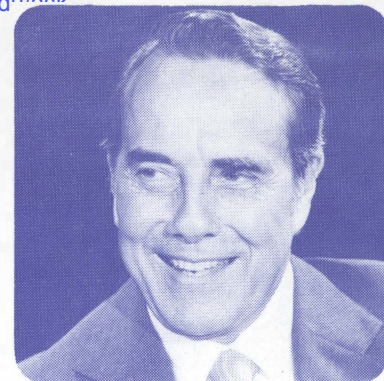


News from Senator

BOB DOLE



(R - Kansas)

SH 141 Hart Building, Washington, D.C. 20510

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE

P.L. 480 -- 30TH ANNIVERSARY DINNER

J. W. MARRIOTT - CAPITOL BALLROOM AND GRAND BALLROOM

1331 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

JULY 10, 1984

THIS EVENING IS AN ANNIVERSARY PART OF SORTS, AND A
COMMENDATION OF BIPARTISANSHIP IN THE MIDST OF A VERY PARTISAN
SEASON.

AS I LOOK AROUND THE AUDIENCE TONIGHT, I SEE SOME OUTSTANDING
SUPPORTERS AND SPONSORS OF THIS LEGISLATION. THERE ARE MANY
UNSUNG HEROES IN THIS CONTINUING STRUGGLE, SUCH AS THE USDA
OFFICIALS WHO HELPED DRAFT THE LEGISLATION AND WHO, WITH CARE AND
A STRONG HUMANITARIAN SENSE, HAVE BEEN ADMINISTERING IT.

HUNGER -- THE SILENT VISITOR

IN MEMORY'S EYE, I SEE AN OLD MAN, HIMSELF THE PRODUCT OF
AMERICA'S BREADBASKET, LATER THE SAVIOR OF STARVING BELGIUM AND A
FORMER PRESIDENT WHO LEFT OFFICE IN THE MIDST OF DEPRESSION AT

SUPPORTS GAVE WAY TO LEVELS MORE REFLECTIVE OF THE WORLD MARKET-PLACE. EFFICIENCY BECAME A HALLMARK OF U.S. AGRICULTURE, MARREID TO SCIENCE AND DEPENDENT ON TRADE. OUR CAMPAIGNS TO PROMOTE HOMEGROWN FOODSTUFFS EXPANDED, ALONG WITH THE SIZE OF EACH YEAR'S CROPS. AND AS WE STEPPED UP SALES ABROAD, THE OLD AGRICULTURAL TRADE DEFICIT WAS REPLACED WITH A SURPLUS OF STAGGERING DIMENSION. THESE DAYS, IT IS THE FARMER WHOSE PRODUCT KEEPS US COMPETITIVE IN THE WORLD -- WITHOUT HIM, THE CURRENT TRADE DEFICIT WOULD BE FAR WORSE, AND THE ECONOMIC RECOVERY ITSELF MIGHT CAPSIZE IN AN OCEAN OF RED INK. WITHOUT HIM, MILLIONS OF JOBS WOULD VANISH, AND THE NATIONAL LIVELIHOOD WOULD BE DRASTICALLY CURTAILED. WE SHOULD ALL REMEMBER THAT THE BENEFITS OF EXPANDED EXPORTS ARE SHARED BY BOTH FARM AND NON-FARM PEOPLE, INCLUDING LABOR, WHICH BENEFITS FROM HANDLING, TRANSPORTATION, PACKAGING AND OTHER RELATED ACTIVITIES.

THROUGH THE YEARS, HOWEVER, ONE THING HAD NOT CHANGED: THE

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BELIEF, SO THOROUGHLY EMBEDDED IN AMERICAN VALUES, THAT HUNGER AND POLITICS DO NOT MIX, THAT EMPTY BELLIES TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER IDEOLOGIES, AND THAT NATIONAL BOUNDARIES SHOULD NOT SERVE AS NATURAL BARRIERS TO EITHER GOODWILL OR OUR EXPERTISE.

