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AT THE FIRST CONFERENCE, 1929 AT DARTINGTON HALL

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Third row: D.H. Dinsdale, W.H.Long, H.A. Wallace, P. Borgedal, J.P. Howell, W. Allen, G.M. Dykes, C.Y. Sheph  
T.C. Scott, F.P. Weaver, K.T. Jutila, G.A. Pond, F.J. Prewett.  
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# The History of the International Association of Agricultural Economists

TOWARDS RURAL WELFARE WORLD WIDE

J. R. RAEBURN FRSE

and

J. O. JONES MA (Oxon)

Preface – Professor T. J. Dams President of the Association, 1979-82



INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION  
OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMISTS

Dartmouth

Aldershot · Brookfield USA · Hong Kong · Singapore · Sydney

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Published by Dartmouth Publishing Company Limited  
Gower House, Croft Road  
Aldershot, Hants GU11 3HR  
England

Gower Publishing Company  
Old Post Road  
Brookfield, Vermont 05036  
USA

**British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data**

International Association of Agricultural Economists.

The history of the International Association of  
Agricultural Economists: towards rural welfare world wide.

1. Agricultural economics. Organisations

I. Title II. Raeburn, J.R. (John Ross)

III. Jones, J.O.

338.1'06

ISBN 1 85521 090 8

Printed in Great Britain by  
Billing & Sons Ltd, Worcester

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# Preface

Professor T. J. Dams – President of the IAAE, 1979-82

By Professor T.J. Dams

The following idea is ascribed to Jacob Burckhardt (1818-1897) the well known Swiss cultural historian and leader of humanistic thought: "Whereas the individual is able to reflect (him or her-self) in the mirror of self-awareness, nations achieve this by means of their history". So six decades of our International Association's history are as a "mirror of self-awareness" for our academic discipline. What is our position today? Where do we come from? Where are we heading? The research topics as treated during this period at twenty IAAE-conferences have become a "mirror" of the changing practical problems of agriculture and of agricultural policy - on a micro-, meso- and macro-level in national and international contexts. And the history also reflects how leading and respected researchers have, as individual members through their spirited participation concerning particular research topics, woven an important and viable international network.

All the Association's Presidents tried to uncover historical connections in their "Presidential addresses". Much of the "historical continuity" can be accounted for by the personality and speeches of Leonard Knight Elmhirst, who did so much in the 1920s to secure foundation of the Association in 1929 and served as its President through three decades until 1958, and in various ways thereafter. He succeeded in fusing the different facets of IAAE history so that a mirror image depicts not only the institution itself, but also the changing problems and the contributions of economists. The book "International Explorations of Agricultural Economics - Tribute to the Inspiration of Leonard Knight Elmhirst" (1964) displays well his leading role. In this context, one must also refer to the contribution of Max Rolfes in the mid 70s, "IAAE - The Growth of an International Fraternity of Scientists", in which he summarized forty years (1929-1969) in retrospect. In the preface to Rolfes's publication, Founder-President Elmhirst pointed out, that others could prepare a more detailed history of the IAAE over a longer period of time. At the IAAE Conference of 1982 in Jakarta, a substantial collection of historical material was handed out to the participants and this supported the idea of a comprehensive

history. So the Association later asked John Raeburn to take up this great challenge. He had known the founders, participated in many of the Association's conferences, and had responsibility as Vice President for the programmes of the 1967 and 1970 conferences. The Founder-President's request is thus now realized very successfully.

When writing the history of the IAAE, two particularly important aspects have to be taken into account: (a) the concept of individual membership, which consequently helped to avoid the difficulties that many other international scientific institutions suffer; (b) the systematic construction of the worldwide network of economists, which originally consisted of members from Europe and North-America, and was extended step by step to members of developing countries, socialist countries of Europe, and PR China.

In this analysis, John Raeburn brilliantly illustrates these important aspects. He examines in detail the basic principles of the IAAE from its beginnings and the evolution of organization and management. He surveys the topics of discussion, and indicates the results of conferences. To Jacob Burckhardt, this history would be a mirror of our scientific discipline of agricultural economics. It is a crucial contribution to the development of our science and to the application of its results for the improvement of economic and social conditions world-wide. The History also reflects the great strength and validity of the original conception and basic constitution of the Association. John Raeburn has made a commendable contribution and with Owen Jones, who contributed Chapter 9, deserves our sincere gratitude.

J W Longworth  
President

Th.J.Dams  
President, 1979-1982

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The voluntary efforts of many members determined over sixty years the life and work of the Association. These individual contributions cannot be separately acknowledged but they inspired this History and its publication is a sincere general acknowledgement.

To some individuals and organizations special gratitude must be recorded.

Professor Theodore Dams, President 1979-82, proposed that the history be written and collected some basic papers and personal reminiscences. He also secured some generous financial support for publication, and wrote the Preface.

Later Presidents and Executive Committees gave firm support. Michel Petit, President 1985-88, secured a further grant for publication from the Dartington Trustees.

Those consulted included Past Presidents (N. Westermarck, S.R. Sen, T.J. Dams, D.K. Britton, Glenn Johnson and M. Petit), and also the following:- J.W. Longworth (current President), J.J. MacGregor, Kazushi Ohkawa, D. Paarlberg, U.I. Renborg, T.E. Schultz, L. Spencer, and B.F. Stanton.

The Elmhirst Centre at Dartington Hall made available a great volume of well ordered archives, and Robin Johnson and Mary Bride Nicholson gave generously their guidance and encouragement. Lord Young, former Chairman of the Dartington Trustees, contributed personal encouragement, and through his own book on The Elmhirsts of Dartington. G. Little, formerly of the

Economics Research Department at Dartington, assisted in a variety of ways, including the copying of records and the summarizing of early financial accounts.

The Historical Documentation Program (G.P. Colman, supervisor) of the New York State College of Agriculture and Life Sciences at Cornell University reviewed for 1928 to 1930 the correspondence of C. Ladd, G.F. Warren, and W.I. Myers and selected and copied the most pertinent letters. A.W. Høglund of the Department of History, University of Connecticut, gave guidance based on his comprehensive research for a book on G.F. Warren.

R.J. Hildreth, Secretary-Treasurer of IAAE, and his colleagues in the Farm Foundation office, Chicago, provided copies of key minutes and financial and other data. M.H. Hawkins provided data on costs of the 1979 conference in Canada.

At Oxford the archives secured and ordered by the late K.E. Hunt, and other material of the Agricultural Economics Institute, were made available and substantial help provided by A.H. Maunder, Editor of the IAAE.

Special gratitude is also due to the late M. Rolfes for his linguistic and other help to the Association, and for his historical review published in 1970.

Not least we thank Pat Mundie of the School of Agriculture, Aberdeen for her skills and perseverance through all the word processing of draft and camera-ready copies.

J.R.R.  
J.O.J.

# PART I INTRODUCTION

"... over the years, by voluntary effort, and on a shoe string, a fraternity of agricultural economists has been built up, encircling the globe". L.K. Elmhirst. [1]

[1] "Sources and Notes" are numbered by Part and listed after Chapter 11.

# 1 Introduction

On 12 December, 1928 Leonard Elmhirst sent out from his home at Dartington Hall, Devon, England, invitations to 43 eminent agricultural economists of 7 countries. He mentioned first the deep concern of himself and his wife in the many economic and social problems of the agricultural depression following the Great War of 1914-18. He valued his own good fortune in having contacts with research workers in both the USA and the United Kingdom. He then explained how Dr Carl Ladd, Director of Extension of the New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University, had fostered the idea that US and Canadian researchers should have more contact with those in England and "find a common language and a common understanding". A plan had been discussed with various economists in America and England, and Ladd, and C. S. Orwin (Director of the Agricultural Economics Research Institute of Oxford University) had suggested "that a somewhat informal gathering might be arranged next year at Dartington Hall with a view to establishing a more permanent channel of co-operation". The invitation then continued: "Both Mrs Elmhirst and I have felt that it would be a great privilege for us to extend the hospitality of the Hall and estate here for such a conference, as well as to make available sufficient funds from our research department to provide for travelling scholarships, which would make it possible for people from abroad to attend the conference". "The dates set provisionally for the meeting are 26 August to 6 September 1929".

Although the purposes of the gathering were thus expressed rather tentatively, much thought and discussion lay behind them. To anyone studying rural economic conditions and international developments in the 1920s they were obviously substantial purposes. So, together with the attractions of hospitality in one of the most beautiful and historic rural estates in England, they ensured in the end that a total of 50 economists of 11 countries met at Dartington.

Thus began what was later called the First Conference. Its success was obvious and the personal understandings reached became a firm foundation on which to build the international association - at first called the International Conference of Agricultural Economists.

After only one year a second conference was held at Cornell University, USA. A third was planned for 1932 in Germany, but had to be delayed until 1934 because of financial and political difficulties. The foundation phase of the Association was completed by the end of 1934.

### Purposes of this history

For IAAE members and potential members, the main question that this history attempts to answer is: "What from the past provides help in understanding the development of the Association, and what can contribute to future personal or group decisions about its uses and its evolution"?

For other students of international affairs there are several questions of substantial interest. The Association was one of the first international associations to be established for social science. It has since 1929 considered those agricultural, food and rural welfare problems which are now much more widely recognised as crucial, and which often are highly political. What were the values on which the Association's growth into a world-wide professional organization were based? What were the professional, organizational and financial problems? How were they faced, and with what results? How did the Association evolve within its environment? Was it wisely financed and used by other organizations, national and international?

### Outline of this history

Part II indicates the agricultural economic problems of the late 1920s, and reviews what capabilities had been developed for their analysis. The foundation of the Association is then described, with notes on the leading founders, some quotations from them, and the story of the foundation period, 1928 to 1934. This Part shows the basic values that continued to influence the Association, and describes initial challenges, strengths and weaknesses.

Part III notes how, over the whole series of 19 conferences up to 1985, the economic and social contexts changed over time and differed by location. Human population pressures, agricultural production techniques and systems, prices, incomes, financial and trading conditions, government ideologies and structures, and other basic conditions - all these differed between countries and changed over time. The contexts of the conferences differed also because in the wide subject-field of agricultural economics and related subjects the knowledge and doctrines of 1929 were expanded and evolved. Chapter 4 gives information essential to understanding the nature of the cargoes of publications from conferences. Chapter 5 gives the main themes and highlights, and leads to some conclusions about the Association's achievements. Chapter 6 examines more fully achievements and limitations in one major problem-area - that of poverty in agricultural families in the tropics and sub-tropics. It also examines in some depth the Association's consideration of one among the many and various determinants of this poverty - changes in birth and death rates. The purpose is to make clearer the nature of the Association's accomplishments, and of the constraints and limitations.

Part IV provides a review for each of five phases following the foundation phase, of problems in organization and management of the Association. Changes in organization and personnel and in membership are traced. This review shows many

challenges and responses, and provides understandings essential to the Association's members, and useful to others concerned with various aspects of international and professional associations (Chapter 7).

Chapter 8 describes purposes, problems, and changes in the designing and detailing of conference programmes.

In Chapter 9, J.O. Jones describes in some detail how the editorial and related work was contributed from Oxford, and how the Association helped in the establishment of the Commonwealth Bureau of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology. He calls on his intimate knowledge of Oxford institutions and changes from 1955 to 1986 to show the great accomplishments, but also the financial and other constraints. He provides a significant example of interactions of Universities with outside donors trying to help international social science groups.

Chapter 10 analyses in some detail the benefits, and costs of the Association, the history of donations to it from Foundations and other donors, the contributions of countries that were hosts to conferences, and the costs and finance of the centres of the Association in Dartington, Oxford and Chicago.

The Epilogue, Part V, considers whether the basic values of the founders continued to be trustworthy, and what were the achievements. It reviews the different and changing goals and quotes some personal assessments. The negative results and omissions are also reviewed, drawing particularly on Chapters 5, 6, 7, 9 and 10. The abilities of the Association to contribute much and to evolve are made clear. But important questions are posed: for example, about how to ensure that the Association's encyclopaedic output is more systematised for use in strategies and about financial and other decisions regarding the Association taken by national governments, international organizations, charitable foundations and other bodies in its institutional environment.

Before studying the foundation phase some indications of the growth of the Association since 1929 may be useful together with an outline of purposes, activities and organization as they became by 1985.

### Growth

The great growth in membership was during the 1950s and 1960s, and the highest total was in 1970 (Figure 1.1). Reasons for the trends and fluctuations are considered in Chapters 7, 10 and 11, and in Table 11.1 the membership in 1985 is summarized according to the World Bank's grouping of economies.

The attendances at the Association conferences are also a measure of growth and are shown in Figure 1.1.

The number of papers presented at conferences was as high as 84 in 1930, but usually only about 25 pre-1939 and in the 1950s. It grew to 41 by 1970, and in 1985 was 131 plus poster session papers (Figure 4.1). In addition there were lengthy discussions in plenary and concurrent sessions, and in organized and ad hoc discussion groups.

### Purposes

The Constitution of the Association states these concisely:-



After only one year a second conference was held at Cornell University, USA. A third was planned for 1932 in Germany, but had to be delayed until 1934 because of financial and political difficulties. The foundation phase of the Association was completed by the end of 1934.

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### Purposes

The Constitution of the Association states these concisely:-

"To foster the application of the science of agricultural economics in the improvement of the economic and social conditions of rural people and their associated communities;  
 "To advance knowledge of agricultural processes and the economic organization of agriculture;  
 "To facilitate communication and exchange of information among those concerned with rural welfare throughout the world".[2]

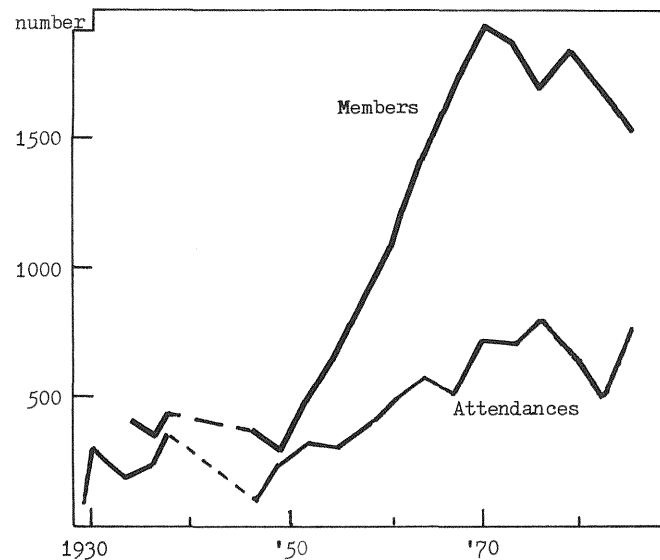


FIGURE 1.1 TOTAL MEMBERS AND ATTENDANCES OF MEMBERS AT CONFERENCES

ICAE/IAAE, 1929-1985

These purposes are closely related to actual economic and social conditions, and to the complex problems everywhere in striving for rural welfare and sound agricultural and food systems. But *nota bene*, these purposes are essentially scientific - in description and analysis of situations and inter-relationships present, past, and probable future. They are not particular national or party-political purposes, nor are they tied to those of any other international organization or agency.

Those who are politically responsible at local, national and international levels for facing the world's great rural, food, trade and aid problems should of course have the results of professional analyses and understandings. These results cannot be sound and sufficient without an international network of professionals free to speak their minds and exchange information fully and frankly.

## Organization

Almost all members of IAAE are individuals but some libraries and other organizations subscribe, and designate individuals as members. Some individual members are of course officials in government organizations, international agencies, co-operative federations, and other state, para-state and commercial and education bodies: but all hold their memberships as individuals and not as representatives of their employers.

The membership elects a large Council which normally meets only at the main conferences. The executive management is by a comparatively small group of elected Officers:- President, President-Elect, Vice-President (Programme), Vice-President (Administration), the immediate Past President and Secretary-Treasurer. They meet as an Executive Committee usually only three times per three-year conference period, and with the Editor. Much written correspondence is necessary. The Executive have had in this great help from 68 Country Representatives who have substantial responsibilities within their respective countries or groups of country. The organization is not, however, federal: the Representatives act essentially in service to members as individuals, and relate directly to the central Secretariat, and not formally to sections of the Council.

The evolution of this organization and the related constitution is historically interesting and instructive (Chapter 7).

## Activities

The Association's activities are centred largely, but not entirely, on 10-day conferences, held every three years. The locations are carefully selected and the programmes constructed to facilitate frank, objective exchanges, to stimulate interests in conditions and problems in different continents and economies, and, not least, to foster the build-up of personal understandings, empathies, and information flows. The values in group visits to farms and marketing and other firms during conference periods and in tours before and after, are emphasized.

Between conferences the volumes of Proceedings and Occasional Papers are published and reach a wide readership additional to the Association's own membership. Bulletins are also issued to members. One of these includes a complete list of names and addresses of members. Another includes reports of some 20 Discussion Groups that, in four or five special meetings at the main conference, each considered one important sector of agricultural economics.

Many individual countries have associations or societies of agricultural economists and the establishment of many of these was assisted by the International Association (now IAAE). Thus most of the Country Representatives of IAAE can readily secure the information and views of their professional compatriots. In some countries even finance for travel to IAAE conferences has been contributed by national associations for some of their selected junior members. In other countries government funds are allocated on the recommendations of senior members of national associations.

Regional or special-subject seminars are jointly sponsored by IAAE (e.g. on Trade Problems, in 1986, with FAO and UNCTAD; on Development Problems in China in 1987 with the All China Association of Agricultural Economists).

