented people who choose Government for a career find professional colleagues and career security in the Land-Grant Colleges or the Department of Agriculture, rather than the AID Agency. This is no reflection on AID, but a fact which they frankly acknowledge.

.....

The **big** challenge then is to develop country programs with the necessary administrative control vested in the Mission Chief and the Ambassador, but at the same time so organized that the esprit de corps, the backup in resources, and the confidence that comes to career people who hold a secure place in the Department of Agriculture won't be lost. If that can be done, we can get the people we need. Otherwise, based on the experience of the last 20 years, the level of talent will fall short of the critical demands that must be met if the war on hunger is to be won.

Bureaucracy being what it is, the efforts of the U. S. Department of Agriculture and AID to work out such a relationship are sometimes resisted and resented by AID and State people in the echelon below the top policy-makers. Nonetheless, we are making progress. Today we have 72 PASA's (contracts with AID to do assigned missions - 25 long-term 2 year contracts and 47 short-term, 30 to 90 days, contracts). Soon we will be experimenting in Vietnam with general agricultural technicians testing a system whereby they will remain U. S. Department of Agriculture employees, will be serviced by the Department but will serve in the AID line for administrative purposes.

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^{1/} Public Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, 1966, Vol. 1, p. 348.

The need is critical. In my mind the dimensions of what we need to do are becoming clear. It will be difficult, but it can be done with hard work, patience and good will.

Mostly it will require your firm support and understanding of exactly what is taking place as the inevitable "bureaucratic caterwauling" takes place. 1/

On April 28, 1966 Secretary Freeman discussed the Vietnam agricultural program with Robert Komer who suggested a meeting between the principal administrators involved. Secretary Freeman invited David E. Bell, Administrator of AID; W. Alexis Johnson, Deputy undersecretary of State; Richard N. Helms, Deputy Director of the CIA; Robert Komer and Vice President Hubert Humphrey to a meeting on May 5. 2/ One of the key issues was land reform in Vietnam, which Secretary Freeman regarded as an essential element in any program to win the support of the Vietnamese people. Secretary Freeman also felt that the agricultural section of the AID mission was not functioning adequately, that it needed to be adequately staffed, recognized and used. Secretary Freeman would have been willing to have the USDA take over the agricultural operation in Vietnam under the AID mission director. 3/

1/ Orville L. Freeman to The President, April 6, 1966, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ Orville L. Freeman to Robert W. Komer, David E. Bell, W. Alexis Johnson, and Richard N. Helms, April 29, 1966. Orville L. Freeman to The Vice President, May 2, 1966, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

3/ Orville L. Freeman, Memorandum for the Files, May 11, 1966, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

- 77 -

On May 27, 1966 Secretary Freeman wrote to Robert Komer enclosing a summary of the actions that had been taken regarding Vietnam. AID had rejected many of the USDA's offers of assistance in specific areas and was staffing with direct-hire personnel. He also enclosed a check-list of points to assist in evaluating AID's implementation of the recommendations made by the Presidential team. Freeman said:

We have sought to be helpful in every way possible but of course we have no action role to play in the absence of specific delegation from AID. 1/

The issue was resolved for the time being by the agreement of October 21, 1966 which specifically divided the Vietnam agricultural program between USDA and AID. 2/ On December 15, 1966 Secretary Freeman reported to Robert Komer that the USDA was making progress in implementing its part of the agreement. 3/

When Secretary Freeman went to Brazil the third week in April 1966, he found that the U.S.D.A. people on the PASA team there were unhappy with their relationship with AID. This was the USDA's largest team in the field at that time. It had the broadest assignment with men working in marketing, soil conservation, farm credit and cooperatives, price stabilization, and other critical areas. Their grievance was that they were being downgraded by the AID mission. On his return to Washington, Secretary Freeman wrote the PASA team leader that he

1/ Orville L. Freeman to Robert Komer, May 27, 1966, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ See page 62.

3/ Orville L. Freeman to Robert Komer, December 15, 1966, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

would be reviewing the whole matter with AID and

"In the meantime, do not hesitate to firmly, but of course pleasantly, indicate that you do have special status and expect to be treated accordingly. 1/

On June 3, 1966, Secretary Freeman sought a conference with AID Administrator Bell to review USDA-AID relationships. 2/ Three days later he sent AID a report on his South American trip which was critical of the role of AID personnel in their relationships with the USDA PASA team. Things apparently did not improve for on October 31, the Secretary wrote in a memo to his aides about the complaints from Brazil:

I think we should take every opportunity to remind the AID people that we are more than contract employees but also participate in policy formation. 3/

The PASA teams were not the only point of friction between AID and the USDA. In negotiating Public Law 480 Title I agreements "foreign-policy considerations" brought forward by AID and the Department of State frequently overruled USDA's efforts to maximize dollar sales. This was investigated by a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Government Operations. Senator Ernest Gruening, chairman of the subcommittee, directed Agriculture Secretary Freeman to be more firm in applying cost-benefit analysis to Title I sales agreements

1/Orville L. Freeman to Ford H. Milam, April 28, 1966, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ Orville L. Freeman to David E. Bell, June 3, 1966; The Secretary to Dorothy Jacobson June 6, 1966, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

3/ Orville L. Freeman to Clarence Eskildsen, Gene Olson, and Les Brown, October 31, 1966, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

and demanding fuller justification from State and AID for the concessions they demanded in the name of foreign policy. Secretary Freeman forwarded a copy of Senator Gruening's letter and his reply to the Administrator of AID, William Gaud. ^{1/}

There was also a problem on the priority to be placed on the development of high protein foods. Secretary Freeman had named Aaron Altschul his Special Assistant in charge of protein-foods development on January 3, 1966. However, at the end of 1966 the program, including Altschul's exact status and position had still not been approved by AID. Shortly before Christmas, Secretary Freeman discussed the matter with AID administrator William Gaud. Gaud said that it was a problem of funds, both those appropriated to AID and P.L. 480 local currencies. Gaud was not convinced of the economic feasibility of the plans presented by commercial food companies with the encouragement of the USDA. Consequently progress in this field was slow. ^{2/}

1/ Ernest Gruening to Orville L. Freeman, October 27, 1966; Orville L. Freeman to Senator Ernest Gruening, November 3, 1966; Orville L. Freeman to William S. Gaud, November 3, 1966 in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. William S. Gaud was nominated by The President to succeed David E. Bell as Administrator of AID on June 30, 1966.