IN ADDITION TO THE FOOD FOR PEACE SALES, WE ARE HELPING THROUGH THE TITLE II PROGRAM TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE HUNGRY AND MALNOURISHED. ALL OVER THE WORLD ARE THOSE WHO SERVE THE GREAT VOLUNTARY AGENCIES FOR OVERSEAS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION. THE WORLD IS GREATLY INDEBTED TO THESE VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS WHICH POUR THEIR HEARTS AND PRIVATELY-RAISED FUNDS INTO THE FEEDING PROGRAMS. LET US GIVE FULL CREDIT TO THE PEOPLE OF CARE, CHURCH WORLD SERVICE, CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICE, THE AMERICAN JEWISH JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE AND MANY OTHER SIMILAR HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS GIVING MEANING TO THE WORD "FOOD" IN THE FOOD FOR PEACE PROGRAM.

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OUR BOUNTIES AND OUR BLESSING

THIRTY YEARS HAVE PASSED SINCE DWIGHT EISENHOWER AFFIXED HIS SIGNATURE TO P.L. 480. MOST OF ITS ORIGINAL SPONSORS ARE GONE NOW. BUT THE EXAMPLE THEY SET REMAINS. TODAY, THIS GENERATION IS ASKING ITSELF IF IT CAN REGAIN THE COMPETITIVE EDGE FOR SO LONG ASSOCIATED WITH AMERICAN ENTERPRISE. AND IT IS WONDERING IF PARTISAN POLITICS CAN EVER ADJOURN LONG ENOUGH TO PERMIT BIPARTISAN COOPERATION AND HUMANITARIAN IMPULSES TO FLOURISH. FOOD FOR PEACE PROVIDES SOME HEARTENING ANSWERS. HISTORY TEACHES US LESSONS, OR ELSE ITS STUDY IS A WASTE OF TIME. AND THE HISTORY OF THE LAST THIRTY YEARS PROVES BEYOND DOUBT THAT MEN AND WOMEN OF IMAGINATION, FORESIGHT, AND DETERMINATION CAN PLANT THE SEEDS OF PROGRESS IN EVEN THE STONIEST OF GROUND. EVEN TODAY, P.L. 480 IS IMPERFECT, AS ARE ALL CREATIONS OF THIS HIGHLY FALLIBLE RACE WE CALL MANKIND. BUT TODAY AS IN 1954, IT REPRESENTS

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THE ASPIRATION TO DO BETTER, TO AIM HIGHER, TO STRIVE HARDER, TO SHARE OUR BOUNTIES AND REAP THE BLESSINGS OF A GENEROUS GOD.

"MY EARNEST HOPE," SAID PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, IN APPROVING THE ORIGINAL ACT, "IS THAT OUR PEOPLE WILL PUT THEIR HEARTS AS WELL AS THEIR MINDS INTO THIS EFFORT." THIS EVENING IS A REMINDER OF THAT HOPE, A MEASURE OF HOW MUCH HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED, AND A CHALLENGE TO ACCOMPLISH STILL MORE. I AM HONORED TO TAKE PART IN SUCH A CEREMONY, AND TO BE WITH OTHERS WHO SHARE MY FAITH IN A NATION WHOSE GREATNESS DERIVES FROM HER GOODNESS. IF WE REMEMBER THAT, THEN WE OURSELVES WILL DESERVE TO BE REMEMBERED. AND THE STOCKPILES OF HUMAN GREED AND SELF-CENTEREDNESS WILL BE WHITTLED AWAY -- JUST AS WE DISINVITE THAT SILENT GUEST HUNGER FROM TABLES EVERYWHERE.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

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HOME. I SEE ANOTHER PRESIDENT, OR ANOTHER PARTY, WHOSE CENTENNIAL WE OBSERVE THIS YEAR, AND WHO ROSE ABOVE PARTISAN LOYALTY TO ASK THE OLD MAN TO RETURN TO THE PUBLIC ARENA -- TO DO WHAT HE DID BEST, FEED PEOPLE.