The Association has status as a Non-Government Organization in consultation and co-operation with FAO, UNCTAD, ILO, UNESCO and other international agencies.

During 1957-66 the Association made major professional contributions to the foundation of the Commonwealth Bureau of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, and members continue to contribute in various ways to the success of their World Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology Abstracts (WAERSA) and related publications and services.

In 1985-86 the Association arranged with the Elsevier company to publish "Agricultural Economics: The Journal of the IAAE". The Association's members contribute most of the papers and professional editorial services to this significant addition to the range of science journals of world-wide impact.

In all these ways, the Association makes easier and more effective countless interchanges amongst members, and between members and others. In current world conditions perhaps most important of all for these vital communications, the Association fosters a real sense of the basic professional values of its founders and of its leaders over the decades. But this fostering is in diverse ways that can be well understood only after more detailed consideration historically.

## PART II THE FOUNDATION 1928 TO 1934

"Ideas are all important for the individuals whom they impelled into action, but the historian must attach equal importance to the circumstances which gave these ideas their chance". Christopher Hill.[1]

"The mighty minds of old ....  
Their virtues love, their faults condemn,  
Partake their hopes and fears,  
And from their lessons seek and find  
Instruction with a humble mind". R. Southey.[2]

[1] [2] "Sources and Notes" are numbered by Part and listed after Chapter 11.

## 2 Problems, Capabilities and Key Personalities

The beginnings of the Association were largely determined by the leading personalities, by the economic and social problems that they faced, and by the capabilities that were felt to have been built up to help solve these problems.

We can best consider the problems first, and then the capabilities, and so become ready to study the personalities and understand what they did and why, in the foundation phase, 1928 to 1934.

### Problems in 1928-29

Some ten years after the end of World War I central problems in the United Kingdom included massive urban unemployment, low farm wages and incomes, and rural depopulation. The annual net returns for the labour of farmers and their relatives working on farms averaged over 1923-1929 only some £94 (US\$457) a head, equivalent to only 48 per cent of the net return (similarly defined) for all those earning in non-agricultural activities.[3]

In USA, the roughly comparable figures in 1927-1929 were US\$671 and 36 per cent.[3] Inflation in wartime and deflation after 1920 had, along with other conditions, greatly raised farmers' debts and taxes and left their product prices low relative to:- urban wages; costs of transport, processing and distribution; interest rates. Many farm families were in distress.

In Germany, after the runaway inflation of 1921-1924, substantial economic reconstruction had taken place but post-war reparation and indemnity payments imposed heavy burdens. International payments were being balanced by heavy borrowing abroad.

Related to these pressing problems in W. Europe and N. America were older problems, including those about:- "improving agriculture"; sizes of farms; transport and the location of production; land tenure and rents; loans; imperfect competition and restraints on trade; the social consequences of farm mechanization; conservation of forest and range areas.

In USSR the communist government was entering a very difficult period of collectivization of peasant holdings.

The deep problems of the Tropics and Sub-tropics and those of E. Asia as a whole were, in the West, generally seen only as aspects of cultural differences and of the post-war depression. But some thinkers who were in direct or indirect contact with them knew better. They recognised some at least of the complex socio-economic problems arising from culture contacts (including those in imperialism), poverty, high human population densities, and disease.

### Capabilities of agricultural economics in 1928-29

#### Europe

Over all these problems, and more, the "confusions and conflicts" were many.[4] What Agricultural Economics could then do to reduce them was relatively little.

The first issues of the Journal of Agricultural Economics illustrate well the position in the UK. J.A. Venn, agricultural historian of Cambridge, is recorded as saying:- "... the agricultural economist is a new type of person. He has been recruited, so far, from at least half a dozen different characters. We see activity engaged in this subject historians, statisticians, pure economists, land owners, politicians, and others ...."[5] The Agricultural Economics Society had met first in March 1926 and by summer 1929 had 138 ordinary members, but of these farmers, land owners and general agriculturalists numbered 36, and agricultural economists from overseas, 15. Even amongst the remaining 87 few had substantial experiences in research. The Agricultural Economics Research Institute had been established in Oxford University in 1913 but by 1928 had a graduate staff of only 8. The Provincial Agricultural Economists were expected to be teachers, extension workers and researchers, but in the whole of Britain they numbered only 15 - with one or two graduate assistants each. The papers at the Society's first conferences were mainly reviews of:- the teaching of agriculture and agricultural history; the scope of agricultural economics; methods in farm management and marketing studies. There were papers describing the "agricultural depression", but only one, by R.R. Enfield, examined the causes.

The Agricultural Departments of the UK government had annual census data for land uses on farms and livestock numbers going back to 1867, and annual estimates of crop yields. They also had useful data on wholesale market prices and farm wages.

But in general, capabilities in farm economics were inadequate in relation to individual farmers' problems because of poverty of the data base and dependence on only intuitive methods of forward planning. In relation to policy issues the capabilities were largely still from case studies over short periods, and simple interpretations of the Agricultural Departments' data.

Marketing studies were few, and mainly descriptive. Situation work (apart from market price reporting) and forecasting (outlook) work were very limited. International trade issues were little studied by agricultural economists.

The UK economists did have available the basic doctrines of political economy developed by Adam Smith (1723-90), D. Ricardo (1772-1822), W.S. Jevons (1835-82), H. Sidgwick (1838-1900) and others. The whole framework of economics set out by A. Marshall (1842-1924) with the key concepts of margins and equilibria had long dominated economic teaching.[6] But no close and comprehensive integration

of farm management economics had been achieved despite the energetic beginnings of Arthur Young (1741-1820) and all the stimuli of the agricultural revolution during the 18th and 19th centuries, and World War I. J.M. Keynes (1883-1946) had not yet surfaced with The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money. And there was no close relation of agricultural economics to the doctrines of welfare economics as brought together by A.C. Pigou (1877-1959). [7]

In the past, over many decades, UK governments had, when faced by severe policy problems, ordered special investigations by Royal Commissions or Committees of Inquiry. Their careful reports were useful as a basis for policy analysis and policy formulation, but they could not fully break the constraints imposed by severe shortages of data and over-simple analytical methods.

For students there were text books on accounting but no comprehensive book on agricultural economics.

In continental European countries the capabilities of agricultural economics in 1928-29 were better developed in some respects.[8] The remarkably early theoretical and practical insights of A.D. Thaer (1752-1828) and J.H. von Thünen (1783-1850) and those later of A.P. Lyudogovsky (1840-82) and others had been used by the Aerebo-Brinkmann School in Germany to construct a body of basic marginal principles whereby net returns to individual farm businesses would be maximized. The Laur School in Switzerland had drawn inspiration from von Thünen and A.A. Kramer (1875-1910) to develop a farm accounting scheme producing data not only for farm business decisions but also as evidence in agricultural policy formulation, E.F. Laur (1871-1964) being politician and philosopher as well as farm economist. The Sering School in Germany had thrashed out of the complex of political economy and socio-political doctrines of the 19th century, and out of agricultural history, other approaches to the development problems of capitalist agriculture, international trade, and agrarian policy. The Serpieri School in Italy had tended to use the approaches of both the Aerebo-Brinkmann and Sering Schools and had developed especially methods of farm appraisal (valuation). The Aerebo-Brinkmann, Laur and Sering Schools had greatly influenced agricultural economics in other countries of Europe so that, for example, O.H. Larsen (1875-1955) had a well established farm accounts scheme in Denmark.

The European capability was however greatly weakened by the comparatively small numbers of agricultural economists, by controversies about farm business research methods, by poor relation of farm data to marginal principles, by inadequate welfare economics and rural sociology, and by lack of understanding of economic depressions and instabilities. And there had been few studies of marketing. The Aerebo-Brinkmann School's concepts of farm business still lacked adequate quantification, and there were strong disagreements with others over accounting and costing, farm appraisal and agrarian policy. The Sering School lacked a well defined theoretical framework and a sufficient base in farm business economics and agricultural biology and techniques. The Laur School also was weak in principles of production economics. Overall, the structural adjustment problems of continental agriculture with its millions of peasant holdings could not be analysed rigorously. Bauerndenker (farmer-thinking) approaches were inadequate although, for Aerebo and Laur at least, they had philosophical foundations.

## USA

Capabilities in agricultural economics in 1928-29 were developed most fully in USA.[9] The Federal Department of Agriculture was set up in 1862 and statistical services began in 1863. The Land Grant Colleges in each State were first funded by the Morrill Act of 1862. For 20 years or more in some of them, Departments of Farm Management and Agricultural Economics had been active, and numerous bulletins of value to farmers and others concerned with rural problems had been widely distributed; also useful textbooks for major sectors of the subject field.[10] The many biological, work-equipment, farm economic and socio-economic problems in westwards expansion, commercialization and intensification, readjustments in the east, price instabilities, and general shortages of labour and capital (including transport and other infrastructure) - all these had provided great stimuli. Politically these resulted in finance for the Land Grant Colleges. Also they helped to mould the characters of the founding fathers - men such as Orange Judd (1822-92), Editor of the American Agriculturist; John M. Gregory (1822-98), Thomas F. Hunt (1862-1927) and G.E. Morrow (1840-1900) of Illinois; W.M. Hayes (1859-1928) of Minnesota; George T. Fairchild (1838-1901) of Michigan; Isaac P. Roberts (1833-1928) and Liberty Hyde Bailey (1858-1954) of Cornell; Richard T. Ely (1854-43) and W.A. Scott (1862-1944) of Wisconsin. Professional associations were founded for Farm Management in 1910 and for other sectors of Agricultural Economics in 1916. They were joined together to form the American Farm Economics Association in 1919. By the end of 1927 this had 644 active members and 131 associates. Earlier in the 1920s Professorships had been established for specialization in Marketing, Co-operatives, Prices and Statistics, Farm Finance, Appraisal and Taxation, and other sectors.

But so great were the problems of the times that these impressive US capabilities were widely recognised as seriously inadequate. Many farmers and politicians had come to believe that "parity" of farm and other incomes could no longer be expected from free working of the price mechanism, and enterprise assisted by good situation and outlook work. Many felt the tariff of import duties should be "fairer" to farmers and that subsidies should be paid on exports of farm products. And because imperfect competition seemed to be advantageous to urban producers, rural producers should acquire comparable powers.[11] But agricultural economists were far from agreement about the basic causes of the agricultural depression. And they had still, for example, poor measures of the inter-relationships of supplies and prices.[12] Time series analysis was almost entirely by simple trend, cycle and seasonal variation calculations, or graphic. Least squares correlation methods were being introduced but other econometric methods had yet to come. Close economic analyses of international trade policies had not started: nor had any close studies been made of the political science aspects of greater Government interventions, or imperfect competition. In other aspects of marketing, co-operatives, land use, land tenure, farm finance, transport, taxation, and rural sociology there were similarly many problems about research purposes and methods to be solved, as well as yet more facts to assemble.

Even in farm management studies, developments were still required. For example, although correlation methods were being used to measure past relationships amongst survey data, forward planning procedures depended heavily on personal intuition. Subjective probabilities, risk aversions, and cash flow problems were not clearly considered. Mathematical approaches to planning and

simulation were scarcely envisaged. Aggregation problems in securing data for Federal policy formulation were largely neglected.

Henry C. Taylor (1873-1970) Chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in Washington DC reviewed the whole position, and the great progress that had been made, but concluded:- "... the quantitative research by accounting and statistical methods would be greatly improved if more attention were given to that type of theoretical analysis which projects the work into the future in the form of working hypotheses .... starting points which bring economy and efficiency into the fact finding".[13]

The capabilities of agricultural economics in USA were however better developed in some directions than those in general economics. T.W. Hutchinson's criticism of these did not apply fully to agricultural economics:- "... in 1929, .... there was not much advance in, or prospect of, fruitful co-operation and co-ordination between the analysis of normal equilibrium values and the growing body of economic statistics".[14] Hutchinson noted that there were "... the gradual beginnings of a potentially vast advance ... in the study of what W.S. Jevons (1835-82) .... had called "The science of the money market and of commercial fluctuations". [14] Agricultural economics had already started to play a useful role in this advance.

## Low Income Countries

In the poorer countries of the Tropics and Sub-tropics and East Asia, capabilities in agricultural economics had by 1928-29 been little developed. The intensification of farming systems in Egypt and elsewhere had, long before, been accompanied by development of cadastral registers, accounting, estate management and fiscal methods. But these were seldom reviewed and analysed. Nor was there analysis of more modern plantation accounts. Social anthropologists and sociologists were only beginning to consider the economics of African and other tribes and of acculturation. [15] Some close rural survey work was done by J. Lossing Buck [16] in China, G. Slater, H.H. Mann and H. Calvert [17], and Malcolm Darling [18] in India, and others, but their studies were isolated. The special government investigations in India, including one in 1913 by J.M. Keynes of money problems, also had contributed only few pieces to the foundations of the great edifice of facts and understandings that was necessary for sound farm and government policies.

## International

The International Agricultural Institute in Rome was founded in 1905, largely because David Lubin (1849-1919) of California was greatly affected by farmers' economic difficulties in the 1880s and 1890s. In Europe in 1896 he had from Max Sering of Germany the suggestion that "agrarians of the world (should) form an international alliance". The main activity was soon agreed to be to "collect, study and publish as promptly as possible statistical, technical or economic information ....".[19] But by 1928-29, the collection of agricultural statistics in the world as a whole was still far from satisfactory. One of those who helped the Institute for many years, Henry Rew (UK) had to state in 1928 "... if any total made up of figures supplied by a number of countries is accurate within a margin of 10 per cent it is unusually precise. .... deductions must be made with great caution and without dogmatism".[20]

## The leading personalities

Such then was the 1928-29 scenario when the Association was to be founded. Who were the founders?

All those who attended the First Conference, and some who wanted to but could not, played important parts. But much of the leadership came from three men - George F. Warren (1874-1938), Carl Ladd (1888-1943), and Leonard K Elmhirst (1893-1974). Their experiences and personalities need to be considered before weaving other personalities into the story of the founding.

### George F. Warren

In 1928 Warren was 54 years old and Head of the largest College Department of Farm Management and Agricultural Economics in the US, with a large output of research results, and formal and extension teaching, and attracting post-graduate students from many States and overseas countries. Many of those who later influenced the Association - including Ladd and Elmhirst - had been his students.

He had a big family, a big farm, and a big research programme and in addition to teaching courses, found time to lecture widely to farmers' meetings and to make effective contributions to State and Federal councils. Where the abilities and energies for all this came from can perhaps never be fully understood, but some explanations can be attempted.

Warren was a farm boy in south-east Nebraska - a Prairie State subject to high weather risks. Farm product prices were low, and, until he was 22, declining. As a child he was sent "to gather cakes of dried buffalo dung off the prairie in order that there might be sufficient fuel for cooking the family breakfast".[21] His family home was only 21 square metres, with pine board walls - draughty and cold in winter, an oven in summer - but shared with five older children in the total household of eight.[26] "The Public Problems of Agriculture" [22] were oppressive - high transport costs, low net prices, low assets, high loan charges, pressures of cattle ranchers against settlers, a tariff of import duties that favoured the eastern States, the need for more education and research. By 1896 when prices were at about their lowest, the Populist movement pressed for monetary and financial reforms, control of the railways, and control of the ownership of land by foreigners. All this young Warren was alive to because his family took, as Congregational Church folk, strong moral stances, and, like many in Nebraska, were outspoken and crisp in their comments.[23]

At the State College Warren majored in mathematics, but developed also his interests in crop science under a famous teacher - Charles Bessey - who fostered pragmatic approaches to problems and fact finding.[23]

After graduation in 1897 Warren spent five years as a teacher of mathematics in small town High Schools, as Principal of one, and as a Schools Superintendent.[26] But his interest in agriculture led him to reconsider his life plans. On Bessey's advice, he went in 1902 to Cornell University to study agriculture under Liberty Hyde Bailey (1858-1954), then Director of the New York State College of Agriculture. He too had been a poor farmer's son (in Michigan), but after years of field observations and studies on his own, had become well known as scientist, writer, teacher and administrator. Before long Bailey gave Warren the responsibility for a survey of apple orchards in Wayne County, with a geologist as co-worker. The farmers had asked for "some information on the economic side of

the business of apple growing" [24] and Warren saw the need and opportunity to make simple statistical approaches to the relevant inter-relationships, and not to have to rely only on scarce evidence from experiment stations, individual case studies, and hearsay. He had no fixed idea of how to proceed but evolved his methods as he gathered experience. Bailey wrote afterwards: "I think it is not too much to say that these surveys marked a departure in this kind of work, substituting the statistical method for previous means". [25] Indeed the orchard survey was the start of Warren's developing farm management survey methods carefully over the years 1906 to 1911 when the famous survey in Tompkins County was published. So useful were these methods found to be that by 1925 a total of over 71,000 farm records had been obtained in the USA and the method had been spread to Canada and China.