2/ Orville L. Freeman to Jim Thornton, November 26, 1966; Orville L. Freeman to Aaron Altschul, December 22, 1966, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

There was some difference of opinion among Secretary Freeman's advisers as to what the role of the USDA in foreign economic development should be. Some economists felt that the USDA should put the highest priority on knowing the problems and possibilities of the developing agricultural economy better than they are known in the country itself, to formulate policies and programs which will lead to faster rates of growth, and to use our policy and food aid leverage to get the job done. Technical expertise would be applied to overcoming bottlenecks and the sending of resident PASA for long-term technical assistance would receive low priority. ^{1/}

After the enactment of the new Food for Peace Act, Secretary Freeman took steps to strengthen the Department's capabilities for participating in policy making decisions in International agricultural development. Lester R. Brown was made Administrator of the International Agricultural Development Service on October 31, 1966. ^{2/}

In December, 1966, Lyle Shertz was named Deputy Director of IADS.

This agency was then reorganized and expanded. ^{3/} An additional position of Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Affairs was created. Clarence Eskildsen who had had special responsibility for administration of Title I, P.L. 480 programs in the Foreign Agricultural Service was appointed to the new position. ^{4/}

1/ John A. Schnittker to The Secretary, June 8, 1966 and Martin E. Abel to the Under Secretary, June 7, 1966, in John A. Schnittker, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ USDA Press Release, no. 3447-66, October 31, 1966.

3/ International Agricultural Development Service, Organization Chart, January 1967, in IADS Newsletter, January 1967.

4/ Secretary's Memorandum no. 1604, October 14, 1966. USDA Press Release no. 3297-66, October 17, 1966.

The policy directions established through legislation, presidential direction and inter-agency relationships in 1966 largely determined programs and problems during 1967. President Johnson, in his foreign aid message on February 9, 1967, announced the establishment in AID of an Office of the War on Hunger to coordinate food aid with other foreign aid programs. ^{1/} An executive order assigning responsibilities was proposed but it was not issued. ^{2/} The policy of conditioning food aid on the receiving country's self-help efforts was implemented in every new PL 480 agreement. ^{3/} Each proposal for negotiating an agreement was sent to President Johnson for approval. The level of Title I shipments fell sharply during the first six months of 1967 and was considerably below the level authorized by Congress. This was due partly to the fact that the United States wheat carryover was below a desirable level due to the heavy shipments for Indian relief and partly to the new self-help stipulations which had to be surveyed and negotiated for each PL 480 recipient. ^{4/} The Congressional directive to shift from foreign currency sales to dollar sales also contributed to the decline in Title I sales. ^{5/}

^{1/} U. S. Congress, Congressional Record, Vol. 113, House, p. 1221.

^{2/} Orville L. Freeman to The President, April 6, 1967; Orville L. Freeman to John Havelock, October 9, 1967, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

^{3/} Annual Report on Public Law 480, January 1 - December 31, 1967, Appendix I lists all agreements with dates and the self-help measures agreed upon in each. "USDA Signs First Self-Help AID Agreement", USDA Press Release no. 495-67, February 14, 1967.

^{4/} John A. Schnittker to the Secretary June 28, 1967 in John A. Schnittker to The President, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. Weekly Activity Report to The White House, April 5, 1967 in file "reports 2", Secretary's files, USDA. USDA Press Release no. 1762-67, June 23, 1967.

As the season advanced and reports on a prospective bumper crop became known, public dissatisfaction with this restraint on food aid developed. In mid-June 1967, the National Committee on the World Food Crisis, a citizen-based group organized in December 1965 to stir up public support for revision and extension of Public Law 480 appealed, in a public statement, to President Johnson to speed implementation of the War on Hunger. It said that "The Committee had waited with great patience for the implementation of the Food for Peace Act of 1966." It indicted Congress for slashing The President's request for funds from \$3.3 million to \$2.5 million and followed up by noting:

"we are unable to ascertain that much of over half the reduced amount is being committed and utilized. " ^{1/}

This attack upset both President Johnson and Secretary Freeman. Secretary Freeman talked to Hershell Newsom, chairman of the Crisis Committee on June 23, 1967 and wrote a long letter to James R. O'Conner, vice-chairman on June 26, 1967. ^{2/}

The operation of a World Food Budget, Secretary Freeman found, was a very sensitive and perilous assignment. His authority for programing foods was restricted by the requirement for coordinating with AID and the State Department. This was done through ad-hoc committees, a top level committee chaired by the Secretary of State and a second level committee chaired by the Administrator of the Office

1/ National Committee on the World Food Crisis, Press Release June 15, 1967.

2/ The Secretary to John Schnittker, June 15, 1967; The Secretary to Dorothy Jacobson, June 27, 1967; Orville L. Freeman to James J. O'Conner, June 26, 1967, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. W. DeVir Pearson to Secretary Freeman June 22, 1967 and attachments, file "national defense" in Secretary's Files. USD

of the War on Hunger. In addition to State, AID and the USDA, the Bureau of the Budget was represented on these committees.