AND SO THE OLD MAN TOOK OFF ON A ROUND THE WORLD JOURNEY, BEGGING, BORROWING, CAJOLING FOR FOOD WHEREVER HE COULD FIND IT. HE GROUSED WHEN STATE DINNERS WERE HELD IN HIS HONOR. HE REJECTED THE ADVICE OF THOSE WHO URGED HIM NOT TO MEET WITH ARGENTINA'S JUAN PERON. HE'D EAT ARGENTINE DIRT, HE REPLIED, IN ORDER TO GET SEVERAL HUNDRED THOUSAND BUSHELS OF ARGENTINE WHEAT. AND WHEN HE RETURNED, HE WENT TO THE WHITE HOUSE, WHERE HARRY TRUMAN WAS ON HAND TO GREET HIM, AND PRONOUNCE HIS MISSION OF MERCY AN OUTSTANDING SUCCESS. THEN HERBERT HOOVER SPOKE THESE WORDS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. THEY REMAIN AS TRUE TODAY AS IN 1946, AND THEY FORM A HUMANITARIAN CHARTER FROM WHICH FOOD FOR PEACE IS A NATURAL OFFSHOOT...

"HUNGER," HE SAID, "IS A SILENT VISITOR WHO COMES LIKE A SHADOW. HE SITS BESIDE EVERY ANXIOUS MOTHER THREE TIMES A DAY. HE BRINGS NOT ALONE SUFFERING AND SORROW, BUT FEAR AND TERROR. HE CARRIES DISORDER AND THE PARALYSIS OF GOVERNMENT ... HE IS MORE DESTRUCTIVE THAN ARMIES, NOT ONLY IN HUMAN LIFE BUT IN MORALS. ALL OF THE VALUES OF RIGHT LIVING MELT BEFORE HIS INVASIONS, AND EVERY GAIN OF CIVILIZATION CRUMBLES."

TWO YEARS LATER, GEORGE MARSHALL TRAVELED TO THE HARVARD YARD TO ANNOUNCE A VAST PLAN OF EUROPEAN RECONSTRUCTION. AMERICAN DOLLARS WOULD BE MESHED WITH EUROPE'S OWN INITIATIVE. THE RESULTING SUCCESS WAS NOT ONLY ECONOMIC, BUT POLITICAL AS WELL. THE CONTINENT CLIMBED BACK ON ITS FEET -- AND THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM WAS MADE SECURE FROM GIBRALTER TO HAMBURG, AND FROM THE ARTIC OCEAN TO THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA. MARK TWAIN ONCE REMARKED, ONLY HALF IN JEST, THAT FEW OF US CAN STAND PROSPERITY -- ANOTHER MAN'S, THAT IS. THE MARSHALL PLAN, IN CONJUNCTION WITH SUCH PRIVATE EFFORTS AS CARE,

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UNICEF, AND A HOST OF RELIGIOUS AND CHARITABLE ORGANIZATIONS, SUGGESTED THAT AMERICANS WERE UNIQUE IN THEIR ABILITY NOT ONLY TO WITHSTAND THE PROSPERITY OF OTHERS -- BUT IN THEIR WILLINGNESS TO DO WHATEVER IT TOOK TO BRING IT ABOUT.

THE GENESIS OF 480

UNFORTUNATELY THERE WERE SECTIONS OF OUR OWN LAND WHERE PROSPERITY WAS BUT A MEMORY, A VICIOUS CYCLE OF BOOM AND BUST, DEPENDENT ON AN UNPREDICTABLE CLIMATE AND A BUREAUCRATIC GOVERNMENT. THAT GOVERNMENT HAD INSTITUTED A SERIES OF AGRICULTURAL POLICIES IN THE 1930'S, THE NET EFFECT OF WHICH WERE TO DISCOURAGE SURPLUSES, RESTRICT SUPPLIES, AND UNDERMINE GLOBAL TRADE. THE SAME DEPRESSION THAT BEGAN IN HOOVER'S TERM AND CONTINUED IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER UNTIL PEARL HARBOR COMPELLED THE AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT TO EMBARK ON A CAMPAIGN OF FORCED SCARCITY.