These early Cornell years also developed Warren himself. His urge to public service was strengthened by Bailey's great leadership. His abilities as a teacher and writer were greatly augmented, and his concepts of rural welfare probably became better defined because of the Country Life Commission which Bailey had been asked in 1908 by President Theodore Roosevelt to organize. Perhaps most important of all, Warren's own powers of observation along with all his field enumeration work and stimulus from farmers and students built up in him a great wealth of vivid information about farming and farm family problems, and of human behaviour in the face of them. His book on "Farm Management" published first in 1913 and reprinted 6 times by 1917 is full of evidence of this wealth.[10] He became a great "fact finder" [26], using all the methods available to him - surveys, cost accounts, case studies, travel, reading, public meetings, and more. Also his great wish for sound progress led him to look well ahead. He told Elmhirst "that ideally the pigeon holes of his desk would be full of research findings upon problems that intelligent foresight ought to be able to spot ....., even although the politicians might not be ready to recognise them or to legislate for them for ten years to come".[27] C.C. Chang of Beijing wrote about him as he was in 1925-26:

"He often took us foreign students to his home and discussed with us the agricultural problems of our respective countries. He expressed many a time when I was with him alone, his grave concern for China's immense and fast growing population with her scarcity of cultivated land .... although he had a very high opinion of .... our "farmers of forty centuries." In short, his zeal in searching for truth, his concern for the welfare of rural people of the whole world, and his keen insight into China's key problems of rural economy made him an extremely charming teacher and friend ....".[28]

Another indicator of Warren's values and his goals is his quotation from J.G. Whittier (1807-1892), the Quaker poet and great advocate of the abolition of slavery:-

"... never yet  
Share of Truth was vainly set  
In the world's wide fallow;  
After hands shall sow the seed,  
After hands from hill and mead  
Reap the harvests yellow".[29]

This he ordered to be put above the main door of the building at Cornell for Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, opened in 1932 and called Warren Hall. Whittier was thinking of metaphysical and moral truths and Warren mainly,

but perhaps not entirely, of economic truths. His experiences as a youth when families of many nationalities were learning to live together in Nebraska must have fostered his international interests and moral philosophy and Cornell work fostered them still more.

All this led to two characteristics of Warren that caused controversy. He often expressed frankly his dislike of approaches to problems that relied heavily on principles that had been deduced logically but only after too much oversimplification of reality. Also he gave judgements of what personal value patterns and behaviour should be. But essentially he was a researcher and teacher. He always wanted to deal with real problems and he agreed fully with Bailey's view that "we must .... found all our progress in rural life on a close study of the facts and the real elements in the situation, in order to know exactly what we are talking about".[30] And generally his judgements were intended to be educational, to help individuals face rationally their own responsibilities, rather as a basis for the use of over-riding government powers.

From 1921 onwards Warren, and Frank A. Pearson (1889-1980) whom he had brought from Illinois, increasingly studied prices and money. They read widely and had some contacts in Europe, including R.R. Enfield. Their methods and early results were well set out in a paper presented to the Second Conference of the Association in 1930.[31] Warren became an economic adviser to Franklin D. Roosevelt when Governor of NY State and later when President of USA.

#### Carl E. Ladd

In 1928 Ladd was 40 years old and had been for 4 years Director of Extension for the New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell, where he first graduated in 1912. He was greatly influenced by Warren's teaching of farm management and became an instructor in his Department 1912-1915. He further developed work on costings and graduated PhD in 1915. But, like Warren, he also had a deep concern with education as a whole, so from 1915 to 1920 he secured experience in two schools and in the State Education Department in Albany before returning to Cornell as Extension Professor of Farm Management 1920-24.

Ladd's family background and character were greatly appreciated by Warren. His ancestors were among the hardy folk who cleared and settled the eastern States. He himself was brought up on a farm near Cortland, NY, and never lost his deep appreciation of the hardships and joys of rural life.[32] "He loved to work with his hands because he had never forgotten the habits of responsibility of taking care of cattle and crops, learned when he was a boy".[33] Nor did he forget his early instruction in what he called "the enduring virtues of the world" as two of his statements (in 1940) showed:-

"Lasting happiness is not measured by the difference between new and old autos, expensive or inexpensive clothes - a joy in work, living within our income, frugality, honesty, a word as good as a bond, generosity, friendliness, independence, tolerance, helpfulness, a burning, fighting love for freedom - these bring self-respect and happiness."

"It seems to me that a good teacher should directly or indirectly teach something of the enduring virtues of the world, something of the philosophy of life, and help his students to see the value of positive thinking".[33]

".... most of all (Ladd) had the common touch, that quality without which no leader is truly great. He loved people .... Few persons .... so genuinely and so creditably represented the wholesome rural life".[34]

Ladd's own "creed" was written out to help extension workers and others, and explains much of his quiet but forceful character and why he helped so much to develop leadership:-

"Get all the facts before forming judgement; base decisions on facts rather than emotions; ".... think through objectives clearly and impress them on others even though attainment of the object may seem impossible; sometime, opportunity will come to make progress. It is always more important to know one's objectives than to have immediate means of reaching them;"

"One who generalises too much should always force himself to be specific by using actual examples. Yet one should have vision enough to search the future, and be practical enough to select a daily task that works in the right direction."

"Don't worry over past mistakes .... keep .... ahead".[34]

#### Leonard K. Elmhirst [35]

Elmhirst's personal traits and experiences matched those of Warren and Ladd in some ways, but in other ways were very different. He was in 1928 only 35 - younger than Ladd by 5 years, and Warren by 19 years.

He was born on the flat, fertile estate of Colonel Saltmarsh on the Humber in E. Yorkshire; his father, William, a Church of England parson and his mother, Mary, a parson's daughter. William was the eldest son of a parson who owned the rural estate of Worsbrough Dale near Barnsley in W. Yorkshire that Elmhirsts had held since before 1350. When Leonard, his second son, was 10 years old, William inherited this estate and he was very keen and thorough in his management of it, in his study and conservation of wild life, in shooting, and in upholding the mores of his class in Victorian England. As second son, Leonard was expected - and until he was 23 intended - to follow his father in service to the church.

At 8 years old Leonard was sent to boarding school and began ten years of what to him was "almost unrelieved misery." He found some solace in nature study and some relief came late in his secondary boarding school, Repton, because his history master was D.C.Somervell (who later abridged Arnold Toynbee's A Study of History) and the new headmaster was William Temple (later Archbishop of Canterbury). Both seemed to have the breadth of vision and depth of thought that could lead to worthwhile changes, in the school system at least. During the holidays at home, Elmhirst enjoyed farm and estate tasks, observing human behaviour in relation to them, and, not least, nature study. His tendency to help others was further strengthened by his six younger brothers and sister, by his devout mother, and by his father with his daily examples of what the ethics of work meant in practice.

In 1912, at 19, Elmhirst went to Trinity College, Cambridge to read theology and history. He joined his College's Mission to south London and so had religious contacts outside the Church of England, and contacts with working class Londoners. He also came under the influence of a tutor in moral philosophy, G. Lowes Dickinson (Goldie). Of him R.C. Trevelyan wrote [36]:-



"Yours was ....  
 .... the plain verity that we, being men,  
 Must learn the wisdom of humanity;  
 And that, if happiness be our primal need,  
 Then must we first regard all mankind  
 As one great brotherhood,  
 Stabilising so on earth goodwill and peace,  
 Till all those jealous anarchies shall cease  
 That still estrange our souls from their true good."

Dickinson introduced Elmhirst to Graham Wallas (1914) The Great Society, and so induced a persistent interest in social psychology and organization. This led to further questions about creeds and dogmas as against basic morals. And these questions became all the more disturbing when a younger brother was killed by World War I in 1915 and his older brother in 1916.

In 1915 Elmhirst was accepted for work in India with the Young Mens' Christian Association (YMCA) which was trying to sustain the social and moral welfare of British soldiers. At his first station, Ahmadnagar in the Deccan, one task was to bring them into touch with Indians. So he saw for the first time, in what we now call "the Third World," rural folk and their work. All his interests were aroused, and all the philosophical questioning intensified. After a few months he was transferred to S. India and then to Calcutta. He volunteered to go to Mesopotamia and for about nine months struggled there with YMCA welfare work, the heat, frequent illness, and, not least, moral philosophy. He finally wrote to his father in January 1917 that he could no longer see his way to taking Church orders.

Invalidated back to India he convalesced at the house of a distant relative where he was introduced to Lionel G. Curtis (1892-1955), a Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. He had been sent by the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George, to try to draft constitutional changes whereby India could achieve self-government as a Dominion within the British "family of nations." Elmhirst typed for him versions of drafts that eventually became the Montagu-Chelmsford Act of 1919. Curtis introduced Elmhirst to the "heaven-born" [37] at high levels of government, intensifying yet further his interest in social and economic reform and his passion for service. Curtis also introduced him to Sam Higginbottom, a missionary who was working near Allahabad, to improve agriculture, and whom he later admiringly called "a great war horse".[38]

Largely on Sam's recommendation, Elmhirst's next big move was in 1919 to Cornell to study for a degree in Agriculture, with the intention of returning to rural India. He had to borrow £50 for travel, and had to work as soon as he arrived to earn his keep.

He started by washing dishes and serving up food at the Cornell Cosmopolitan Club and there made many friends from Latin America, China, Turkey and elsewhere. He was elected President of the Club in spring 1920. He also became active in student journalism and made many US friends, including Professors of History, Architecture and other Arts subjects. He found his courses difficult because of all the laboratory work and many exams, and because of all his other activities, but, by determination, he secured his degree in 1921. In Farm Management he admired Warren's work and formed a lasting friendship with W.I. Myers (1897-1976) who taught the main course.

After his election as its President, Elmhirst was told of the Cosmopolitan Club's big debts (around \$80,000 in all). He sought advice about where to get financial

help and Oswald G. Villard, editor of The Nation, suggested an approach to Dorothy Payne Whitney Straight. She was the wealthy widow of Willard Straight (1880-1918) formerly business man and diplomat, and the daughter of a Democrat of high status in New York and Washington, who had died rich in 1904. Mrs Straight was 33 years old and a lady of great compassion, with many interests in furthering liberal causes, including womens' trade unions. The introduction eventually led to a grant to the Club and to Elmhirst's advising on how best at Cornell to commemorate Willard - by a building, Willard Straight Hall, to make "Cornell University a more human place".[39] And, more important for the history of the IAAE, the introduction led to finance for Elmhirst's next work in India, to his marriage to Dorothy Straight in 1925, and to finance for developments at Dartington, for the First Conference and later for the Institute of Agrarian Affairs at Oxford and other developments (see Chapters 9 and 10).

The next work in India was also of great importance in Elmhirst's own development. Higginbottom recommended him to Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1940). He was a zamindar (with large estates in Bengal) and an outstanding philosopher, Nobel Prize winning poet, dramatist and teacher - "a rare artist who believed in science ...."[40] High among his many interests was to learn why the village communities on his estates were "on the decline." He was looking for "someone who would be willing to go and live on a farm," about 1 miles from a school (Santiniketan) he had established, and "who would begin to diagnose their village troubles, and perhaps give them the tools, and perhaps the ideas, whereby they could re-establish their economy, their social balance and their creative arts".[41]

Between November 1921 and spring 1923, Elmhirst set up, with a small Indian staff and an unqualified US nurse, investigations of agriculture, health, social relationships and all else that seemed to help towards Tagore's goals. Eight students from the school were led by example to take responsibilities themselves for daily chores, including the sanitary, and to serve villagers through first aid, shooting monkeys, fire fighting, anti-malaria work, and more. Despite many obstacles, confidence was built up locally so that investigations could be fruitful, "feed back" effective, and extension messages to other villages well based. The group were named "Institute of Rural Reconstruction." It became clear that the major development efforts should be in "various experiments in education".[42] Plans for a weekly boarding school for village boys (Siksha-Satra) were drawn up.

Tagore was well pleased with the Institute but wanted Elmhirst as a personal assistant in his travels and money raising. So from October 1923 to early 1925 (42) they travelled together in India, the Philippines, China, Japan, Argentina and Italy. This experience left deep impressions, reinforcing much that had been learnt in Bengal.

In relation to what are now called development problems Tagore wrote

".... the living being which is the village .... is not a mere intellectual problem that could be solved through the help of arithmetic figures. I have personal experience of scientists who think that they know human facts, without taking the trouble to know the man himself. You (Elmhirst) had human sympathy in abundance, which was the principal motive power that carried you across all the difficulties that stood against you in their congregated might".[42].

Elmhirst wrote

"...the training in observation and method of approach that I had learnt at Cornell was invaluable .... but we had to learn to look at the villager and his problem as a whole, and to be ready to attack whatever emergency arose".[42]

Also

"so many of the rural problems that we uncovered needed understanding by officials, who had little or no experience of sitting down with village people in order to get at the root of the trouble".[42]

In relation to education, Elmhirst reported that Tagore constantly reminded the Rural Reconstruction group

"that .... practical achievements, .... clean milk, .... fresh eggs, .... flourishing co-operatives, were all useful means, but still only means towards the achievement of much greater ends."

".... he would urge us to draw upon all the resources, in music, song, drama and dance, drawing and design .... in order to enrich our lives (to) produce a richness and a wealth of cultural life of our own, and a rejuvenation of those ancient art forms that still survived, but so tenuously in the villages around us".[42]

And Tagore himself:-

".... I nourish my faith in the last survival value of friendship, of love and of the spirit of co-operation fed by the constant delight of sacrifice. Nations decay and die when they betray their trust - but long live Man".[42]

Between April 1925 when Elmhirst married and December 1928 when he sent off invitations to the First International Conference of Agricultural Economists, he was heavily committed at Dartington - restoring old buildings; establishing a boarding school to give effect to his educational ideals; replanning the farms; installing electricity and a better water supply; setting up a small research department; getting a farm management survey started; beginning a saw mill, carpentry shop, cider enterprise, weaving; developing a forestry plan. Also he travelled in Denmark, India, and USA and became involved in the visual and performing arts, providing the main financial backing in 1927 for a famous play about World War I, *Journey's End* by R.C. Sherriff. All this gave him yet more experiences directly or indirectly important for later work for the Association.[35] His wife Dorothy gave him great support, particularly in the arts and in educational matters, and financially overall.

### 3 The Founding and more Personalities

#### The proposal and first conference

The first sign that some scheme was afoot to improve international exchanges between agricultural economists was in a paper presented by Ladd to the British Agricultural Economics Society in July 1928, on "The Relation of Research to Extension Work in Agricultural Economics". He pointedly included these statements:- "Important research is already underway .... in England and America. Each knows altogether too little of what the other is doing. Publications are exchanged, but these are at best slow in printing, slow in arriving and slow to read. Then too most of us do not read a man's publication thoroughly or with interest unless we have met the man ...." "We need between these two countries, and with many others as well, a rapid and free interchange of economic data and methods. How this may be brought about I don't know, but I feel sure of its necessity".[43]

Warren probably knew that these statements were to be made, because earlier in the same conference he said: "The more I see of the work of these other countries, the more I appreciate it. But it is only after hearing the men themselves that I read their papers."

Ladd was on sabbatical leave for six months starting March 1928 and was financed by Dartington to study their farm management and marketing problems, to set up a system of cost accounting for them, and to tour in Britain to assess research and extension work. He had been recommended by Myers who had in 1926 himself seen something of Dartington's problems and of agricultural economics work in Britain. Myers, Warren and Elmhirst almost certainly agreed before July 1928 that more professional interchanges between US and UK were highly desirable, and Ladd's visit was welcomed by all three. But there is no evidence that they had any definite proposal in mind. In the invitation sent out in December 1928 [44], Elmhirst wrote that it was Ladd, after his tour, who proposed an international conference. Warren, Myers and Elmhirst probably all expected that something more to augment Cornell's influence could well come out of Ladd's visit, and he had been

persuaded to use his leave for it rather than for better paid work for the US Department of Agriculture. Certainly Ladd's proposal was quickly supported by Cornell and Dartington.

A few members of the Agricultural Economics Society were invited to Dartington for discussions and C.S. Orwin (1876-1955), Director of the Oxford Agricultural Economics Research Institute had further discussions with Ladd and accepted an invitation to Dartington in October 1928. He "emphasized the need for an informal gathering away from the distractions of great cities in a place where it would be possible for delegates to come to know one another more intimately than is always possible at an official gathering".[45]

The plans and programme for the 1929 conference were formulated by a committee of three - Ladd, representing US economists; Orwin, UK economists; and J.R. Currie (1891-1966) of the Research Department at Dartington.

In the end Orwin could not attend the conference because his wife was dying. Archie Bridges (1891-1977) acted largely as his deputy and was put on the Committee on Organization which included Warren, Ladd, Elmhirst, Currie, and John Maxton (1896-1951), who also was on Orwin's staff. In presenting the Committee's report, Bridges said:

"I am sure I am expressing the sentiments of members in saying this conference has been an unqualified success, and it is the opinion of the Committee, as I am certain it is also that of all of us here, that for a movement which has opened so auspiciously at Dartington to have its beginning and ending with this present conference would indeed be calamitous." But the Committee "considered that the arrangements for a further conference should be as informal as possible, for two reasons, firstly, that another conference would give further opportunities of gauging the strength of the desire for these conferences, and secondly, that time and opportunity would be available to hear further opinions on the kind of organization essential, and to crystallize these opinions into a workable scheme."

The Committee was willing to continue meantime. Also Cornell University had through Warren invited the group to hold a conference at Cornell in 1930. H.C. Taylor and Arthur Ashby (1886-1953) proposed acceptance of the Committee's proposals and of the invitation.[46]

#### Some problems that have continued

Problems of the Ladd-Orwin-Currie committee centred on seven questions:- When and where should the conference be held? Who should come? What should they discuss in the main meetings? How much time should be left for person-to-person or small group discussions? How much time for sport and other recreations, and the building up, other than through agricultural economics, of understandings and friendships? How much time for local field visits? What about longer study tours before and after the conference? These, and many related questions about finance, languages and translations, host country contributions, group travel arrangements, and more have continued throughout the Association's history.

For the 1929 conference some decisions were easier than they became later. The timing had to be between the end of Cornell summer School and the beginning of

work for the fall term in September, allowing some time for post-conference tours or visits. Dartington was the most attractive place.