Secretary Freeman found these arrangements cumbersome but he opposed the issuance of the proposed executive order which would have further restricted his decision making powers.^{1/} Further delays resulted from the new practice of having The President's approval of each proposed PL 480 agreement. Still another source of delay was the requirement that food aid to India must be matched by other developed nations. This requirement had been proposed by The President in his message to Congress on Aid to India, February 2, 1967, and had been included in the joint resolution approved on April 1, 1967.^{2/} In the year which began on April 1, 1967, an international aid consortium was to provide 10 million tons of grain of which the United States was to contribute 6.6 million tons, Canada 600,000 tons and other developed nations the balance in grain, cash, or agricultural production supplies. In addition to the U.S. and Canada, the consortium included Belgium, West Germany, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Britain. It was chaired and managed by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank).

1/ The Secretary to John Schnittker, Dorothy Jacobson, Clarence Eskildsen, Les Brown, February 28, 1967; The Secretary to Dorothy Jacobson, March 14, 1967 and March 20, 1967; Orville L. Freeman to The President, April 6, 1967 in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ Message to Congress on Aid to India, Weekly Summary of Presidential Documents, Public Law 90-7, 81 Stat. 7.

Secretary Freeman had called for increased production of rice, soybeans, and wheat, and farmers had responded. The increased production required expeditious programing and purchasing if drastic drops in domestic prices were to be prevented.^{1/} However, only 7 new agreements for Title I sales were signed in the first four months of 1967 compared to 32 in the same 4 months of 1966. Dollar volume dropped from \$870 million to \$270 million.

Despite gruesome press reports of famine conditions in India and the pleas of Secretary Freeman, President Johnson refused to approve a new Title I agreement with India until June 24, 1967.^{2/}

Meanwhile the World Food Panel of The President's Science Advisory Committee completed its report and it was released on June 18, 1966. The report concluded that the food problem was a symptom of economic underdevelopment and that the United States must lead the developed world in a massive program of economic and technical assistance directed toward slowing population growth and increasing food production in the hungry nations.^{3/} Another report, prepared

1/ Orville L. Freeman to The President, April 17, 1967 in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ USDA Press Release no. 1981-67.

3/ The World Food Problem, Report of the Panel on World Food Supply of the President's Science Advisory Committee, 3 vols. The White House, May 1967.

by the Economic Research Service of the U.S.D.A. caused considerable consternation when it was reviewed by the Secretary's staff on May 24, 1967. This report demonstrated that on the basis of effective demand the United States would still have excess productive capacity in agriculture in 1980. Effective demand meant not what would be consumed if dietary levels were raised to minimum levels for adequate nutrition, but what could be moved into consumption through commercial channels, domestic and foreign, and through food-aid without disrupting the U.S. Budget or the economies of the receiving countries. Secretary Freeman directed his staff to consider this report highly confidential until the "bugs could be worked out".^{1/} He directed Dorothy Jacobson to work up an editorial treatment which would put the data in perspective and make it possible for the Department to use the data to improve public understanding of the necessity for carefully scheduling United States agricultural production. The report was revised and released the third week in August 1967.^{2/}

1/ The Secretary to The Under Secretary, Dorothy Jacobson, John Baker, Walter Wilcox, Clarence Eskildsen, Les Brown, Martin Abel, Ray Jones, Louie Upchurch, Rod Leonard, Harold Lewis, Art Meade, Ed Jaenke, Howard Hjort, May 24, 1967; the Secretary to Dorothy Jacobson, May 24, 1967; The Secretary to Les Brown, August 7, 1967, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ Weekly Report of Activities of The White House, August 23, 1967, in file "reports 6-2" Secretary's Files, USDA.

With the data from the World Food Situation report as background, the bumper wheat crop and the slowdown in Title I shipments in the foreground, the Department prepared briefing materials for the Grains Advisory Committee meeting and the subsequent announcement of 1968 wheat acreage allotments. With the concurrence of producer groups, the Department announced, on June 23, 1967 an allotment of 59.3 million acres, 8.7 million acres below the 1967 allotment.

"In setting the 1968 wheat acreage allotment at the level announced," Secretary Freeman said, "we fully recognize the importance of adequate supply to help needy people abroad. But we are also mindful of the effects of production in excess of effective demand on farm prices and the domestic wheat economy. We are determined to maintain a good balance between production and demand, and to prevent a return to a surplus pile-up of wheat."^{1/}

There was immediate adverse reaction in the press. A letter from James A. Perkins, President of Cornell University and Chairman of the General Advisory Committee on Foreign Affairs to President Johnson had been leaked to the press. The letter said :

"We cannot believe that this country should so flatly turn its back on starvation."^{2/}

^{1/} USDA Press Release no. 1966-67, June 23, 1967.

^{2/} Felix Belair Jr. "Adviser Opposed U.S. Wheat Slash." in New York Times, July 3, 1967; "The Muffled War on Hunger", editorial, New York Times July 9, 1967. Burt Schorr "War on Hunger and Hard-Line Tactics", The Wall Street Journal, August 3, 1967. Drew Pearson "US Role in Feeding World Disputed", The Washington Post, August 5, 1967.

- 87 -

Even some of Secretary Freeman's closest friends and supporters questioned the food decision. To Vice President Humphrey he wrote:

I'm not sure you're convinced, but I can assure you that everyone in the Department of Agriculture--and I think we have people who know as much about this as anyone else around--is thoroughly convinced that the range of grain availabilities, even at the current acreage levels for the next ten years will be more than adequate to meet the effective demands of the less developed countries, consistent with the objective of increasing their agricultural production at the necessary rate. This includes analyses which contemplate very heavy food use for humanitarian uses and work project purposes, and when necessary to prevent inflation. It is going to be difficult to hit the right amounts, hence it's very important to get the strategic reserve proposal I sent to you the other day through the mill and on the hill. 1/

In defending his policies on Title I of Public Law 480, Secretary Freeman was under the impression that programs under Title II were being increased. 2/ He was disabused of this idea by a mid-July memorandum reviewing Title II programs and estimating that the 1967 volume would be the same as, perhaps a little less than the 1966 level.