THEN CAME THE WAR, FOLLOWED BY THE MARSHALL PLAN, AND MORE DOMESTIC SURPLUSES. FORTUNATELY, HOWEVER, THERE WERE SOME VISIONARIES

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AROUND -- MEN WHO WANTED TO AVOID PAST MISTAKES WHILE THEY HELPED CREATE A NEW WORLD ECONOMICALLY. A FOOD EXPERT NAMED GWYNN GARNETT, THEN SERVING WITH THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER IN GERMANY, WENT TO SEE A GROUP OF FARM LEADERS, INCLUDING THE HEAD OF THE AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION, ALLAN B. KLINE. HIS PROPOSAL WAS SIMPLE: U.S. SURPLUSES SHOULD BE USED AS SEED CAPITAL WITH WHICH TO DEVELOP SHATTERED ECONOMIES AROUND THE WORLD.

WORKING WITH THE FARM BUREAU AND OTHERS, THEY CONVINCED SUCH GREAT SENATORS AS ANDREW SCHOEPEL OF KANSAS, AND SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY OF MINNESOTA, ALONG WITH OTHER REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE FARM BELT, THAT THE TIME HAD COME TO LEGISLATE A STRIKING DEPARTURE FROM THE STATUS QUO.

IN THE SPRING OF 1954, THE COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION SOLD \$20 MILLION OF WHEAT TO SPAIN, TO BE PAID FOR IN SPANISH CURRENCY. THE SPANISH PESETAS WOULD, IN TURN, BE USED WITHIN THE COUNTRY BY THE U.S. DEFENSE DEPARTMENT AND OTHER AGENCIES OPERATING THERE.

HERE, IN A NUTSHELL, WAS THE OPERATING THEME OF P.L. 480. IT WAS A SELF-HELP PROGRAM FOR ALL CONCERNED -- PROVIDING FOOD FOR THE HUNGRY, REDUCING DOMESTIC SURPLUSES, AND CEMENTING NATIONAL LOYALTIES AT THE SAME TIME.

A LEGACY OF INTERDEPENDENCE

BUT ALL THAT, IMPORTANT AS IT WAS, WAS JUST THE BEGINNING. FOR THE YEARS WOULD DEMONSTRATE THAT THE REAL LEGACY OF P.L. 480 CAME TO BE THE ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE IT GENERATED. THE AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT ORGANIZED THE FIRST SERVICE SPECIFICALLY DESIGNED TO PROMOTE FOREIGN EXPORTS. AGRICULTURAL ATTACHES WERE REASSIGNED FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT, WHERE THEY HAD TRADITIONALLY ROOSTED. ON TOP OF ALL THAT, GWYNN GARNETT AND OTHERS AT USDA WENT TO WORK ON A DEOMESTIC FARM COMMUNITY THAT HAD PREVIOUSLY PAID LITTLE ATTENTION TO EXPORTS. INDEED, IN THE YEAR THE ACT WAS PASSED, THE UNITED STATES HAD AN AGRICULTURAL TRADE DEFICIT OF ALMOST A BILLION DOLLARS. THE REAL FACTOR IN MARKET DEVELOPMENT

FOR AGRICULTURE LIES IN EXPANDING TOTAL DOLLAR MARKETS ALL OVER THE WORLD, NOT SIMPLY IN DIVIDING EXISTING MARKETS. ONE WAY TO DO THIS IS THROUGH DEVELOPMENT OF MARKET CAPABILITIES GIVEN TO US THROUGH PL 480. DURING THE FIRST YEAR, SHIPMENTS UNDER P.L. 480 WERE VALUED AT CLOSE TO \$400 MILLION. WITHIN TWO YEARS' TIME, THEY WERE REACHING \$1.5 BILLION. BUT THE NUMBERS WERE ONLY ONE WAY OF GAUGING CHANGES TAKING PLACE IN ATTITUDES AMONG U.S. FARMERS.