Who should be invited was decided by the committee, within the constraints imposed both by the limited accommodation at Dartington and by the desire to see first with small numbers what were the difficulties in securing good results. In the end the invitations were for:-

USA,	11;	U.K.	8;	Denmark,	1;
Canada,	3;	" " (part-time)	16;	Finland,	1;
				Germany,	1;
				Norway,	1.

The total attending was eventually 50, including 2 more U.K. part-timers, 2 from S. Africa, and 1 each from China, New Zealand and Trinidad. Warren backed by Ladd firmly believed that priority should be given to younger men who had themselves carried out useful research. Orwin wanted some older men of higher status.

Elmhirst was especially keen to foster full and frank discussions as against formal presentations and to build up personal understandings and friendships. Members of the conference were encouraged not to read their papers but to promote "round table" discussions. The number of main sessions was only 18, although the conference lasted 10 days. Much of the time was for person-to-person and small group discussions (including demonstrations of statistical methods by F.A. Pearson) and for local visits. One of these - repeated in 1947 - was to the annual carnival at Dartmouth, long remembered for some old-fashioned fun, including Warren's insisting on going through a dark, revolving tunnel a second and third time so as to try out what he thought he had learnt the first time - and succeeding with it. At Dartington itself there were cricket, and other games, and several sing-songs.

The 26 subjects of the 18 main sessions were carefully chosen, Ladd listing the subjects that those likely to attend from North America wanted the Europeans to deal with; and Orwin similarly, the subjects the British wanted to hear about. Ladd's list contained only 8 generic subjects, notably land tenure, the history of relations in the UK between agriculture and urban industry, farm cost account results, and population problems. Orwin's list included 7 generic subjects, notably methods and results in farm cost accounting, farm management surveys, marketing and price studies, and statistical methods.

After the conference an 8-day tour to various agricultural areas and centres in Britain was found very useful.

#### Some other personalities

Of all those who attended the First Conference [47] a substantial proportion continued to influence the Association over many years. For example Henry C. Taylor became Director of the Farm Foundation which has provided vital support, Joe Coke marshalled much support in Canada over three decades. The chief economic advisers to the Agricultural Departments in London and Edinburgh, R.R. Enfield and J.S. King, helped to secure support in Britain, and Hans Zörner from Berlin, O.H. Larsen from Copenhagen and K.T. Jutila from Helsinki were effective supporters in their respective countries. The Cornell group included Frank A.

Pearson, Marius P. Rasmussen and Leland Spencer who all played substantial parts for the Second Conference.

Some other founders were especially noteworthy;

W.I. Myers at Cornell has been mentioned. In Summer 1929 he was recovering from a major operation and could not travel to Dartington but in October he wrote to Elmhirst assuring him of the very favourable reports he had of the First Conference, and looking forward to helping to plan the Second. Son of a milk and tobacco producer in N.Y. State, he graduated BS and PhD at Cornell and was much relied upon by Warren. He later became Head of the US Farm Credit Administration; and followed Warren at Cornell. Later as Dean at Cornell and in the Rockefeller financed Agricultural Development Council he supported the Association in various ways. His friendship with Elmhirst continued to grow right up to 1974 when Elmhirst died.[48]

Archie Bridges (1891-1977) continued in 1930 his role in the Committee on Organization and eased the problems of British participation at the Second and later conferences. His Director, Orwin, did not himself participate after his work for the First Conference, but for Oxford Institute staff to do so his agreement was necessary. Bridges had legal training before serving in World War I. By 1922 he had a degree in Agriculture from Oxford and became a research officer there, dealing mainly with farm accounting. He was a rather large, rotund, genial Scot, very tactful and patient, and played excellent golf. He became an eminent College bursar at Oxford, and chaired the Committee of Management of the Institute of Agrarian Affairs.[49]

Arthur W. Ashby (1886-1953) had been one of Orwin's first research students and was in 1928-9 at Aberystwyth an Advisory (Extension) Agricultural Economist with heavy university teaching duties. In 1929 he was made the first Professor of Agricultural Economics in the UK. His father, Joseph Ashby, was reared in poverty but by perseverance became a small farmer. He was a man of books and "a Methodist lay preacher, secretary to various rural societies, guardian under the poor law, rural district councillor" and more. [49] Arthur was his eldest child and had to work hard on the farm and take charge during his father's absences. He learnt to dislike manual work and, in 1910, when 24, he secured a scholarship to Ruskin College, Oxford, founded for poorer students. He studied for a diploma in economics and political science, and became, for a year, an adult education tutor in Birmingham. He then was awarded a two-year scholarship by the English Board of Agriculture. The first year he worked under Orwin, partly on a survey of small holdings. The second year he went to Wisconsin to study under Ely and Taylor and so obtained his first view of the whole scope of Agricultural Economics. He then completed his small holdings study at Oxford before becoming research assistant to the new Agricultural Wages Board in London. Like his father, he became active in public affairs. He was a strong advocate of the "social" as against the "farm" sectors of Agricultural Economics and tended continually to stress the value of theoretical frameworks. One substantial ability was in drafting constitutions: he was the main draftsman in 1930 of that of the "International Conference of Agricultural Economists" as he had been in 1926-28 of that of the Agricultural Economics Society of the UK.

John Maxton (1896-1951) was in 1928 attached to the Institute at Oxford but making investigations for the Empire Marketing Board. He advised both Bridges and Currie about the First Conference, was very active at it, and became the closest adviser to Elmhirst on Conference programmes and publications. In 1928-9 he was one of the best trained agricultural economists in Britain. He had degrees in both Agriculture and Economics from Glasgow, two years post-graduate work at Oxford (largely in Scottish Land Tenure), a year in the USA, and experience of wide ranging reviews of work, including one of the Survey Method of Research in Agricultural Economics (1929). Unfortunately he had little field experience. His father was a school teacher near Glasgow and the family put high values on study, full and frank discussion, and socio-economic reforms. His brother James, became leader of the Independent Labour Party. John himself was a conscientious objector during World War I; but not a party politician. Later his basic philosophy led him to help unstintingly other economists rather than to build up his own reputation as a researcher. He saw his main duty in making communication easier and more adequate. He attacked what seemed to him narrow approaches. [49, 50]. Also an important trait was his Glaswegian tendency to joke, and through joking to bring some human sense and sympathy into discussions that appeared liable to become too grave and formal. He was even prepared at times deliberately to play the important role of court "fool." He had many friends including Max Rolfes of Germany, but critics too. Some of his deep thinking about ICAE purposes is set out in Chapter 8.

John R. Currie (1891-1966) was important to the Association from its very conception. He was like Bridges and Maxton, a Scot. From age 15 he had to help his mother on a farm on the south-west coast of Arran island and so could not go to Glasgow University until he was 31. He secured a BSc (Agri) degree and also National diplomas in Agriculture and Dairying that required much practical knowledge. [49] Then, a scholarship for a year at Oxford and a year at Cornell where he greatly enjoyed Farm Management and secured an MS. He impressed Myers who recommended him to Elmhirst for employment as economist at Dartington. In 1928 it was Currie who managed Ladd's tour in Britain, and later worked with him and Orwin in organizing the First Conference, but in close liaison with Elmhirst and Maxton.

Currie was "Jock" to everyone, and what the Scots call "a great character". He learnt early to value very highly "better farming, better business and better living", [51] and throughout his life, whatever the difficulties, he felt duty-bound to work hard for them. He had a great ability to make friends everywhere because of his enthusiasm, humour, and belief in the philosophy of Robert Burns (1759-96) - at least that part of it distilled into the lines:-

"It's coming yet for a' that,  
That man to man, the world o'er,  
Shall brothers be for a' that".

His friendship with Maxton was very close. That with Elmhirst became close too when he learnt he could rely on Jock's purposes and loyalty. He later wrote of Jock: "... he was a bonnie fighter; never bearing malice, never asking for award or for acclaim, but always with his eye focussed on the horizon of his hopes, and never afraid of risking his neck. Stubborn sometimes, and if he felt anyone was trying to put over a bit of a fast one, how obstinate he could be". Myers wrote that the

working relationships between Elmhirst and Currie were the best he had ever witnessed.[48]

### The second conference, 1930

New Challenges - The Second Conference met from 18 to 29 August, 1930 at Willard Straight Hall, Cornell University. Although only a year after the First Conference, the tasks were different. The programme of subject presentations and discussions had to be wider in scope and different in priorities. The First Conference had cleared some initial issues but the economic depression had rapidly deepened since September 1929. Many fields of research had not been discussed so more papers should be presented, and the total membership should be increased with a wider geographic spread.

The foundations of personal understanding and friendship laid in 1929 had to be tested and extended in a bigger conference, with open invitations. "The strength of desire for .... conferences had to be assessed". "Opinions on the kind of organization essential" ..... for the future should be "crystallized .... into a workable scheme". [46]

Difficulties - The seven basic questions that arose in 1928-29 were repeated. "When" and "Where" had already been decided but answers to the other questions became inevitably more interrelated and complex. "What" the programmes should be depended on "Who" would come, and "Who" depended on money costs and grants, as well as on the energy and time required to prepare papers and on what other demands were on individuals. "Who" also depended somewhat on the opportunities offered to be "on the programme." "Who" might also affect the programme if languages other than English were required and conference time had to be used for translations. The shares of the total conference period for small group and person-to-person discussions, local visits and recreation could not be as generous as at Dartington, but how far they should be reduced depended on personal preferences as yet unexplored for the new circumstances. And the tours before and after the conference also had few guidelines.

As compared with the troubles in planning conferences within individual nations, the Association's problems were now aggravated most by lack of finance for travel. Next most important was the lack of widespread knowledge of which particular subjects should be presented and discussed and of the most effective speakers - a lack that was of course a basic reason for the Association. Important too were the time lags in communication: all the individuals concerned had much other work and, although they cabled occasionally, they had to depend mainly on steamship mails. Further difficulties arose because despite the widening geographical scope, the Committee on Organization had no wide information network recognised as responsible for a feed-in of ideas about finance, subjects or speakers.

Procedures - Those most concerned at Cornell - Warren and Ladd, supported by Myers, Pearson, Spencer and others - started work in November 1929. Naturally they thought first mainly about hospitality, the general invitation, and special invitations, and not about the financing of individuals' travel and other costs. Considerable delay was also caused by Ladd's having appendicitis in December-January. When he had partly recovered, on 8 February, 1930, a meeting in Warren's room hoped to complete the programme suggestions by 16 February. However, in

the end, such were the obstacles, the programme was sent out in preliminary form on 28 July - with apologies.[52]

Financial problems were taken up in April with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the General Education Board founded by John D Rockefeller. In mid May the Rockefeller Foundation concluded that a grant for the conference "would not fall within the Foundation's present program". But on 5 June the Carnegie Endowment offered \$5,000. In many ways this grant saved the day and Ladd wrote of it afterwards: "I doubt whether an equal sum of money ever accomplished more in aid of individual scientists and in the promotion of international good will".[53] Most individuals required grants because their own institutions' allowances covered only ocean travel, or less. So from the Carnegie money travel grants were paid to 11 Europeans, and board and accommodation grants to 31 Europeans, and 1 Japanese. Elmhirst was in India in April and not available but Dartington sources eventually made grants to 10 individuals, totalling £500. The lateness of the finance for travel grants seriously delayed the finalization of the programme - the first of many experiences of this in the Association's history (see Chapter 8).

The Programme and Attendances - The programme finally followed was much fuller than that at Dartington. Although the total length of the conference period was the same - 10 days - 72 subjects were considered and presented by 84 different speakers. None of the programmed meetings were concurrent. Two local field visits were made and there were two picnics and other social occasions, including a farewell banquet.[54]

The subject presenters had so much to say that the times left for questions and discussions became, some felt, too restricted. Sports sessions were well organized - including cricket by Pearson who took to the game at Dartington. But times were more limited. Much more clearly than at Dartington, preferences for different programme structures were shown to differ between individuals, and between some national groups (see Chapter 8).

But overall the quality and size of the programme could not fail to impress because many of the ablest agricultural economists were brought together and presented their thinking on subjects of great interest and current concern - the agricultural depression, surpluses, inter-relations between agriculture and business, land utilization, co-operative marketing, farm wage legislation, agricultural credit, taxation, agricultural changes in the USSR, and more.

Those attending came from 20 different countries and, within the USA and Canada, from 30 different States and 5 different Provinces. The numbers totalled 309 of whom 234 came from USA.

Other Legacies - As at Dartington personal understandings and friendships were fostered. The whole ethos and atmosphere of Cornell contributed greatly so that, despite the long plenary sessions, the free time was well used. More wives were encouraged to come, and those of Cornell were especially helpful and hospitable.

The important idea of study tours was well upheld. H.C. Case organized a 3-week tour before the conference, visiting New York City, Washington DC, Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin and Ontario. Some wives also helped on this tour. W.I. Myres led a 2-day post-conference tour in western New York State.[54]

A legacy mainly from the Second Conference was the foundation of the whole series of volumes of conference "Proceedings". In 1929, an editorial committee of two - J.S. King of Edinburgh and Leland Spencer of Cornell - were asked to try to

preserve the papers presented and the discussions. About 200 copies were mimeographed and distributed. But in 1930 at Cornell, funds were sought through Elmhirst to finance the printing and binding of both the First and Second Conferences' proceedings. F.F. Hill took on the editorship. He tellingly wrote, in January 1931, "... the job (for the Second Conference) was much greater than I anticipated, but good experience." He did in fact get the two Proceedings volumes out by the end of 1930. The first contained 356 pages; the second, 1,079. So this was a substantial achievement. It depended on a significant decision by Hill and Warren which was explained to Elmhirst:

"It would of course be desirable to go over the papers rather carefully and then re-submit them to the authors but .... this process would probably require another year .... You will find a good many places where the machinery squeaks rather loudly .... but I (Warren) think in most cases, it will be able to deliver the load to the desired destination".[55]

Hill too had a prairie upbringing and well knew that "the best is the enemy of the good".

Another experience was a first of many unhappy ones for the Association concerning passports and visas. Four economists from the USSR were held for a time by the US immigration authorities on Ellis Island. Ashby asked questions at an early conference session about their detention and some newspapers made statements, falsely attributed to K. Brandt from Berlin, alleging that the contributions they did eventually make to the conference were false. Warren and Ladd however cleared the whole matter quickly, and with others, as scientists, helped the four to make good use of post-conference opportunities.

Constitution - The Committee on Organization which reported through Bridges to the 1929 conference was extended "to consider and bring forward a set of foundation rules". Their report was drafted largely by Ashby and presented by him to a Business Meeting of members of the Second Conference, and approved clause by clause. The resulting "Constitution of the International Conference of Agricultural Economists" was printed in the Proceedings.[54]

The definition of the "object of the Conference (was) .... fostering the development of the sciences of agricultural economics and of .... furthering the application of the results of economic investigations of agricultural processes and agricultural organization in the improvement of economic and social conditions relating to agriculture and rural life".

The Membership was to "consist of individuals who (paid) 30 Reichsmarks, US\$5 or £1 (or its monetary equivalent) for the period of a conference and the interval extending to the succeeding conference. But "libraries, corporations and similar institutions" could become members if a duly accredited representative was "appointed by such institutions".

A Council was to be, "for the succeeding conference", elected before or during each conference by individual countries or groups of country - one Council member for each 10 members, up to a maximum of three Council members for any one country or group. The Council was, "for the ensuing conference", to nominate officers (who would be elected by the Conference), to elect 8 other members of an Executive Committee and to promote the interests of the Conference in respective countries, (Figure 7.1).

The Executive Committee would be the 4 officers - President, two Vice-Presidents, and the Secretary-Treasurer - and the 8 members elected by the Council. This big committee would "arrange programmes and otherwise conduct the business of the Conference" including filling any vacancies that "may occur in any office".

Amendments to the Constitution would require approval by a majority of the Council and a majority vote at any conference.

For the Third conference - After the Constitution was approved Elmhirst was elected President; Warren and Sering, Vice-Presidents; Currie, Secretary-Treasurer. Countries and groups of country began the process of electing the Council and in some countries correspondents were appointed to canvass for members and to provide for this process. Until there were more than 15 Council members they would all be members of the Executive Committee.[54]

The Third Conference, it was generally expected, should be in 1932, in Germany.

### The third conference, 1934

New challenges - In the early 1930s the deepening economic depression greatly aggravated "confusions and conflicts" over matters economic, social and political. Many basic assumptions from the past came to be regarded as inadequate or false, and many established doctrines were widely challenged. To protect national economies, individual Governments took many and varied actions, but few paid even scant regard to the international and long-term consequences. So the main challenge to the Conference was to describe and analyse, frankly and objectively, the policies of Governments.

A related challenge was to prove that the Conference could sustain its independence of all Governments.

And, third, was the challenge of language barriers: English alone could not be satisfactory.