1/ Orville L. Freeman to The Vice President, July 10, 1967, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ Orville L. Freeman to James O'Connor, June 26, 1967; The Secretary to Dorothy Jacobson, June 26, 1967; Orville L. Freeman to J. A. Perkins, July 7, 1967; in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

On July 28, 1967, he asked Dorothy Jacobson to advise on what the Department could and should do "to make it more effective and to keep constant pressure on to expand it consistent with effective use on the other end."^{1/} Secretary Freeman invited AID Administrator William Gaud to lunch early in August to discuss USDA - AID relationships. Again on September 6, 1967, Secretary Freeman asked Dorothy Jacobson if AID was "doing the job" on Title II programs and "What more can and should we be doing."^{2/} Foreign donations through voluntary agencies dropped from \$197.5 million in FY 1966 to \$157.5 million in FY 1967 and \$56.0 million in the first six months of FY 1968.^{3/} Of the \$600 million annually, plus carryover, authorized for Title II programs, \$458 million was used in 1967.^{4/} The annual report on PL 480 states that tight programing was necessary during the first half of the year because of curtailed availability of some commodities but that strong efforts were made during the last half of the year to promote increased use of donated foods to combat malnutrition, promote economic development and encourage self help.^{5/}

1/ The Secretary to Dorothy Jacobson, July 28, 1967, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ The Secretary to Dorothy Jacobson, September 6, 1967, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

3/ Annual Report on Activities under PL 480 for the period January I through December 31, 1967. Table 26, "Title II, P.L. 480 Foreign Donations Through Voluntary Agencies, Quantities and Value of Shipments."

4/ ibid. p. 26.

5/ ibid., p. 27.

The idea of strategic reserves, mentioned by Secretary Freeman in his letter to Vice President Humphrey, had been part of the Administration's legislative program in 1966 but had died in the committees of Congress. The Department of Agriculture in June 1967 decided to make another push for such legislation.^{1/} The legislation would authorize the Commodity Credit Corporation to purchase limited quantities of wheat, feed-grains and soybeans in the open market at prices not more than 115 percent of the price-support loan rate or the minimum selling price in effect for CCC stocks of that commodity. Government held stocks would be insulated from the market unless prices rose to unreasonable levels and the carryover at the end of the marketing year fell below normal levels. Representative Graham Purcell introduced a bill, H.R.12067, into the House on August 2, 1967.^{2/} Under-Secretary John Schnittker testified in favor of the strategic reserves bill but it was killed in committee early in November.^{3/} Under-Secretary John Schnittker and DeVier Pearson in the White House began working to get a strategic reserves bill considered by the Senate with the objective of keeping the initiative and keeping the proposal alive so that it could be pushed by President Johnson in 1968.^{4/}

1/ John A. Schnittker to The Secretary, June 29, 1967, in John A. Schnittker, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.
Orville L. Freeman to Charles L. Schultze, July 5, 1967, Orville L. Freeman to The President, July 5, 1967, Confidential, in file "national defense 3", Secretary's Files, USDA.

2/ U.S. Congress, 90th, 1st Sess., Congressional Record, V. 113, no. 120, August 2, 1967.

3/ U. S. Congress, 90th, 1st Sess., Congressional Record, V. 113, no. 179, pp. H 14578-80, November 2, 1967.

4/ John A. Schnittker to Orville L. Freeman, in John A. Schnittker, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

- 90 -

The administration had taken a strong stand that all developed nations must participate in meeting the world food crisis. The acceptance of this thesis by other countries was strongly pressed in the program for meeting India's food needs, as has been noted. The commitment of 1.5 million tons of grain by the United States on June 24, 1967 had been made only after a total of \$97.6 million had been pledged by other countries. Another allocation of 1 million tons was announced on September 1, 1967 when other countries' pledges had reached \$122.2 million. ^{1/} President Johnson was determined that no further allocation would be made until the balance of the aid required for matching the United States contribution had been firmly pledged. ^{2/}

The consortium approach was also used in aiding the rehabilitation of Indonesia following the fall of Sukarno in the summer of 1966. In February 1967 President Johnson authorized a United States commitment to provide one-third of the Indonesian stabilization import requirements of \$200 million for Calendar Year 1967 as estimated by the International Monetary Fund and the Intergovernmental Aid Consultative group for Indonesia. To finance the United States share of about \$65 million, A.I.D. would provide \$20 million and \$45 million would be provided in P.L. 480 commodities. In partial

1/ John A. Schnittker to The President, June 30, 1967, John A. Schnittker to Orville L. Freeman, Dorothy Jacobson, Clarence Eskildsen, August 3, 1967, in John A. Schnittker, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ Orville L. Freeman to Dorothy Jacobson, September 7, 1967.

fulfillment of this commitment, the Department of Agriculture negotiated a Title I agreement with Indonesia which included self-help provisions tailored to correct some of the bottlenecks in Indonesian agricultural production. ^{1/}

The pressure on other developed nations to share in the problem of feeding the world's hungry was injected into the negotiations on the Kennedy Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade with the result that the International Grains Arrangement contained a provision establishing a Food-Aid Convention. The grain exporting countries agreed to contribute 4.5 million tons of food grains per year for three years to aid less developed countries. By November 30, 1967, this convention had been signed by 11 nations and the European Economic Community. ^{2/}