FOR INSTANCE, JAPAN WAS A HEAVY USER OF SOYBEANS. BUT THE JAPANESE DIDN'T CARE FOR THE GREEN VARIETY THEN PRODUCED IN THE U.S. SO AMERICAN GROWERS RESPONDED TO THE JAPANESE MARKET -- AND BETWEEN 1955 AND 1959, SOYBEAN EXPORTS MORE THAN DOUBLED. BY THE EARLY 60'S, THE SOYBEAN SURPLUS WAS GONE, AND THE FOOD FOR PEACE CAMPAIGN BEGAN TO SHOW RESULTS IN TRADE EXPANSION.

AS ONE REFLECTS ON THE MOVEMENT OF FOOD FROM UNITED STATES SHORES, ONE MUST THINK IN SUCH TERMS AS 300 MILLION TONS

27,000 TONS OF FOOD EVERY DAY -- SINCE 1954. ONE MUST ALSO THINK IN TERMS SUCH AS NEW HOPE FOR OVER 1.5 BILLION PEOPLE IN 100 NATIONS.

THIS HAS RESULTED IN OPENING NEW COMMERCIAL MARKETS -- 8 OF THE 10 TOP AGRICULTURAL MARKETS IN 1983 WERE GRADUATES OF P.L. 480 AID. WE HAVE SEEN A DRAMATIC TRANSITION FROM AID TO TRADE.

DEVELOPING FOREIGN MARKETS

NO LONGER WAS THE PROGRAM DEPENDENT ON ONE YEAR AUTHORIZATIONS. NO LONGER WERE LONG-TERM CREDIT SALES TO FRIENDLY NATIONS RESTRICTED. AND AFTER 1959, CONGRESS EXPLICITLY STATED THAT ONE OF THE MAJOR GOALS OF FOOD FOR PEACE WAS AGRICULTURAL MARKET DEVELOPMENT. STARTING IN 1960, VAST SHIPMENTS OF WHEAT AND RICE FLOWED INTO INDIA. BY 1980, INDIA WAS THE ONLY DEVELOPING COUNTRY ON EARTH TO HAVE ITS OWN GRAIN RESERVE.

UNDER THEN SECRETARY ORVILLE FREEMAN, FOOD FOR PEACE BRANCHED OUT INTO ECONOMIC AS WELL AS MARKET DEVELOPMENT. KOREA PROVIDES A

GOOD EXAMPLE OF THIS. AT LEAST ONE HOUSE COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WAS UNCOMFORTABLE WITH THE IDEA OF AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR KOREAN AGRICULTURE. WHY HELP DEVELOP THE COMPETITION, HE WANTED TO KNOW?

FREEMAN SAID IT WASN'T QUITE THAT SIMPLE. BY AIDING KOREA IN ITS OWN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, WE WOULD BE HELPING TO RAISE THE STANDARD OF LIVING THERE. THIS, IN TURN, WOULD CREATE A NEW APPETITE FOR AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS AND PROCESSED FOODS PREVIOUSLY UNKNOWN OR OUT OF REACH OF THE AVERAGE KOREAN CONSUMER. NUTRITION WOULD IMPROVE, AND WITH IT, THE DEMAND FOR ANIMAL PROTEINS, SOYBEANS, MEAT, AND CORN. THE KOREAN PEOPLE WOULD ENJOY A BROADER, BETTER DIET. AND BOTH NATIONS WOULD DRAW CLOSER TOGETHER, SPINNING A WEB OF MUTUALLY REINFORCING TIES.

THE EFFECTS AT HOME

THE EFFECTS AT HOME WERE HARDLY LESS DRAMATIC. AMERICAN FARMERS WERE ENCOURAGED TO BOOST THEIR PRODUCTIVITY. RIGID PRICE