Old challenges intensified - Although two successful conferences and the agreed organization were obviously helpful, many of the old questions were far from easy. "When" to hold the conference caused much trouble because a new political challenge was involved, and the old financial. The decision favouring 1932 had to be abandoned in March that year because finances for travel were so much affected by the depression. Care was taken, particularly by Elmhirst, to sustain interest for 1933 but on July 10 that year, when Vice- President Sering and Hans Zörner had virtually completed arrangements for a conference in August, Elmhirst had to announce a second cancellation, and again strive to minimize the damage. The reasons given were again financial, but there was also widely felt concern that the Conference might be seen as giving support to the Nazi regime in Germany, and that meetings would be politically supervised and curbed. In the end there was agreement on 1934, 26 August to 2 September at Bad Eilsen, Germany largely because of the moral tenacity of the President and Vice-Presidents.[48, 52]

"Who" should come posed problems because for the first time a rapid increase in members, particularly in continental European countries was desired, and the staffs of international agencies were to be interested. So the President made the first tour of recruitment - to Paris, Berlin, and Geneva, including the economic secretariats of the League of Nations and the International Labour Organization. He also visited

the USSR with Zörner in September 1932. There, as elsewhere, he sought views about the programme.[56]

The Programme - "What" should be the programme caused much greater trouble than in 1929 or 1930. Finance for travel was, by 1934, less of a constraint, but difficulties in securing the time of the most preferred speakers increased. The depression made such men busier than ever, and unsure of being able to find time to prepare papers, and for long sea voyages.[48] The greatest troubles were however more fundamental. Whereas previously responsibility for the programme rested on a few individuals, for the Third Conference it was, according to the interim constitutional arrangement, that of a big Executive Committee. Long memoranda began to appear soon after the Second Conference. Changes in economic and political environments kept altering programme priorities. And Sering and his colleagues naturally felt themselves to have special responsibilities, as Warren and his had in 1930. Much of the work fell on Maxton at Oxford and in the end he said, with a mixture of frustration and pride, that 15 different drafts had been prepared. The final draft was available only in mid May 1934, although papers were wanted for translation not later than end June.[57]

A major difference was between two "schools". The first, led by Ashby, wanted to pay much more attention to the "social" sector of agricultural economics and wanted to elaborate this, largely by essays in deductive reasoning, until its whole structure was accepted as established. To them this was more important than any quantification and past data, and the whole would be useful in policy formulation even if quantification was lacking. King hoped that the Third Conference would set the task of co-ordinating the work of agricultural economists to secure a "homogeneous body of knowledge bearing upon the economic relationships of agriculturalists the world over".[58] Maxton was all for debate to show all sides of all issues. The Sering School were like minded, but prepared to go further in elaborating and quantifying. Indeed Sering organized the preparation by experts in 21 different countries of "Reports on Economic Conditions and Political Developments" so that Conference members could have them available for use in 1934. This was a remarkable achievement, under the auspices of the Conference.

The second major "school", led by Warren, put emphasis on research results - the more related to policy issues, actual and forthcoming, the better. And the more well quantified, the better. Warren indicated that he would not have anyone presenting a subject on the programme who had not been doing research on that subject in the recent past.[59] He contrasted "a theoretically rounded discussion like the table of contents of a book" and "a collection of presentations of specific pieces of research". He favoured the latter because it would be more real.

Ashby's and Warren's priorities stemmed from their own experiences, values, and abilities but, in the early 1930s both reflected the new questioning of past assumptions and doctrines. And the basic differences were perhaps less than appeared. Warren's position, for instance, was summed up in notes taken by Elmhirst at a meeting in Warren's room at Cornell on 20 August 1931:-

"Warren: Tendency from English end is avoid science, stick to philosophy. We need both. We tend the other way.

Myers: National rivalries + boxing gloves.

Warren: Why not get at national philosophies thro' Ag. legislation or taxation. Part philosophy. Part legislation. Part science. If 100% philosophy - no attendance next year".[48]

Even so, in the efforts to finalize the programme amid all the other difficulties, the basic differences seemed great, and they continued so for many conference periods (see Chapter 8).

Another challenge made its first appearance - that over the length of conferences. A. Hobson (1889-1970) of Wisconsin, one of the Council members, recommended 3 to 5 days, with a 3 to 5 day tour afterwards, although he felt that in planning international conferences all attending should be able "to have their say".[60]

How to get over language barriers was crucially important but Max Rolfes (1894-1981) of Germany provided a one-man simultaneous translation service for all conference sessions - a skilled effort of Herculean proportions, remembered for many years.

The programme actually followed was kept within 8 days. It included 29 main papers, some very long, and 8 major contributions to discussions, as well as speeches at the opening and termination. The time actually available for open discussion proved to be less than planned, but, in addition to the main sessions, a number of informal groups met to deal with special problems. The report of those on the regulation of milk marketing was published in the Proceedings.[61]

The theme was "National Policies, and International Relations with special reference to Agriculture" although such a title was not used. After addresses of welcome and a description of "Agriculture in Germany" the programme had four sections - national policies and planned economy; social and economic aspects of farm organization; population growth and agriculture; international money, credit, trade and planning. The President of the German Reichsbank, Hjalmar Schacht, spoke in the fourth section on "The International Debt and Credit Problem" along with Sering, Warren, H. Schumacher, Enfield and others.

Criticisms were made of course. Some members felt that again too little time had been left for questions and discussions after papers, and for small group and man-to-man discussions. Some felt that the share of the total number of papers allotted to Germans was too high at 28 per cent. Some were depressed by a few fervently nationalistic speeches, and by wide differences between Bauerdenker ideas and more liberal commercial thinking.[48]

On the other hand many found the conference a great new experience, very thought-provoking over a wide range of national and international issues. And the efforts, particularly of Sering, Zörner, W. Seedorf and Rolfes to provide genuine hospitality and interesting local visits and pre- and post-conference tours were remembered by many through and beyond the long, dark, war years that were to follow.

Attendance - Those attending came from 19 different countries. the numbers attending totalled 171, of whom 97 came from Germany.

Organization - The constitution agreed in 1930 was sustained after some consideration of the possible advantages of confining membership to a select number as against open membership.

It was announced that the Proceedings of the Third Conference would be published in German as well as English.

For the Fourth Conference - The 4 officers elected in 1930 were all re-elected.

Elmhirst stated that two types of suggestion about the programme would be sought - (i) "for the general theme for big meetings", (ii) "for discussion groups and small meetings".[62] More attention to Rural Sociology was agreed.

Invitations came to hold the next conference in China, Britain and Italy, and a hope was expressed that, before long, a conference would be held in Eastern Europe.

Membership - By the time the Proceedings were published there were 294 members - in 28 countries of which 24 had correspondents but only 7 yet had Council members.

#### Weaknesses and strengths at end-1934

It may be useful here to make a brief assessment, for the end of the foundation period, of the Conference's strengths and weaknesses so that we may be able to trace their consequences more easily later.

Weaknesses - The greatest weakness was financial. Costs were for a wide range of services from travel to recruit and maintain membership, to editing, printing and distribution of "proceedings" (Table 10.1).

The Conference had to rely on a wide variety of financial sources, including universities, government agencies and other employers of members, and grants from private endowments. It had to rely also very heavily on the voluntary work of the officers, Council members, correspondents, and others. It had no staff, buildings or equipment of its own. The membership subscription was by itself not enough even to cover the cost of the Proceedings volume to which each member was entitled (Table 10.4).

Secondly, cultural differences and the geographic dispersion of members caused many difficulties and delays in communication. Reducing their effects was vitally important, but the energies and skills for this might not always be available. Delays in electing Council members for many countries indicated some of the difficulties.

The tendency of members not to maintain their subscriptions was a third weakness, caused in part by the first two. Thus, of those economists from North America who attended the 1930 conference, 84 per cent were not listed as members for the 1934-36 period. In the 1934-36 list only 57 per cent of the North American members had been members in 1930-34.

A fourth weakness was due to lack of members from much of the world. Even by 1934 only 9 members came from E. Europe, none from the USSR, and only 8 from the entire continents of Asia and Africa or from Latin America.

Fifth was the lack of assurance of continuing support from government agencies, and freedom from interferences over passports and visas, and discussions - all relevant for the future because of the dependence on Governments for some finance, release of important speakers and members in government service, host-country invitations and more.

Sixth was the danger that disruptive forces might yet prove too strong for the social cohesions fostered at Dartington and later. Differences between "Schools" or national groups, or antagonisms between individuals, could be dangers because they could surface dramatically in debates over professional matters, in attempts to co-

co-ordinate research approaches or undertake joint projects, or over constitutional matters and the management of the conferences.

Strengths - Against these weaknesses were great strengths. The membership included many of the eminent agricultural economists of N. America and Europe. They were confident that the need for their services was great because of the economic, social and political "confusions and conflicts" of the times. And they were confident in the basic research and educational capabilities that had been built up, although they well knew that these should be developed further.

The values and goals of the leaders were from hard-won experience, and included deep concern for rural welfare everywhere. They inspired much confidence.

All this provided a life blood of voluntary service. The dedicated work, for instance, of Elmhirst and Ladd ranged over such a wide variety of jobs that even close study of the Dartington and Cornell archives - voluminous though they are - can reveal it only partly. Two examples must suffice - one, perhaps seemingly minor, at this distance in time, but in fact harassing; the other so major that pages would be needed to show it fully.

For the First Conference, Ladd did so much that, despite his many commitments to Cornell and New York State, he found himself securing visas for individual US members. One Henry Wallace - who later became Vice-President of the USA - had to have visas for Rumania and Yugoslavia because after the conference he wanted to study corn-borer problems. Then, as late as mid-July, he wanted a visa also for Denmark.[52]

In 1932 Elmhirst had to consult widely before cancelling the conference, but he also made prodigious efforts to sustain interest, including much careful correspondence, visits to continental Europe and to the USSR [56] and much pleading with eminent men in the USA and Britain.[48]

The support that Elmhirst and Ladd were given was also large-hearted - by Warren, Myers, Currie, Bridges, Maxton, others already mentioned and yet others who cannot be named. Without their vigilant and detailed efforts the foundations of the IAAE would not have been so strong.

The constitution seemed to be adequate and by 1934 was reasonably well established in that officers, 24 country correspondents and an executive committee had been named.

Another basic strength was the determination to avoid interventions by Governments to restrict discussions in conferences. Members were to be regarded as individuals, responsible for their views and actions in the Conference only to themselves and to the Conference, and not to their national governments or other organizations. Of course the other side of this coin was the weakness due to the dependences on governments already mentioned.

Perhaps the greatest strength was in recognition that the Conference helped widely scattered individuals to meet each other across many national and other barriers, and fostered personal understandings and friendships. On the first page of the first news-sheet of the first Dartington Conference - News-of-the-Day for Aug. 26, 1929, produced by Maxton and Rasmussen [63] a small paragraph by Elmhirst read:-



"A Recipe

Friendship; Tolerance; Gravity

Humour; Thought; Play

Mix well and use freely while you are here.

L.K.E."

The proportions and the method were different at the Second and Third conferences, and different between individuals, but from this basic recipe came human assets of great importance for the future.

At the end of the 1934 conference, Warren said much in one final sentence:

"I think this has been an excellent conference .... as a stimulus to science and to friendship - two things badly needed in this sick world".[61]

## PART III THE CONFERENCES

"Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man;  
and writing an exact man". Francis Bacon.[1]

# 4 Introduction

## Ideas and facts - the "cargoes"

The ideas and facts exchanged at conferences have been well recorded. The volumes of Proceedings and other publications of the Association can indeed be regarded as great cargoes of ideas and facts brought for more than five decades from many countries to members and libraries. As a record of objective thinking about the world's rural problems they are unique. They provide a conspectus of agricultural economics, wide in range over time and space, stimulating and helpful. For particular problems and studies they give the international contexts and show historical developments, in different national contexts, of the problems themselves and of research approaches and results. The cargoes from 19 conferences include a total of 874 papers, with records of discussion of most of them: also reports of Discussion Groups and discussions of poster papers (see below).

How these cargoes were assembled largely determined their values. Those who wrote the papers or discussed them did so almost always as individual scholars and not as negotiators for Governments. And the friendly and frank social conditions established early as characteristic of IAAE conferences encouraged honest scholarship and the desire to communicate well.

For the same reasons however the cargoes do not include a multitude of person-to-person and small group exchanges within conference periods, or later, based on the personal understandings and friendships established at conferences, and during related field visits and tours. Elmhirst's basic recipe of 1929 had many products. A jocular record of some of them is in the news-sheet distributed daily to those attending conferences - called in 1929 the "News of the Day"; later "The Cowbell". [Note 63 to Part II]. Also impressive are the many letters sent to Elmhirst and other officers of the Association after conferences. These recorded sincere personal appreciation (see Part V). Many of these letters show also how valuable were tours before and after conferences, local field visits during conference periods, and host countries' more formal presentations, many published separately.[2]

In making use of the cargoes it is helpful to bear in mind also:- when and where the conferences were held; the programmed allocations of time for different types of presentation and discussion; where these different types were recorded - how the cargoes were crated up. Decision making about these matters is considered in Chapters 8 and 9, but the actual decisions are summarized here as a guide to the cargoes.

#### When and where

After the Third conference "when" was not difficult to decide. The practice of meeting every two years in late August was continued in 1936 and 1938 and after World War II until 1949. Then, largely for financial reasons, a change to a three-year interval was decided on, and this has not been changed; nor the late August-early September dates.

The length of conferences was varied from 12 days for the First and Second to as low as 6.3 days for the Seventh in 1949, but, after the 10.3 days of the Tenth in 1958, remained within a range of 9.5 to 11.0 days (Table 4.2).

Until 1952, "where" alternated regularly between Western Europe and North America, except that the first post-war (rehabilitation) conference was at Dartington, with restricted invitations. After 1952 three conferences were held in Western Europe and one in North America, and one in each of:- India, Mexico, Australia, USSR, Brazil, Kenya, Indonesia. The early desire to understand conditions, problems and experiences in a wide variety of countries obviously persisted, and indeed increased.

#### Structure of the programmes

What subjects to consider and the shares of conference time for various types of meeting raised increasingly complex questions because the subject matter, the geographical spread, and the attendances at conference all increased. By 1985 there were scheduled 9 types of meeting - apart from welcomes and farewells, social occasions, and business meetings. (Table 4.1)

In contrast, the conferences of the 1930s had few scheduled meetings other than those of types 1 and 4 of Table 4.1, and the total number of papers presented averaged, 1934 to 1938, only 24. The sustained increases in the number of papers had their origins when:- (a), for the 13th conference in 1967 at Sydney concurrent meetings were scheduled; (b) in 1970 a competition between contributed papers was introduced and time at the 14th conference, at Minsk, was allocated for the winners; (c) for the 19th conference in 1985 at Malaga poster sessions were introduced to discuss selected papers from amongst many exhibited as posters in subject-area groups.

At the First conference some discussion group periods were scheduled, mainly for consideration of statistical methods. Later the interest of such meetings was mainly in the regulation of milk marketing, but at the Fifth conference there were 6 sectional meetings. At the Tenth conference in 1958 at Mysore, 8 Discussion Groups were organized of the type still arranged in 1985. By 1979 at Banff, Canada, the Seventeenth conference had 32 Discussion Groups.

Figure 4.1 and Table 4.2 summarize the main changes in numbers of papers presented and in total conference scheduled time and its allocation.

TABLE 4.1 - PROGRAMME STRUCTURE

19th Conference, Malaga, Spain, 1985

Types of Meeting	Subject papers	Time	
	number	hours	per cent
<u>Plenary meetings</u>			
1. Presidential address	1	1.0	2
2. Elmhirst Memorial lecture	1	1.0	2
3. Host country panel presentations	6	3.0	5
4. Invited speakers on main subjects and synoptic views	17	15.5	<u>27</u> 36
<u>Concurrent meetings</u>			
5. Invited speakers	49 )	20.5	35
6. Presenters of selected contributed papers	63 )		
7. Poster sessions, with selected papers (from amongst 173)	15	4.5	8
8. Discussion Groups, organized (26 subject areas)	...	6.0	10
9. Local field visits	...	6.5	<u>11</u> 64
	152(a)	58.0	100

(a) Excluding presentations in Discussion Groups

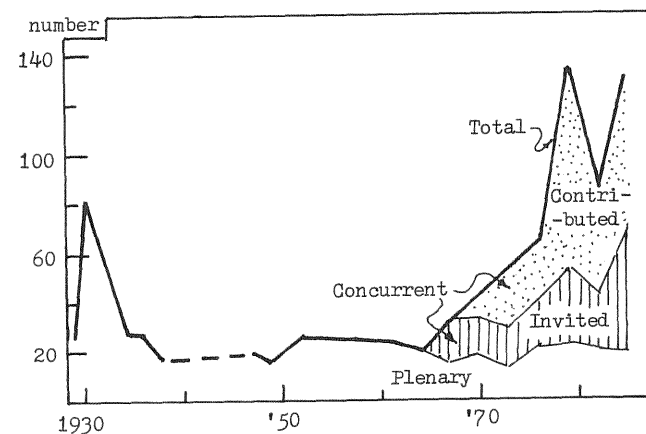


FIGURE 4.1 NUMBERS OF PAPERS PRESENTED\*

ICAE/IAAE Conferences 1929-1985

\*Excluding those for Discussion Groups and Poster sessions and excluding host country presentations

TABLE 4.2 - CONFERENCE TIME, AND MAJOR USES OF IT

Selected Conferences								
Conference		Hours (b)						
Year	Series number	Days (a)	Total	Per day	Plenary sessions	Con-current sessions	Dis-cussion Groups	Local field visits
<u>per cent of total hours</u>								
1930	2	12.0	60	5.0	96	-	+	4
	36	4	7.3	43	80	-	6	14
1952-55	8,9	7.3	40	5.5	91	-	+	9
	58	10	10.3	44	77	-	12	11
1967	13	9.5	45	4.8	47	20	22	11
1979	17	10.0	60	6.0	50	31	10	9
1985	19	10.0	58	5.8	36	35t	10	11

- (a) Including Sundays but excluding registration time
- (b) Excluding business meetings (eg. about IAAE or WAERSA), social occasions, and local field visits beyond usual working hours
- (t) In addition 4.5 hours (8 per cent) were for Poster Sessions

The major changes in programme structures opened up opportunities for more presentations of particular research approaches and results, and for consideration of the problems and experiences of specific areas and localities. They also made it possible to discuss in greater depth, in scheduled concurrent meetings, the main plenary session presentations and discussions.