1/ USDA Press Release no. 2938-67, September 15, 1967. Annual Report on Activities Carried Out under Public Law 480, January 1 through December 31, 1967, Appendix, "Self-Help Programs Included in Government to Government Agreements signed in Calendar 1967". William S. Gaud to Orville L. Freeman, July 24, 1967, Confidential, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. John A. Schnittker to The Secretary, July 27, 1967 in John A. Schnittker, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ Message From The President transmitting The International Grains Arrangement of 1967, U. S. Congress, 90th, 2nd Sess., Senate, Executive A. John A. Schnittker to The Secretary, June 29, 1967, in John A. Schnittker, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

The Administration's strategy of withholding food-aid as a means of putting pressure on other developed countries however, changed sharply in October when it became apparent that Congress would make sharp cuts in foreign-aid appropriations. It was decided to use P.L. 480 to offset reduced AID funds wherever possible.^{1/} Talks were begun with representatives of India on food-aid during the last half of FY 1968. As a quid-pro-quo the United States asked that the Indians eliminate "food zones". These were restraints on the movement of food between the Indian states. The United States felt that they served to create scarcity in one area while surpluses existed in another area. The Indian government, however, felt that it was not politically feasible to try to eliminate these internal trade barriers until the Government had been able to build up a food reserve.^{2/} The United States decided not to press for an agreement to eliminate food zones at that time. On December 30, 1967 the Department of Agriculture announced an agreement to provide India with 3.5 million tons of food grains in the first half of Calendar Year 1968. By this time the drought had broken and India was looking forward to a record crop, estimated at 95 million tons of food grains.

1/ John A. Schnittker to the Secretary, October 4, 1967; John A. Schnittker to The Secretary, Dorothy Jacobson, Martin Abel, October 24, 1968, in John A. Schnittker, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ Orville L. Freeman to The President, October 23, 1967, Orville L. Freeman to Martin Abel, November 11, 1967, Orville L. Freeman to William Gaud, November 14, 1967 in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. John A. Schnittker to The President, November 30, 1967 in John A. Schnittker Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

Food-aid and agricultural development aid to Vietnam continued to be an important factor in both the foreign policy and the military strategy of the United States during 1967. The first group of provincial agricultural advisers had completed their training and arrived in Vietnam February 20, 1967. The Federal Extension Service, which was in charge of this project provided more training than had been customary for technical assistance people going overseas.^{1/}

The farm credit program was being developed. It was announced that the new Vietnam Agricultural Bank would open on May 8, 1967 to serve agricultural cooperatives and farmers associations.^{2/} The first Vietnamese rural electric cooperative began service on March 8, 1967. It was organized under a contract program between the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association and AID.

The forestry program which was recommended to provide lumber for construction in Vietnam, thus relieving a severe drain on our west-coast forestry resources, was slow to be implemented. Secretary Freeman found that this program was of low priority.^{3/}

1/ USDA Weekly Reports to The White House, February 15, 1967, March 8, 1967, April 19, 1967, in file "reports" Secretary's Files, USDA.

2/ Orville L. Freeman to Dorothy Jacobson, Clarence Eskildsen, Les Brown, and Ed Cliff, August 4, 1967; Orville L. Freeman to The President, August 23, 1967, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

3/ Orville L. Freeman to Dorothy Jacobson, Clarence Eskildsen, Floyd Higbee, April 24, 1967; Orville L. Freeman to Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, May 4, 1967, in Orville L. Freeman Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. Weekly Report to the White House, April 26, 1967, file "reports 2" Secretary's Files, USDA.

- 94 -

The severe flood in the Mekong Delta in the fall of 1966 opened the opportunity for demonstrating the superiority of IR-8 rice. Supplies were rushed in to replant flooded fields. The new rice amazed Vietnamese farmers by producing three to four times the yield of their traditional varieties. The short crop, however, contributed to the development of inflation in the urban areas. To combat this inflationary trend the United States shipped 750,000 tons of rice to Vietnam. Agricultural production improved in 1967 and rice prices dropped. Ambassador Lodge asked the USDA to send a 5-man economic and statistical team to Saigon to establish the systematic collection of agricultural statistics and recommend a price support program. 1/ An economic PASA was arranged in October 1967. 2/

Relationships with AID continued to be rather troublesome. As USDA people sought continuously to participate in the development of country plans as they related to agricultural development and food-aid, resistance was frequently encountered, particularly with

1/ Weekly Report to the White House, April 26, 1967, in File "reports 2," Secretary's Files, USDA.

2/ Orville L. Freeman to Dorothy Jacobson, October 13, 1967, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

- 95 -

AID mission directors in the field and AID regional desks in Washington. The Department felt that AID should accept USDA's primary role where agricultural expertise was concerned and AID should provide the overall economic and political evaluation. Points of conflict were usually resolved by telephone calls or conferences between Administrator Gaud and Secretary Freeman. In one area Secretary Freeman's enthusiasm led him too far and he was rebuked by Gaud. Secretary Freeman had become convinced that United States private enterprise must supply a large share of the economic inputs needed by the less developed countries. These were needed for the production of agricultural inputs such as seeds, fertilizer, insecticides and farm machinery. In March 1967 Secretary Freeman attended a meeting of representatives of the largest fertilizer companies. He had invited Administrator Gaud to the meeting but a lesser official was sent. The fertilizer companies aired their grievances against AID and the less developed countries. Secretary Freeman reported these to Administrator Gaud who replied that it was not the Secretary of Agriculture's prerogative to organize such meetings. Freeman apologized. ^{1/}

1/ Orville L. Freeman to William S. Gaud, March 17, 1967; Orville L. Freeman to William S. Gaud, March 30, 1967, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

- 96 -

The lines of authority were also obscure on the problem of encouraging private investment in food processing industries. Secretary Freeman, with the help of his assistants Gene Olson and Aaron Altschul, worked very hard to make contacts with food processors.