**Publications**

One consequence of all the changes is that any student of the conference contents should pursue particular points in five types of record and not simply, as before 1961, only in the Proceedings volumes. As a guide, therefore, Table 4.3 has been prepared, including all types of presentation and discussion, except those of host counties about their own conditions and problems. Many host countries prepared separate publications on these.[2]

TABLE 4.3 - PUBLISHED RECORDS OF CONFERENCES, 1929-85#

Conference Year	Number	Proceedings	Int. Jnl. of Agrarian Affairs	Occasional Papers of IAAE	IAAE Members Bulletin
1929	1	pd	l o		
1930	2	p*	l o		
	34	3	pd	glmo	
	36	4	pd	lmo	
	38	5	pd	glmo	
1947	6	pd	lmo		
	49	7	pd	l o	
1952	8	pd	lmo		
	55	9	pd	lmo	
	58	10	pd	g mo	
1961	11	pd	m	go	
	64	12	p	m	go
	67	13	pdsri	m	go
1970	14	pds icg	m	c	
	73	15	pds iagl	o	c
	76	16	p s i ##		c gmo
	79	17	p s i		s ca gmo
1982	18	p s i			s ca gmo
	85	19	p s i		s ca gtm

- a. Concurrent meetings - contributed papers, abstracts
- c. " " - " papers
- i. " " - invited papers
- d. Discussions, individuals' contributions (not always complete)
- g. Discussion Group Reports (including those of Work Groups, 1958; Sectional Groups 1938 and Special Groups 1934)
- p. Plenary papers, main
- l. List of participants
- m. " members
- o. Photographs of participants
- r. Reports of concurrent meetings to plenary sessions (excl. Discussion Group reports)
- s. Discussion summaries, usually with opener's contributions in more detail
- t. Authors and titles of poster session papers
- # Excluding presentations on host country conditions and problems
- ## Also special book: Dams, T., K.E. Hunt and G.J. Tyler, Editors (1978) Food and Population: Priorities in decision making Farnborough, Saxon House
- \* Also d. for "Causes of the Agricultural Depression"

# 5 Main Themes and Highlights

## Introduction

In 1968-69 Max Rolfes surveyed the cargoes of the first 13 conferences and set down brief notes on what in each he judged to be:- (i) "still of interest today, even if this interest be mainly historical"; (ii) "still of moment in the scientific debates of today"; (iii) "important for the documentation of the development of our sciences"; (iv) likely to "contribute to the understanding of the personalities of the men who gave life and profile to our Conferences". His excellent review was published [3] and there is no great need to duplicate it here.

Selections of highlights are of course inevitably influenced by the experiences and interests of the selectors. They can do no more than their best in trying to be objective. Other "lights" of importance can be neglected. So when individual scholars pursue what is useful in relation to particular problems and hypotheses they may need to make their own *ad hoc* selections. The most detailed guides are the contents lists and indices of each volume of the Proceedings and the contents lists of the other types of publication (Table 4.3). No comprehensive index is possible in this brief history.

In this Chapter it may however be helpful to provide a brief overall summary of themes and highlights for the 13 conferences that Max Rolfes surveyed and to continue his type of review for the 14th to 19th conferences. Then, to illustrate the workings of the conferences in somewhat greater detail, we can in Chapter 6 select a single problem-area and trace over the decades since 1929 how it was dealt with. Some conclusions can be drawn at the ends of Chapters 5 and 6.

## The foundation and other conferences pre-1939

The First conference, 1929, Dartington Hall, England - The agricultural depression, and the long-term tendency towards more intensive farming systems, made those who attended from North America want to tap Britain's experiences of the relations

of agriculture and urban industry, and of land tenure arrangements. They also wanted to know more about farm cost accounting and agricultural co-operative societies in Europe. Those who attended from Europe wanted most to assess US experiences with farm management surveys, research in marketing, and use of statistics. So the highlights included papers on:- "The Economic Situation in European Agriculture" by R.R. Enfield; "The Political and Economic clash between Agriculture and Industry during the previous 100 years" by J.R. Orr; "Land tenure in England" by C.S. Orwin - "... Ireland" by D.A.E. Harkness - "... the Highlands of Scotland" by J.P. Maxton; "Cost accounting methods in England" by A. Bridges; "Research Methods in Farm Management Research in U.S.A." by G.F. Warren and others and "... in Canada" by J. Coke and W. Allen; "Research in Marketing Dairy Products" by L. Spencer and "... Fruit and Vegetables" by M.P. Rasmussen; "Agricultural Co-operation in Finland, Norway and Denmark" by, respectively, K.T. Jutila, P. Borgedal, O.H. Larsen.

In addition, because of general interest in the agricultural depression, there were two significant papers on "The Occupational Distribution of Wealth" by H.C. Taylor and "Relation of the Tariff to Farm Relief in USA" by H.A. Wallace.

The Second conference, 1930, Cornell University, USA - In accordance with Warren's preferences almost all of the speakers had recently carried out substantial research on their subjects and together the 84 papers made a collection rather than systematic text. They can however be grouped as follows. Every group has historic interest. The highlights in each are indicated.

- 17 on The General and Agricultural Depressions of which:-
  - 3 Monetary reasons - by G.F. Warren, E.M.H. Lloyd, and R.R. Enfield;
  - 2 Other reasons - by Max Sering (international debts) and M. Ezekiel (US agricultural surpluses)
- 7 Different countries' experiences, including C.von Dietze on Germany's;
- 5 National policies, including J.D. Black on doctrines in USA and H.C. Taylor on policies in USA;
- 8 on Developments in USSR (including early ideas on collective farms), Mexico, Australia, Japan, Philippines;
- 4 on Land Use and related problems in USA, including L.C. Gray on "The Extensive Margin";
  - 3 on Types of Farming;
  - 11 on Farm Management Research in USA, England, USSR;
  - 4 on Farm Labour and Wages, including G. Dallas on regulations in England, J.F. Duncan on organization, E.Whittaker on mobility and J.J.W. Seedorf on efficiency.
- 5 on Agricultural Credit
- 7 on Product Prices
- 18 on Co-operatives and Product Markets, including Wheat Marketing by L.J. Norton for USA and A. Cairns for Canada;
- 7 others including L.K. Elmhirst on "A Village in Bengal," a significant early assessment of Development problems; also A.W. Ashby on "Agricultural Economics as Applied Economics."

The Third conference, 1934, Bad Eisen, Germany - The cargo from this conference was determined largely by what Governments had been doing in the general depression and, because of the German context, largely by interest in national attitudes to farm sizes and rural social organisation. There was little direct discussion of economic theories or research methods. The highlights included:- (i) Reports on the national policies of Britain, Canada, Germany, Holland and USA by, respectively, J.P. Maxton, J.E. Lattimer, C.von Dietze, S.L. Louwes, and O.C. Stine; (ii) Papers on the "Small Farm System" by A.W. Ashby and P. Borgedel with discussion by G.F. Warren, and on "Collective Farming" by O. Schiller; (iii) "International Debts" by H. Schacht (President of the German Reichsbank) and by R.R. Enfield; (iv) the Monetary Situation by G.F. Warren and Currency Problems by H. Schumacher; (v) International Planning for Agricultural Production by H.C. Taylor.

There was also again one lone paper on conditions in a low income country - by S.C. Ray on Peasants in India.

Reports on Economic Conditions and Political Developments in 21 other countries - none of the Third World - were available separately.[4]

The Fourth conference, 1936, St Andrews University, Scotland- Although for the countries whose currencies had been devalued the worst of the general depression was passed, there were in 1935-36 still deep conflicts and confusions - indeed wars and rumours of war. The conference programme was therefore based on the questions:- "What (is) the place of Agriculture to be in the future of Civilization?" "Have we not come to a time when we must unite to synthesize the ... studies of natural scientists, economists and sociologists?"[5] Against the scenario of the times, and in the maturing frankness of the Association, such wide questions resulted in a cargo of historically valuable papers and vigorous contributions to discussions. The highlight papers were on:-

Farm Organization and the Development of Agriculture by A. Bridges, H. Zörner, H. Krause, H.R. Tolley, A. Boss, and K. Hood.

Land Tenure by M. Sering, and A.W. Ashby.

Farm Credit in the USA by F.F. Hill.

International Trade in Agricultural Products by A. Cairns.

Relations of Agriculture to Industry and the Community by W.R. Scott.

Consumption of Agricultural Products by E.P. Cathcart, and R.B. Forrester.

Chinese Currency and Prices by A.B. Lewis was the only paper on a low-income country's problems.

The Fifth conference, 1938, Macdonald College, Canada - Three of the main plenary subjects emphasised social aspects of (i) economic progress in Agriculture, (ii) land tenure and related agricultural adjustment issues, and (iii) farm labour. The fourth main subject was "International Trade in relation to Agricultural Development." Highlights were:-

Papers by J.F. Booth (Canada) and M.L. Wilson (USA) on subject (i), by C.von Dietze and H.C. Taylor on subject (ii), by F.W.von Bülow (ILO) and J.F. Duncan on subject (iii), and by G. Minderhoud and H.A. Wallace on subject (iv), which was extended to include international loans and debt repayment problems. Many able contributions were made in discussions.

Among other plenary papers were those by Fernandez y Fernandez on "Mexican Agrarian Reform" and by B.H. Hibbard on Taxation.

Six sectional meetings were very briefly reported, covering Research in Farm Management and Marketing, Economic Extension Work, Rural Rehabilitation and Resettlement Problems, and Price Analyses.

Experiences outside Western Europe and North America were dealt with in only three papers (on New Zealand, Argentina and Mexico), but Sam Higginbottom (USA and India) and C.Y. Shepherd (British West Indies) made notable contributions to discussions.

#### Two rehabilitation conferences and three of the 1950's

The Sixth conference, 1947, Dartington Hall, England - The cargo includes plenary session papers on problems that seemed basic for the post-war years. They are still of substantial importance. The highlights were:-

Movements of Farm Population by J.P. Maxton.

Flexibility of Land Tenure, Capital and Credit Systems by R.R. Rennie.

Effectiveness of the Market Mechanism By L.J. Norton and E.F. Nash.

State Buying and Selling in World Trading by A.C. Gilpin (UNO Geneva).

Human Satisfaction of Rural Work and Living by A.W. Ashby.

Again many notable contributions to plenary discussions were included and among these were those from S.C. Lee (China), M.El Said (Egypt) and Manilal Nanavati and B.R. Shenoy (India). Both of these last two presented papers on India's problems. The only other low-income area for which there was a paper (by C.Y. Shepherd) was the British West Indies.

Post-war situations were also described for Britain, Canada, France, Danubian countries, Netherlands, Switzerland and USA.

The Seventh conference, 1949, Stresa, Italy - Because post-war recovery seemed slow, the European Recovery Programme, related to the Marshall Plan, was prominent. B.H. Thibodeaux (USA) presented a significant paper and discussions of related international trade problems were indicative of problems to come.

The other main themes were:-

"Diagnosis and Pathology of Peasant Farming" - main paper by G. Medici.

"Agricultural Co-operatives and the Modern State" - papers by A.W. Ashby and V. Visocchi

"The Spread of Industry to Rural Areas" - paper by R.G. Tugwell.

Many of the plenary discussions are still of substantial interest.

Significant papers also included those on "The Theory of the Firm" by W.J. Anderson; "Land Valuation and Credit in USA" by W.G. Murray; "Agricultural Statistics in Europe" by J.B. Chombart de Lauwe; "Co-operation in Indian Agriculture" by Manilal Nanavati.

The Eighth conference, 1952, Michigan State College, USA - The cargo from this conference was the first with a whole-wide-world flavour. Population and development problems largely determined the programme. Plenary paper highlights are from F.W. Notestein and J.D. Black on Population and Food Supplies; K. Brandt on "Economic Objectives of FAO, Point IV and the Colombo Plan"; J.R. Raeburn on "Agricultural Development in the Tropics and Sub-tropics"; M. Ezekiel and A. Saco (FAO) on "Planning Agricultural Programs in Less Developed Countries"; S.R. Sen on "Population and Food Supplies in India." Other especially significant papers were:-

"Agricultural Efficiency and Rural Welfare" by T.W. Schultz.  
Agricultural Policies in U.S.A. and Europe by respectively, E.G. Nourse and E.M.H. Lloyd.

"International Trade" by A.P. Jacobsen and A.E. Richards.  
"Integration of Western European Agriculture" by G. Minderhoud.  
Professional Problems .... in Research by E. Thomas; .... in Training by J.O. Morales; .... in Extension by A. Huni.

The Ninth conference, 1955, Teekkarikyla, Near Helsinki, Finland - The main theme was "The Implications of Technical Change in Agriculture." Five papers indicated these for Scandinavia, France, South-east Europe, and South and North America. R. Colon-Torres considered sociology and cultural problems, and J.R. Bellerby the effects on agricultural incomes relative to other incomes. K.L. Robinson set out "Political obstacles tending to retard increased Economic Welfare offered by Technical Change in Agriculture." Land Tenure, Sizes of Farms and Rural Settlement Schemes were considered in key papers by J. Horring, H. Niehaus, and M. Bandini. W.G. Murray emphasized the reasons why some State action was desirable in providing and controlling agricultural loans. "The possible Contribution of the Agricultural Economist to Programs of Technical Development" was surveyed by T.W. Schultz. Agricultural Planning and Research in USSR were described by A.V. Bolgov and K.P. Obelensky.

International trade aspects were dealt with from various standpoints. Implications for "the occupational structure" of populations were highlighted by Jorgen Pedersen, with comments by K. Ohkawa.

The Tenth conference, 1958, Mysore, India - "Agriculture and its Terms of Trade" was chosen as the theme largely because, during the 1950s agricultural incomes had fallen relative to non-agricultural and because fears were increasing for the future. Three highlight papers were by W.A. Lewis, D. Gale Johnson and D.R. Gadgil. Supply, demand, input and price relationships were considered in papers by S.E. Johnson, K.L. Bachman, M. Cépède, N. Westermarck and A.F. Hanau. Notable plenary papers on institutions, finance, education and research, and population movements were by R. Bicanic, E.de Vries, A.T. Mosher and K. Campbell. U. Aziz contributed a paper emphasising his views on three causes of poverty in South-east Asia - "low productivity, exploitation, and neglect."

Special attention was paid to experiences of policies in using economic research, marketing and transport and agricultural support measures - in papers by T.H. Strong, W.J. Anderson and J.H. Kirk. Commodity agreements and national groupings for trade were reviewed by D. Paarlberg, W.E. Haviland and A.G. Baptist. Planning procedures in India, Japan, Israel, and USSR were described by, respectively, J.J. Anjaria, K. Okhawa, L.E. Samuel and I. S. Kuvshinov.

J.R. Currie surveyed "Organization for International Co-operation in Agricultural Economics" and notable contributions to the discussion were made by S.von Frauendorfer and E. Ojala (FAO).

From the brief records of Work (Discussion) Groups highlights included contributions on Development, Land Reforms, International Trade, Rural Credit, and naturally many were from India, the host country. Farm Management Research in both high- and low-income countries was considered in some detail and useful experiences in Extension work were described. Marketing problems were surveyed, both national and international. A notable record was made of opinions on the Teaching of Agricultural Economics in a wide range of countries.

#### Conferences of the 1960's and early 1970's

Eleventh conference, 1961, Cuernavaca, Mexico - At the beginning of the United Nations' "Development Decade" widespread interest determined the main theme - "The Role of Agriculture in Economic Development." I. Svennilson reviewed "The Concept of Economic Growth," emphasizing the importance of sociological and psychological aspects. S. Kuznets summarized many research results in "Economic Growth and the Contribution of Agriculture," emphasizing various inter-relationships. Indigenous and foreign capital flows for economic development in the poorer countries were assessed by A.K. Cairncross, and major deficiencies in their absorptive capacities, and in markets for exports from them, were emphasized by K. Brandt and O.V. Wells. India's experiences of a "Unified Agricultural Development Program" were presented by D.G. Karve, and histories of development reviewed for Nigeria, Brazil, Burma, Uzbek S.S.R., Ireland and West Germany. The environments for development - educational, social, institutional, and health and nutrition - were surveyed. J. Crawford presented a notable analysis of the pros and cons of using food surpluses for economic development. Another paper, by S.L. Mansholt (EEC) gave early thinking about a common agricultural policy for countries of western Europe.

Research methods were interestingly reviewed by E.O. Heady, and "The Use of Research Findings in Policy Issues" by M. Ezekiel (FAO).

Four Spanish-speaking Discussion Groups dealt with Latin American problems in Agricultural Policy, Farm Management Research, Land Tenure, Credit and Marketing. Their reports are a significant record of thinking in 1961. Other especially interesting Groups discussed Price Policy, Farm Management work in 14 countries, Land Reform in Japan, India and other countries. Co-operation, Community Development, and Research Methods (including philosophical bases).

The Twelfth conference, 1964, Lyon, France - Again the cargo was largely of experiences and conclusions about Development. The main theme was "Disparities in the Pace and Form of Agricultural and Rural Development." But problems in the richer countries were highlighted as much as problems in the poorer. Basic papers were by G. Haberler on the "Theory of Comparative Advantage" and P. Lamartine Yates (FAO) on "Need Agriculture be Disadvantaged?" Surpluses, less-favoured-areas in Europe, and employment and labour productivity in agriculture in poor countries were foreseen as liable to pose increasing difficulties. The relations of agriculture and other sectors of economies, and adjustments in agriculture, were again studied, in papers by B.N. Ganguli (Population and Migration), S. Krasovec (Part-time Farming), W.J. Thomas (The Changing Structure of Agriculture's Labour Force), and R.L. Kohls (Vertical Integration by Contract). Useful

descriptions were given of the problems of large-scale farming in USSR (by K.P. Obolenski); regional differences in Brazil (by E.D. Brandao) and in Italy (by M. Bandini); Sweden's measures to raise productivity in agriculture (by S. Holmstrom); Peru's planning problems (by J. Gonzales-Velasco).

Important papers on research methods included those by G. Weinschenk on mathematical approaches, J. Klatzmann on regional accounts, C.P. McMeekan on inter-dependences between technical and economic research projects, and J. Tauber on "Co-operation between Rural Sociology and Agricultural Economics."

Discussion Group reports again covered a wide range of subject-fields. Highlights included other experiences of disparate development; also, modern trends in food marketing.

The Thirteenth Conference, 1967, Sydney University, Australia - The cargo from this conference is especially significant because four inter-related theme papers were discussed in plenary sessions, together and at length in four quarter-conference meetings, and again together in a plenary session. The four subjects are still basic - Population Growth (first paper by W.D. Borrie), Research in Agricultural Science (first paper by F.C. Bawden), Approaches and findings of Economists in studying International Trends (first paper by Thoril Kristensen) and Agriculture and the Political Scientist (first paper by R. Bicanic). Contributors to discussions included T.W. Schultz, C. Clark, D. Paarlberg, J.L. Dillon, D.R. Gadgil, G. Medici, Shujiro Sawada. The presentations and discussions together cover almost 190 pages of the Proceedings.

Studies of "Farm Production Economics and Management" were reviewed in USSR (by I.S. Kuvshinov), North America (by C.B. Baker) and Asia (by W.Y. Yang). Nine Special Groups reported on particular problem areas including: Horizontal Integration and Amalgamation, Vertical Integration and Contracts, Irrigation and Settlement Schemes, Productivity of Labour, Projections of Supply in Poor Countries, and Alternative Land Uses in Richer Countries.

National Objectives in Agricultural Trade were studied by W.J. Anderson, and Regional and other International Agreements by T.J. Dams. Four concurrent meetings took up four particular trade and marketing issues. One of these concerned effects of monetary as well as fiscal policies and so drew the Association's attention again to monetary problems, not directly dealt with since the Fourth conference in 1936.

The "Rate of Economic Growth and Development in Low-income Countries" was the title of a main paper by L.E. Vironi and four concurrent meetings took up particular aspects including International Professional Exchanges (S.R. Sen opener), Factors affecting the Flow and Productivity of Capital (I.H. Ergas, FAO), Food Aid (V.M. Dandekar) and Agricultural Administration and Extension Services (L. Joy).

Discussion Groups most significant in relation to the four theme subjects were for:- Development of Human, Natural and Community Resources; Economic and Technical Research Co-ordination; Education, Teaching and Extension Programmes; Institutional Structures for Increasing Output; Land Tenure; International Trade Policy; Farm Policy in Agricultural Economies. Another especially significant Group was for Agricultural Census Methodology.

The Under-Secretary of Agriculture for USA (J.A. Schnittker) presented a picture of "World Agricultural Policies and Trade Prospects."

The first synoptic ideas at the ends of conferences were presented. L.K. Elmhirst's "stock taking" well showed the importance he attached to values and goals beyond money incomes. And Sherman Johnson pleaded that agricultural

economists should go on more active service to secure the developments badly needed in the following decades.

The Fourteenth conference, 1970, Minsk, USSR - President Westermark set this conference well in the contexts of political-economic systems, multi-disciplinary needs, cultural histories, educational and training needs, the "too modest" use of agricultural economists by multi-lateral and bi-lateral international organizations, the role of IAAE in facilitating exchanges, and the current concern in most economies with "planning". The conference was greatly influenced by widespread interest in the policies and experiences of the USSR, the host country. The main theme - "Policies, Planning and Management for Agricultural Development" - gave scope for four plenary session papers from the USSR - by A. Rummyantsev, S.S. Sergeev, R. Kravchenko, and I. Lukinov. Other plenary papers reviewed problems and experiences in:- "under-developed countries outside the socialist sphere" (by Gunnar Myrdal); "regions within countries" (by J.G. Waardenburg); "International policies in aid and trade" (by S.K. Dey, FAO); "International finance of agricultural development" (by W.A. Wapenhans); "International trade policy" (by D.G. Sisler); "Commodity agreements (by G. Blau, FAO) and "monetary problems and policies (by G. Post). In relation to Western Europe, E. Reisch reviewed recent advances in farm planning, and I.G. Reid reviewed finance for intensification and amalgamation of farm businesses.

From the concurrent meetings, 9 of the 22 papers were winners in the first contributed paper competition. Of the 9, 3 dealt with Farm Planning under Uncertainties; 3, with Supply Responses and Production Quota Systems. Y. Mundlak had a significant paper on "Maximization with several Objective Functions (in farm production)." The 13 invited papers included 4 on Government Planning - national (by G. Kovacs, and R. Saran), regional by G. Theodore, and "Peasant and Planner" by J.P. Bhattacharjee (FAO). G.L. Johnston presented "Effects on Farm Management Decisions of the Institutional Environment"; and R. Baker and M. Managhas, "The Agricultural Revolution and the Developing Countries." K. Campbell considered significantly "Causes and Cures of Surpluses." Two important papers on research were on Evaluation of work in the Agricultural Sciences and Extension (by J.de Veer) and Advances in Marketing Research by M.L. Upchurch. Education and Training for Farm Management and Marketing were systematically reviewed by A. Galvao.

Reports from 17 Discussion Groups were all relevant to the main theme. One again concerned development of resources: another, "Economics of new Techniques and Structures for Increasing Output." Another, especially significant, was on "Econometric Applications to Agriculture."

Synoptic views of many aspects of the conference were given from the standpoints of richer- and poorer-economies by, respectively, D.R. Bergmann and S.R. Sen. Sen emphasized that the conference had brought socialist economies fully within the Association's scope. Both reviewers were keen to understand the planning methods and management problems of the USSR, and both indicated how far the conference had helped in this. Their personal reactions provided therefore interesting examples of the interplay of ideas and facts between "First, Second and Third" Worlds and of how IAAE conferences facilitated it.

Bergmann reviewed the discussions of planning and management problems of developed countries and noted substantial progress, but also deficiencies. At the micro-level more was needed on: - psycho-sociological analyses; simulations; risks and uncertainties; power relations; capital and loan problems; vertical integration;



multi-national decisions; externalities and social welfare aspects; and more. In regional and national planning, conceptions and mathematical modeling seemed to be too far ahead of desirable institutional development. Bergmann then turned to the centrally planned economies. He concluded that the progress in management techniques was inadequate without the development of a sufficient framework of principles and their use in:- farm business analysis; studies of labour incentives and productivity; social group conflicts; pricing; and more. But in general, he discerned a tendency for the USSR economy to "converge" with what was best in the developed market economies. Some major differences persisted, however, because of "democratic centralism".

Sen found that the conference had suggested some new emphases of importance for the Less Developed Countries:- on aggravations of income gaps within them; on dualism and the need for relevant institutional developments; on doubts about "enlightened, self-interest" as a proper basis for international trade, aid and commodity policies; on land policies and urban-rural relations; on research both crop-based and area-based; and more. He found the discussion of administered prices in USSR significant, but felt there had not been sufficient discussion of such prices in market economies, nor of shadow prices in both market and socialist economies.

Like Bergmann he found that mathematical modeling tended to be inadequate in relation to decisions in real policy making and planning.

Both reviewers found that the plenary sessions of the conference had, on the whole, been less helpful than the Discussion Groups, and the opportunities for small group discussions and direct observations. Sen had the impression that the "better halves" (wives), visiting in the Ladies' Programme homes, schools, shops, and farms, "had a better opportunity to understand the human situation than those who clung only to their papers and earphones". Bergmann hoped that future conferences would provide many opportunities for more discussions of contrasts in fundamental principles between centrally planned and market economies.

The Fifteenth conference, 1973, Sao Paulo, Brazil - S.R. Sen's Presidential address showed well his philosophical approach to the main theme - "The Future of Agriculture." After considering various aspects of secular demand and supply in both high- and low-income countries, he emphasized the importance of innovation and therefore of (a) appropriate types of education (b) the research and development for development of replenishable resources, and of appropriate institutions. The importance and the difficulties were now greatest in the under-developed regions where too many rural people were too closely bound by tradition and where tendencies to "dualism" should be countered. The time had come to seek wiser alternative strategies for development in many low-income countries, to foster innovation in policy making, with imaginative "push-from-below" measures.

Gulbrandsen (UNCTAD) described "Main Streams of the World Economy" including vertical specialization and inflation, also the effects of international trade barriers on agricultural exports from low-income countries. V.W. Ruttan presented results of his research into "Induced Technical and Institutional Change." He concluded that "the relatively inexpensive source of growth opened up by the green revolution" should be used, but that the potential gains would not be realised unless policies were designed to give rural peoples their shares of these gains. Much depended upon those institutions that would foster, in the circumstances of individual countries, useful research and entrepreneurial behaviour. Policy issues were further considered by A. Simantov (OECD) who stressed that sectorial and

industry-wide issues were less important as a basis for policy formulation than the needs of individual families facing adjustment problems. Policies for developing countries were considered by N. Islam. He concentrated on the possible conflicts between output objectives and employment objectives, and on how there need be no conflict in the long run. Other theme papers dealt with more detailed problem areas:- The Roles of Prices (V. Boyev and T. Josling); Agrarian Reforms (J.C.S. Iglesia and others from various countries); Effects of Modern Agriculture upon our Unstable Environment (T.W. Schultz). The plenary discussions of these papers were highly significant, as were those of papers on new methods in agricultural production economics by C.D. Thorsby, and sectoral and regional analysis by T. Heidhues.

Related to the main theme, 16 papers (and discussions of them) at concurrent meetings were on "foreseeing the future" and "preparing for," "adjusting for" and "living in the future." The majority were concerned with low-income countries except 3 in the "adjusting for" group. S.I. Krasovec considered the "Outcome of Population Policies." D.K. Britton's paper on "Agricultural Adjustments in the Developed Countries" led in discussion to claims for institutional changes to correct large regional disparities.

Significant synoptic views were outlined by A. Valdes, highlighting "the unfinished business of the agricultural economist", and seeking greater participation in the Association by economists from less developed countries. Other synoptic views were by G. Weinschenck who reviewed aspects of methodological and theoretical development, problems of the developing countries, and price policies in the developed, and ended by noting that long-run forecasting was essential in the design of sound long-run policies. But such forecasting had to use national and international judgements.

"Maybe the .... close international co-operation of individual experts could be organized in the framework of .... the IAAE .... certainly to benefit the reputation of our profession."

The reports of 18 Discussion Groups provided especially important parcels in the cargo from the conference. Five Groups reported on government policy areas of widespread concern - "Administrative Organization and Control of Agriculture"; "Rural Employment and Income Distribution"; "Economic Development Programmes"; "Agrarian Reforms and Land Tenure"; "Population Problems, National and Inter-national." Three Groups concentrated on research problems in:- "Collection and Use of Data"; "Economics of Agricultural Science and Technology"; "Farm Management and Production Economics - Analysis Techniques." One Group considered experiences of the effects of changing technologies on natural resources. Other subjects included "Dualism in Agricultural production Organization," the "Role of Multi-national firms" and the "Motivation of Farmers."

#### Conferences of the late 1970s and 1980s

The Sixteenth conference, 1976, Nairobi, Kenya - By the mid 1970's there was obvious aggravation of problems in securing:- (i) satisfactory development of agriculture in many of the poorer countries, and (ii) reasonable stabilization of international grain and other product markets. The World Food Conference, the Indicative World Plan, the International Undertaking for World Food Security, and

other major international efforts had all led to strategies, plans and undertakings in "principle" but there was "little practical agreement about how .... and .... (about) who should make what decisions".[6] So the theme of the 16th conference was "Decision-making and Agriculture."

This theme was ably introduced in President S.R. Sen's address. He emphasized that public choices for agriculture were more complex than private decisions in agriculture. Attempts to develop various types of model, systems simulation, and other tools to assist public policy decisions had so far had "only limited success". Much depended still on the "systematic compilation and study of relevant key information and readiness to take calculated risks and learn from experience ...." and therefore on "the decision-making structure and feed-back arrangements", particularly where the structure was "more hierarchical". Sen then drew on his deep knowledge of India's problems and wide experience as a World Bank Director to review briefly "decisions regarding basic transformations" because "our world and its economy are today in a tremendous process of flux". The contrasting attitudes of "pessimists" and "optimists", and the serious unbalances that were probable for several decades even on the assumptions of the "optimists", all pointed to "the urgent need for imaginative and effective public decision-making at international and national levels for ... long-term and short-term policies and programmes for a more balanced development of the world's economy and its important sectoral and regional constituents". In these policies and programmes "intensive technological and economic research to meet the specific requirements of different regions and spread of innovative education skills ... will be as important elements as institutional reforms, trade promotion and transfer of resources". Decisions about the research and educational programmes would themselves "need a special kind of perspective and strategic decision-making by the public authorities concerned".

T.W. Schultz provided, in the first Leonard Elmhirst Memorial Lecture, a notable review of "Economics, Agriculture and the Political Economy." He emphasized the "incompleteness of the social thought" that shapes socio-political institutions and policies, and "the unwillingness or inability of economists to challenge (the) adverse drift to .... the debasement of economics by governments." Examples showed that it would "not suffice for agricultural economists to take the particular economic goals of governments as given." Another major conclusion was: "In terms of technical possibilities and pure economic opportunity, the prospects of lower costs (of agricultural products) are good, but in terms of what is being done politically, the prospects are bad. Meanwhile international conferences produce a lot of weak reports and social thought produces strong ideologies. But reports and ideologies do not produce food".

The plenary presentations were then on:- The Economists contributions on Policy (by G.L. Johnson, and C.W. Capstick); Models (by M. Petit, D.H. Kim and L.Folkesson); Relationship of Agriculture to National Economies (by K. Ohkawa); Agricultural Development and Regional Grouping (of nations) (by G. Barbero); Integrated Rural Development (by P.C. van den Noort, J. Kune and M. Yudelman); International Trade and Policy Models (by J.J. Richter and W. Scheper). W.E. Walters (World Food Council) contributed a significant paper entitled "Towards a World Food Policy."

One set of plenary papers considered "Achieving a Balance between Population and Food: Priorities in Decision Making." Concurrent meetings elaborated the problems by using experiences of Kenya, Nigeria, India and Indonesia, and by considering problems on small farms in increasing agricultural production and promoting family planning. The role of "Economic-Social Science Analysis and of

Research Agencies" was discussed. This important set of papers and reports of related discussions were published separately.[7]

Other concurrent meetings considered subjects related to other plenary papers. Especially significant presentations were by:- R.A. Richardson, J.B. Hardaker and J.R. Anderson on "Farm level Decision Models"; P. Mbithi on "Social and Psychological Elements and the Human Factor in Agricultural Management"; G. Schmitt on "Concepts, Frictions and Solutions" in national agricultural policies; M. Tomic on "Decision-making in the Self-Management System in Yugoslav Agriculture"; M.L. Dantwala on "Agricultural Policy in India since Independence"; M. Tracy (EEC) on "The Decision-making Process in the EEC"; V. Nazarenko on "Integration of CMEA countries"; C.J. van der Vaeren, A. Weber and T.T. Hartmann, and J.A. Akinwuni and A.J. Adegeye - three papers on Regional Integrations in Africa; Uma Lele (World Bank) on "Optimum Pricing and Marketing Strategies"; R. Benalcazar on "New Techniques, Extension Services, and Credit Facilities".

A synoptic view of research priorities was outlined by D.K. Britton. He emphasized:- How to secure equity with growth; Improving information systems, especially when multi-disciplinary co-operation was necessary; Determinants of rates of take-up of new technology; Measurement of rural welfare as affected, for example, by development projects.

Discussion Groups provided 19 reports. Especially significant were those on:- Policy Decisions for Resource Allocation and Planning in Developing Countries; International Trade and Price Policies; Economic Development Theory, Planning and Implementation Programs; Influences of Energy, Ecology and Environment on Use and Allocation of Natural Resources; Inflation and Monetary Policies; Population Trends relevant to Agriculture; Agricultural Organization and Administration; Curriculum Trends for Post-graduates. Two spontaneous Groups reported on "Methodology of Planning for the Eradication of Rural Poverty" and "The Necessity and Possibility of comprehensive Information Systems for Agriculture".

The Seventeenth Conference, 1979, Banff, Canada - The cargo from this conference contains more than twice as many papers as that from the Sixteenth conference because much more use was made of concurrent sessions (see Figure 4.1). The number of Discussion Groups also reached a record high.

The main theme was "The Challenge for Agricultural Economists." This gave great scope for exchange of experiences and ideas on many fronts and so was particularly appropriate on the 50th anniversary of the First conference and at a time when rapid inflation, export surpluses, insecurity of food supplies in Africa, political changes in China and elsewhere, and many other developments made challenges seem at least as great as those of the 1930s and the 1950s.

In his Presidential address D.K. Britton found that the tasks were "undiminished" because "the negative forces (had) been too strong for us." Rural poverty had persisted because of "urban bias" and "North-South" relations. More attention should now be paid to "equity" among the goals of policy, to whole market structures rather than efficiencies of individual marketing firms, to better forecasting, to reducing difficulties in family farm financing, and generally to securing "a social environment that brings a sense of community and fellowship to human relationships."