Using a considerable fund of data accumulated in the laboratories of USDA's Agricultural Research Service, scientists began to work on processing methods and equipment for seed proteins designed to fill the needs of small villages where skilled labor, electricity and other services were not available. They also set out to develop food formulations and home preparation methods which would provide low cost protein foods in forms acceptable to people of different cultures.

They developed a hand process for making a full-fat soybean flour and recipes for its use in beverages, soups, stews, breads and deserts. Similarly, recipes were developed for using peanut flour in the favorite dishes of various ethnic groups.^{1/} Especially significant was the development of a beverage emulsion containing corn meal, soy flour and skim milk, CSM. This product could be used to improve the nutrition of young children.^{2/}

Research was also underway to tailor protein producing plants, such as soybeans, peanuts, peas and beans to various environmental situations so that they could be produced under a wide range of soils, climates, and cultural practices.

1/ "CSM High Protein Food; U.S. Industry Contributes to War on Hunger", Congressional Record, V. 113, no. 135, p. A 4297, 80th Congress, August 23, 1967.

2/ USDA Press Release no. 4078-66, Dec. 27, 1966. George L. Mehren, "Closing the Protein Gap," Address before International Conference on Soybeans, October 18, 1966, in History Branch Files, USDA.

- 97 -

Secretary Freeman had difficulty in getting approval from AID for his protein foods program because AID felt that there were higher priorities for the use of its funds. ^{1/} However, by the middle of January 1967 this problem had been resolved and Altschul was authorized to go ahead.

AID authorized an experimental program designed to encourage the participation of private enterprise in the search for new high protein foods. The program can be generally divided into three phases: (1) a market survey to determine local tastes and food preferences, (2) design of proto-type foods based on the information gained in phase one, and (3) market testing of several prototypes to find whether they are acceptable to the consumer. Since AID finances the first and third phases in the program, the knowledge gained in these phases becomes public and will be valuable to all companies with similar objectives in protein deficient countries around the world. ^{2/}

By late 1968, ten contracts had been signed with nine U. S. companies. These companies had all demonstrated outstanding competence in protein food technology. The high protein products they develop

^{1/} The Secretary to Aaron Altschul, January 18, 1967 in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

^{2/} Protein Foods Issue, International Agricultural Development, no. 26 November 1967; Agricultural Research, March 1968; Jonathan McCabe, AID, "Aid's New Protein Food Program," International Agricultural Development, no. 26, November 1967.

- 97a -

and market are all made from locally obtainable raw materials. They include soft drinks, meat substitutes, fortified local foods and protein rich flour from the formerly useless cottonseed. Contracts have brought the technical skills of such companies as Monsanto, Swift, Pillsbury, International Milling, General Mills and Archer-Daniels-Midland to bear on the nutritional situation in Brazil, El Salvador, Tunisia, Kenya, India, Pakistan, and Thailand. Already companies have testified that the program has stimulated their work on developing cheap, attractive high protein foods.

At the end of the year the Department learned that the Department of Commerce was setting up an agri-business committee on foreign investment. ^{1/}

As noted on Page 64 of this chapter, Secretary Freeman believed that the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations had the potential to lead an international war on hunger if it had vigorous leadership. In furtherance of this policy, Secretary Freeman staunchly resisted the proposal of the Bureau of the Budget to close the USDA's agricultural research office in Rome.

Mrs. Jacobson and Dr. Mehren have joined me in a searching reappraisal of this office, its current mission, and its projected role in the years ahead. It is our conviction that it would be a serious mistake to remove it from the immediate proximity of the FAO. I know that it is unnecessary to point out to you the grave problems ahead with respect to food production for an exploding population. The United States inevitably must shoulder major responsibilities for helping to solve this problem in cooperation with the international organizations and other nations. The FAO is the international organization primarily concerned. I hope that you will join me in the realization that our proper concern is to aggressively promote a close effective relationship with the FAO as the most realistic approach to the world food problem. ^{2/}

1/ Orville L. Freeman to Gene Olson, December 26, 1967 and Dorothy Jacobson to Orville L. Freeman, December 14, 1967, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

2/ Orville L. Freeman to Charles L. Schultze, May 2, 1967, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

Assistant Secretary Dorothy Jacobson attended the Executive Committee meetings of the FAO in Rome. The United States was not able to find a successor to Dr. B. R. Sen, who would meet the standards and qualifications it regarded as important. Secretary Freeman recommended that the United States support Dr. Sen for a two-year extension of his term which would give the United States more time to look for a satisfactory candidate. Dr. Sen was disqualified as a candidate by the FAO assembly because his expiring term had been non-renewable and the United States switched its support to Dr. Addeke H. Boerma, who was elected for a four-year term on November 20, 1967.

A U.S. supported study of FAO's general structure authorized by the 1965 Conference of FAO had been concluded and was before the 1967 conference. The study called for a thoroughgoing reorganization to strengthen FAO's action functions in Rome and in the field. President Johnson directed Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman to support the adoption of the recommendations of the report. Secretary Freeman headed the United States delegation to the November conference.^{1/}

1/ Orville L. Freeman to Dorothy Jacobson, June 27, 1967, Orville L. Freeman to Dorothy Jacobson, July 10, 1967; Orville L. Freeman to The President, July 12, 1967; Orville L. Freeman to Dorothy Jacobson, July 17, 1967; Orville L. Freeman to Dean Rusk, August 8, 1967; Orville L. Freeman to The President, October 9, 1967; Orville L. Freeman to Dean Rusk, October 19, 1967; in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. John A. Schnittker to The Secretary, September 12, 1967, in John A. Schnittker, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. John A. Schnittker to The Secretary, October 23, 1967; Orville L. Freeman to The President, October 24, 1967 in file "foreign relations 1", Secretary's files, USDA.

The last year of the administration of President Johnson has been beset by tribulations in both domestic and foreign affairs. It is necessary to consider the foreign agricultural development program against the backdrop of domestic crisis -- violence in the cities, falling prices for agricultural commodities, polarization and hardening of public opinion in general. International trauma-- the continuing unfavorable balance of payments, the run on gold and threat to the stability of the United States dollar, the war in Vietnam--completed the setting for severe cuts in foreign aid.

The Congress had finally passed a Foreign Aid authorization bill on December 19, 1967 -- the lowest in 20 years. This was further slashed in the appropriations act which was approved by The President on January 2, 1968.^{1/}

All of the technical assistance programs being carried out by the United States Department of Agriculture were funded by transfers from AID under this appropriation. This included ^{the} / manpower involved in helping to develop self-help requirements for Public Law 480 recipients, the consultation on agricultural development programs of AID recipients, nations, economic research on development, research on protein foods and food technology, as well as the fielding of PASA teams for work in the ^{less developed countries,} / backstopping for the teams, and training programs for foreign nationals.

1/ Public Law 90-249.

Despite the severe cut in overall AID appropriations for FY 1968, the transfers of funds from AID to the Department of Agriculture were larger in FY 1968 than in FY 1967. This reflected the top priority being given to agricultural development and the shift from AID direct-hire personnel in agriculture to the use of USDA personnel through detail to AID and through PASA's. USDA personnel remained on the payroll of their own USDA agencies. AID reimbursed 18 USDA agencies a total of \$16,145,319 in FY 1968 as compared with \$11,427,999 in FY 1967.^{1/}

The prospects for Congressional support for AID were further damaged by a scandal which was uncovered in AID in February 1968. This involved excess charges by companies in Europe, Japan, and Korea for reconditioning surplus motor vehicles to be used in the less developed countries. This led to the resignation of AID's Assistant Administrator, Herbert J. Waters, who was in charge of the Office of the War on Hunger, and four other high ranking AID officials. Other accusations involving fraud in the supply of machine tools to India and waste in Vietnam added to the unfavorable publicity.^{2/}

1/ U. S. Congress, 90th, 2d Sess., Senate, Committee on Appropriations Hearings on the Appropriation for the USDA, 1969, p. 1463A - 1463B.

2/ "Five in AID Quit During Inquiry Into Misconduct", New York Times, February 7, 1968; "Aid Official Notes Improper Dealings", Washington Post, February 8, 1968; "Belgian Firm Denies Bribing AID Officials", Washington Post, February 9, 1968; "A.I.D. Some Hanky-Panky" by Felix Belair Jr, New York Times, February 11, 1968; "AID Director of Security is Suspended", by Walter Pincus, The Washington Post, February 15, 1968. "AID Now Needs a Lot of Help" by Don Thomasson, Washington Daily News, February 16, 1968; "AID Officials Get Briefing But on a Different Rumor"; Washington Post, February 20, 1968; "AID Administrator Acknowledges Waste and Inefficiency in the Agency", Washington Post, February 22, 1968; "Disrepair Job, Foreign Aid investigator examines trucks and deducts fraud", by David K. Willis, Christian Science Monitor, March 8, 1968.

- 101a -

Despite the severe cut in overall AID appropriations for FY 1968, the transfers of funds from AID to the Department of Agriculture were larger in FY 1968 than in FY 1967. This reflected the top priority being given to agricultural development and the shift from AID direct-hire personnel in agriculture to the use of USDA personnel through detail to AID and through PASA's. USDA personnel remained on the payroll of their own USDA agencies. AID reimbursed 18 USDA agencies a total of \$16,145,319 in FY 1968 as compared with \$11,427,999 in FY 1967, 1/

1/ U. S. Congress, 90th, 2d Sess., Senate, Committee on Appropriations, Hearings on the Appropriation for the USDA, 1969, p. 1463A - 1463B.

The negative attitude of Congress towards foreign aid was even stronger in the consideration of and action on authorization and appropriation acts for FY 1969. For a time it appeared doubtful that any foreign aid act would be passed. On July 17, 1968, President Johnson made an appeal on radio and television and a statement to the press on behalf of foreign aid:

I have requested the lowest foreign aid budget in our national history, because of other critical needs at home and abroad. But economy still does not satisfy some people. Some of them suggest that we put foreign aid in limbo for a year--as if a moratorium could be placed on man's daily struggle for life. Others want to cripple the aid programs by cutting them below the absolute minimum amount set by the House Foreign Affairs Committee....

So I call upon the Congress to spare us this ordeal. I ask, in the name of the American people, that our commitments be kept, that our foreign policy interests be protected, that we continue to show our good sense and our good purpose to our world by reaching out our hand again to those who need it so desperately. 1/

Finally, on September 19, 1968, Congress approved an aid authorization \$890 million below the President's request and \$285 million (15 percent) ^{2/} less than the amount finally appropriated for FY 1968.

1/ Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, July 22, 1967, Vol. 4, no. 2, p. 1115.

2/ U. S. Congress, 90th, 2nd Sess., Congressional Record, Vol. 114, no. 153, pp. S11108-112, H8965-9, September 19, 1968.

In the House of Representatives the appropriation bill passed was only \$1.6 billion -- a further slash of over \$300 million. Fortunately, the Senate restored most of this cut so the final appropriation was \$1.93 billion. ^{1/} The appropriation for technical cooperation and development grants was one of the few functions of AID which was not sharply cut. The funds transferred to the Department of Agriculture came from this section. However, the very deep cut in development loans may handicap the War on Hunger by preventing the expansion of facilities for producing the supplies farmers need and the storage, processing and marketing facilities needed to handle increased food production.

Food for Peace programs which had, in other years, enjoyed considerable popularity in Congress, also came under attack. The Committee on the World Food Crisis which had successfully demonstrated public support for Food for Peace in December 1966 called a "Second International Conference on War on Hunger" in Washington, D. C. on February 20, 1968. Trade and industry groups, educators, humanitarian organizations, labor unions and social scientists expressed strong support for Public Law 480 programs.

^{1/} U. S. Congress, 90th, 2nd Sess., Congressional Record, Vol. 114, no. 164, pp. S12083-94, October 4, 1968.

- 104 -

The Members of Congress who participated in the panel were unanimously critical of the executive branch for not having fully implemented the authorized programs. They called for programs to educate the American public to paying a fair price for its food and the use of government programs to help provide economic equality for American farmers. The terms of food aid in the future, they said, would be harder, -- the United States needed to sell for dollars in world markets. ^{1/}

The Department of Agriculture had expected to lose the support of the American Farm Bureau Federation for Public Law 480 since it was no longer a surplus disposal operation, but the use of the Conference as a platform for launching an attack was unexpected. The conference had been planned with the close cooperation of the Department of Agriculture as a demonstration of solidarity. ^{2/}

The 1968 amendments to Public Law 480 required the country contracting for credit sales, whether in dollars or local currency, to pay immediately for that proportion of the sales contract that was reserved for United States uses, including market development. Another

1/ Remarks of Senator George McGovern, "How Goes the War Against Hunger"; Remarks of Senator Jack Miller; Remarks of the Honorable W. R. (Bob) Poage; Remarks of Honorable Bob Dole; at Second International Conference on the War on Hunger, February 20, 1968, Washington, D. C., History Branch Files, ERS, USDA.

2/ Dorothy H. Jacobson to The Secretary, January 3, 1968, The Secretary to Dorothy Jacobson, January 3, 1968, in Orville L. Freeman, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library; Orville L. Freeman to Marvin Watson, January 16, 1968 in file "food 2", Secretary's Files, USDA.

amendment included voluntary programs to control population growth as among the self-help measures considered in determining eligibility for food-aid.

The so-called "Bob Lewis" amendments, named after their author, a former USDA official, caused some concern in the Department. The first of these amendments provided that in the negotiation of Public Law 480 sales agreements, the United States should seek the inclusion of a provision that excess local currencies could be sold at a discount to contractors who would use them to pay wages on public works projects in the receiving country. The second provided that excess foreign currencies should be made available to U. S. importers for the purchase of products of the receiving country. The author of the proposals thought that they would both increase the volume of sales and reduce the cost of the program to the United States.^{1/} The Department of Agriculture felt that such provisions might reduce volume by making countries reluctant to enter into Public Law 480 agreements.^{2/} The issue was compromised by making these amendments permissive, not mandatory. Public Law 480 was extended for two years, until December 31, 1970.^{3/}

^{1/} U. S. Congress, 90th, 2nd Sess., Senate, Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, "Hearings on the Extension of Public Law 480", p. 107- 124; House, Committee on Agriculture, "Hearings on the Extension of Public Law 480", pp. 68-87.

^{2/} John A. Schnittker to The Secretary, March 22, 1968, in John A. Schnittker, Chronological File, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.

^{3/} Public Law 90-436, Approved July 29, 1968.

Food aid programs also ran into trouble in the appropriation committees. The House of Representatives Report stated:

Under today's conditions, however, with a desperate need for additional foreign exchange from sales for dollars, and with increasing financial pressures here at home, expenditures under the Public Law 480 program can no longer be justified at previous levels. This is particularly true when such expenditures are proposed for the coming year at the expense of programs needed to preserve our resources.

Accordingly, the committee has reduced the Public Law 480 appropriations in the bill to approximately one-third of the 1969 budget request. Even with this cut, the program will have a total of nearly \$1.2 billion available next year, including an expected carry-over of \$530,257,000, receipts from sales of foreign currencies of an estimated \$342,600,000 and \$300 million of new money in this bill.

The report continued:

This committee believes that we have reached the point in our international affairs where our primary attention must be given to the support of efforts of the food deficient countries to develop their own agricultural resources so as to be able to carry a larger share of the responsibility for feeding their own people. 1/

1/ U. S. Congress, 90th, 2nd Sess., House Report No. 1335, from the Committee on Appropriations on the Department of Agriculture and Related Agencies Appropriation Bill, April 30, 1968.

The House and Senate concurred in these recommendations.^{1/}

If the prognosis for the immediate future of foreign aid and food aid programs was dismal the architects of the programs could at least take comfort in a brilliant record of achievement. Record harvests of food grains were achieved in 1968 across Asia from the Philippines to Turkey. World wide per-capita food availability was up six percent. This was due in part to favorable weather but in larger part to the application of new farm technologies to millions of acres. The foundations for this new agricultural revolution had been 20 years a-building and each sector made a contribution. In the early years emphasis had been on building transportation systems, irrigation works, educational institutions and extension services. The intensified programs of the late 1960's had concentrated on inputs -- high yielding seeds, fertilizers, pesticides,-- and on incentive price policies. Secretary Freeman said that he had met many farmers who could not read or write but he had never met one who could not count.

In the long run, history may record that it was the price-policies, as developed by Department of Agriculture economists and implemented through self-help agreements under Public Law 480 that catalyzed an agricultural revolution which saved the world from chronic famine.

1/ Act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and Related Agencies, Public Law 90-463, (82 Stat. 639), August 8, 1968.