W.A. Lewis in the second Leonard Elmhirst Memorial Lecture considered economic strategies for poorer countries "to cope with a world economy that has low

economic growth." He ably reviewed agriculture as "the weakest link" in the development of the Less Developed Countries, and then the inter-relationships of these countries' economies with those of the More Developed Countries. He concluded that "the sooner the world economy can recapture those (1950-1973) rates of growth, the better it will be for all ....". But meantime the MDCs were unwilling to accept substantially more exports of industrial goods from LDCs. So he considered the requirements for a large expansion of mutual trade between the LDCs:- prices and foreign exchange rates that reflect comparative advantages and make LDC-LDC trade more attractive; more flexible finance from MDCs; clearing arrangements for LDC currencies; dynamism in the LDCs themselves.

Two or three plenary session papers were related to each of six different problem levels - Micro; Sub-national; National; Supra-national; Multi-national, para-statal and state trading agencies; Disciplinary. And particular problems, methods and experiences at these levels were dealt with in 30 invited papers - three to seven for each level. Contributed papers were also largely related to the six levels. Thus at the Micro level, there were 2 on Marketing and Middlemen, 10 on Structural Change - Small farms, and Large farms, and 4 on Agricultural Credit.

In his synoptic view at the end of the conference T.J. Dams as President-Elect called attention to major highlights by considering seven problem- or subject-areas, and two important aspects of choice of methods - (i) relations between politics and research, and (ii) the need for multi-disciplinary approaches. He paid particular attention to rural poverty as "the great challenge for us" in the years to A.D. 2000 and beyond. He also emphasized marketing and pricing problems as shown in papers by V. Nazarenko, Zhan Wu and H.J. Mittendorf (FAO). On "planning procedures and agriculture", Dams highlighted the contributions from USSR, Eastern Europe and China, as permitting wider understanding of their systems, and also the presentation by P. Schertz on equity issues within the agriculture sectors of higher-income countries. On "Sub-national planning" he highlighted the contributions of L. de las Casas, A.S.P. Brandao and Judith Heyer. At the Micro level the accomplishments and challenges were basic, and well set out by E.O. Heady and M. Collinson. The Energy analysis of agriculture was a new dimension of research outlined in a plenary paper by U. Renborg. As an approach to multi-disciplinary research the paper by R.W. Herdt (IRRI) was also especially useful. Problems in the teaching of agricultural economics were well discussed especially by:- D.F. Fienup and H.M. Riley; H.U.Thimm; M. Petit; D.A.G. Green; and H. Mittendorf (FAO).

Reports of the 32 Discussion Groups were classified according to the programme for plenary sessions and concurrent meetings. Notable new subject areas were:- Sub-arctic Agriculture; Rural-Urban Interfaces; Science Policy; World Food Security; Emerging Roles of International Institutes; Multi-disciplinary Problem Solving; Marxist contributions; Philosophical Thought.

The Eighteenth conference, 1982, Jakarta, Indonesia - With the main theme of "Growth and Equity in Agricultural Development" this conference tended to concentrate on deep problems that had often before been considered by the Association, but not comprehensively as a set.

In his Presidential address T.J. Dams indicated the seriousness of the "world-wide recession", of food insecurities (especially in Africa), of debt servicing problems, and of high costs for energy. These obviously affected "growth" but there was lack of insight into the effects of a lasting economic slump on agricultural incomes, agrarian structures, and equity. There was also need to consider quality and environmental

aspects of "growth." He emphasized "political and social dimensions", and again "the great challenge" of rural poverty. Also, the need for study of the effects on "growth" of the distribution of ownership of productive assets, or access to their use, as well as vice versa.

K.O. Campbell in the third Leonard Elmhirst Memorial Lecture surveyed "World Conservation Strategy" and, like H.A. Wallace at the First conference, urged agricultural economists to accept that "both strong social feeling and sound economic analysis (are) essential to making the world a better place to live in." Economists should guide politicians more.

Especially important plenary papers were presented:- on the overall problems of "growth" and "equity" by G Ranis; on Asian experiences by V.S. Vyas; on concepts and methodology by Y Hayami; on patterns of agricultural growth by N. Islam (FAO), and by J.W. Mellor (IFPRI); on strategies and policies by B.F. Johnson and W.C. Clark; on international aspects by H.F. Buchholz, by J.W. Longworth, and by L.A.C. de Labao and F.B.Soaes. An important group of papers presented experiences of Northern Europe (N. Westermarck), Japan (S. Yamada), Brazil (Y. Sugai and A.R. Texeira), Nigeria (E.J. Usoro, South Asia (Inderjit Singh) and various countries (R. Kada).

The 42 contributed papers could be classified:-

- |                                  |   |                          |
|----------------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| 8 on Disciplinary Considerations | ) |                          |
| 8 on Economic Growth and         | ) | most with experiences of |
| Agricultural Development         | ) | particular countries     |
| 6 on Equity in                   | ) |                          |
| 3 on the Role of Women           | ) |                          |
| 6 on Agricultural Policy         | ) |                          |
| 3 on Energy                      | ) |                          |
| 3 on Research Methods            | ) |                          |
| 3 on International Trade         | ) |                          |
| 2 on Natural Resources           | ) |                          |

One of the research papers was a review by J.C. Abbott (FAO) of bibliographic services in agricultural marketing.

Most of the 20 Discussion Groups related directly to the conference's main theme, but some older problems were not neglected - eg. Curriculum trends; Data requirements, collection and use.

G.L. Johnson in a synoptic view as President-Elect discussed the different meanings of "equity" and "equality" and noted that in some languages no exact translations seemed possible. He also usefully summarized in a diagram (with "equality" on the horizontal scale and "values other than equality" on the vertical) the determination of an optimum growth path connecting tangent points of a series of social indifference curves with a series of production possibility curves. He then proceeded to use this diagram in considering particularly significant presentations at the conference - those of N. Islam, G. Ranis, van der Meer (on the growth trajectory of Western Europe, North America and Oceania), N. Westermarck, and D. Ghai (on Africa). V.S. Vyas's conclusions on the need for institutional changes and investments in human capital as well as Higher Yielding Varieties in Asia were important and accorded with J. Mellor's conclusions on land reform. Japan's policies had been substantially successful (S. Yamada's paper) but Brazil had a growth trajectory that did not increase "equality" (paper by Y. Sugai and A.R. Texeira). Mexico's reduced "equality" (S.T. Reyes's paper). Argentina had

"stagnation and inequality" (papers by M.S. Andrews and A. de Janvry). The destruction of productive capacity should be avoided when reforms attempt to secure movements along production possibility curves so as to get into better growth trajectories (papers by B.F. Johnston and W.C. Clark; and by A.R.Khan).

G.L. Johnson then indicated presentations that seemed especially important for the improvement of concepts and research methods - those of S. Bhalla and M. Leiserson on the measurement of income inequality and poverty, and those of many authors dealing with regional or sub-national experiences and disaggregating "equality". He emphasized that it was important to bear in mind, that along with income equality, legal, political and social equalities and security of individuals' rights were all components of "equality." But aggregation of such equalities required use of intrinsic rather than money value measures. Therefore objective research on intrinsic valuations was needed over a wide range of human experiences from minor property insecurities to loss of life.

Moreover the actual distributions of productive assets and rights and privileges (political, social, religious, civic, and military) largely determine what trajectories are followed, and so, dynamically, the patterns of production possibility curves. Also actual power distributions affected social valuations in practice, and so the patterns of social indifference curves. They also affected decisions about redistribution of power.

The President-Elect concluded that the conference had not dealt with "how much of the many forms of equality and inequality is or is not justified, nor considered in depth the whole concept and reality of power," entailing as it does political science, military science, sociology, law, and philosophy, as well as economics.

Substantial attention was paid in various papers to technological changes and institutional changes, but investments in human capital - the other prime mover along growth trajectories - had been given too little emphasis. The inequalities almost universally experienced by women should also have more attention (see paper by A. Weisblat). Also as affecting growth trajectories and equity, more attention was needed to international trade and finance.

The Nineteenth conference, 1985, Malaga, Spain - This conference provided almost as many papers as the Seventeenth, with more invited and somewhat fewer contributed (Figure 4.1). In addition, for the first time, poster session papers were available.

Because most countries were experiencing many instabilities and increased uncertainties, the main theme was "Agriculture in a Turbulent World."

One indication of turbulence was that Amartya Sen devoted the fourth Elmhirst Memorial Lecture to emphasizing the importance of entitlements (powers of individual families to obtain food by production, purchase, or otherwise) as against total national supplies, in causing food shortages and famines.

The plenary sessions considered 7 major aspects of the main theme. "Forces shaping the Future" in Asia, North-east Brazil, and generally were assessed, respectively, by Y. Hayami, P.S. Leite, and M. Olson. "Growing Inter-dependencies and Uncertainties" were elaborated by A. de Janvry for developing countries and by G.E.Schuh for the international capital and commodity markets. "Balancing Over-production and Malnutrition" was notably dealt with by J.W. Mellor (IFPRI) and "Undernutrition" by T.N. Srinivasan. "Pressure on Natural Resources" in Indonesia was studied by A.T.Birowo and D. Prabowo, and K.F. Farrell and S.M. Capalbo considered particularly assessments of "Development and environmental trade-offs in agriculture," stressing again the importance of current and emerging resource and

environment issues. Major papers on "Human Capital, Technology and Institutions" included Studies of Biotechnology Impacts in which W.L. Fishel and M. Kenney urged that the many implications of advances in the bio-sciences should be researched by agricultural economists. "People in Rural Societies and the Structure of Agriculture" were reviewed afresh by H. Newby, and by T. Hunek, and H. Nishimura considered the Rural-Urban balance in Rural Development. "The Food Chain, Markets and Trade" were dealt with by J.L. de Espinosa (International Markets and Price Policy) and by J.C. Dufour and others (New Types of Multi-national Firms). From the discussions of these plenary papers, the invited openers' contributions were published in full, with summaries of major points made by others.

The concurrent session presentations and discussions extended the work of all plenary sessions, providing many notable papers on the experiences of particular countries or regions, and on research results. Attention was paid to international problems particularly in papers by A.F. McCalla and T.E. Josling (on markets and prices); H. von Witzke (on European Community policies); C.K. Eicher and J.M. Staatz, D.Diakosavvas, and C. Kirkpatrick (on Sub-saharan Africa's food insecurity); J. de Veer (Surplus problems and International Instability); G. Fischer and others (IIASA) (on "The World Economy: resilient for the rich; stubborn for the starving"); J. Chataigner and Y. Leon (Research in Developing countries: self-reliance or dependence); Y. Mundlak (IFPRI) (Growth and Food Prices); A. Valdes (IFPRI) (Exchange rates and Trade policy); S. Thomas (International Economic conditions); W.H. Meyers and R. Mahama (World Wheat Market Instabilities); M.S.M. Denbaly and G.W. Williams (US Exchange Rates and Trade); J.S. Lohar and others (International Trade Distortions); O. Gulbrandsen and J. Morovic (Growing Inter-dependences in the World Food Economy).

In a section on "Theoretical Developments" notable papers included those in Farm Production Economics by:- J.R. Anderson and others; J. Kerr and K. Kalirajan; T. Rehman and C. Romero; M. Boehlje and J. Lowenberg-De Boer; S.T. Sonka. Those in Land Use and Fragmentation included papers by C. Edwards and S. Simons.

In one of the final plenary sessions five eminent speakers all presented synoptic views of the policy and research consequences of the conference. Their assessments cover 42 pages of the Proceedings in which they also included some especially helpful bibliographies.

The cargo of this conference is also notable for the Presidential address by G.L. Johnson. He drew on decades of wide personal experiences and on the history of the IAAE to review the "Scope of Agricultural Economics." He emphasized its multi-disciplinary nature, the various types of value involved, and the prescriptive purposes. He then explained the policy agreed for the new journal - "Agricultural Economics: the Journal of the IAAE."

At the end of the conference M. Petit as President-Elect reviewed the "State of Agricultural Economics," and suggested some professional priorities, including support from the IAAE "to our colleagues in countries where professional life is the least developed."

## Some conclusions

Over the decades, the highlights show that those who planned the conferences were aware of what might be called the general pattern of problems in agricultural economics, of differences between countries, and of changes in the pattern over time. From the First conference onwards government policy problems (over land tenure, inter-sectoral relations, and much else) had a major share of attention. But, related to the needs of governments, farmers and other decision makers in the face of these problems, other major shares were for research purposes and methods and for feed back of results of policies and research, and of experiences in teaching and extension work.

A classification of invited papers according to the types of decision-maker whom they might eventually influence most (Table 5.1) indicates the basic importance always attached by IAAE to "An application of the results of economic investigations .... (for) the improvement of economic and social conditions relating to agriculture and rural life". [8] Indeed the high percentages in this Table of papers for governments and international bodies might suggest too little service to other decision makers. It is to be noted however that the low percentages for agricultural economists relate specifically only to research methods, teaching and extension work, and that some agricultural economists were involved in the decisions of governments and international bodies. Moreover the Table does not include contributed or poster papers, nor Discussion Groups - which three types tended to influence primarily agricultural economists.

Over time as the pattern of policy problems changed, the general pattern of conference priorities was altered. At first the emphasis was on Land Tenure, the Agricultural Depression as affecting Western Europe and North America, and Research Methods. It changed to National Planning, Interventions in Trade and Social Policies. Then, to Post-war Rehabilitation, to the concerns of the "Development Decades," to Structural Adjustments, to "Uncertainties" and to "Turbulence" in the face of surpluses, and relatively low incomes.

TABLE 5.1 - CLASSIFICATION OF INVITED PAPERS ACCORDING TO THE TYPES OF DECISION-MAKING EVENTUALLY TO BE INFLUENCED

Decision makers	First to Fifth	Nineteenth Conference	
	conferences	Most	Next most
	Most influenced	influenced	influenced
	per cent of papers		
Governments: Local	2	2	6
Central	47	61	27
International bodies	6	8	28
Factor market firms etc.	6	0	0
Product market firms etc.	13	3	11
Lenders	3	0	0
Farm firms	8	9	8
Consumers	1	9	3
Agricultural economists	13	16	3
Other economists	1	0	14
	100	100	100

After awareness of problem situations much depended on choice of who should prepare papers and open discussions. The Association has, almost always, been able to secure speakers who had researched their subjects in depth or at least thought usefully about research purposes; and some speakers who had carried heavy responsibilities in the formulation of policies or their execution. And, as already indicated, almost all contributions were made by people speaking as individual scholars and not as negotiators or representatives of countries or agencies.

The introduction of Discussion Groups, largely in 1958, of concurrent sessions in 1967, of contributed papers in 1970, and of poster papers in 1985 added to the range of choice of both subjects and speakers.

One major achievement was in providing channels for both "science and friendship" [9] to flow between the First, Second and Third Worlds. The 1929 conference was virtually limited to the experiences and problems of Western Europe, Scandinavia and North America, and over the decades the majority of members continued to be from these regions (Tables 7.1, 7.3 and 11.1). But even at the Second conference the experiences, problems and policies of centrally planned economies were presented in papers from the USSR and India's problems were well introduced by President Elmhirst. At times the channels were blocked by governments (e.g. when that of the USSR refused to permit attendances at the 1934 conference in Germany because the Nazi government was in power, and when the Beijing government held back members from mainland China until the 1979 conference). Yet in total the cargoes of papers and discussions about the Second and Third Worlds were substantial, particularly after the 1958 conference in India and the 1970 conference in USSR. Moreover the West-East-South channels very significantly included the Discussion Groups, local field visits, pre- and post-conference tours and the small groups and personal networks referred to earlier in this Chapter. All this was a substantial contribution to increasing the interest of economists of the higher-income, market economies in problems elsewhere, to improving their understandings, and to facilitating their relevant work, including that with post-graduates.

The dynamic effects over the decades are of course impossible to assess well because many other variables affected this work. So, to consider a few personal examples, F.F. Hill could probably not fully define in what ways and to what extents the 1930 and 1947 conferences affected his very important later career; nor T.W. Schultz, how the 1952 and 1955 conferences affected his great later contributions; nor John Mellor, how his outstanding work was affected indirectly by the conferences of the 1950s and more directly by the 1961 conference. And similarly - to take very few examples from other "Worlds" - S.R. Sen of India, A.S.P. Brandao of Brazil and V. Nazarenko of the USSR could probably not well define the Association's influences on their own careers and work.

Even so, it is clear that, conference after conference, the Association was able to serve its basic purposes by the spreading of awareness of problems, of methods and of opportunities, and by motivating towards progress the members who attended and the readers of the publications resulting.

Yet our survey of highlights leads to questions. Was the Association aware of problems, methods, policies, failures and successes early enough? Did it respond quickly? Adequately?

The answers given to these questions have been "Noes." Warren, Ladd, and Elmhirst always knew that the worthwhile work for agricultural economists was far greater than was being done. The "sick world" to which Warren referred in 1934 was indeed in need of more "science and friendship". [9] Even Elmhirst, who in his

Bengal work foresaw so much, recognised that the needs became greater and more complex by 1967 and 1973.[10] In 1979 President Britton found the tasks "undiminished" [11], and 1982 President Dams indicated a very heavy list.[12] In 1985 President G.L. Johnson and President-Elect Petit were moved to emphasize the need to proceed much further with purposes both "disciplinary" and "prescriptive".[13]

In other words the substantial achievements of the Association were inadequate: the total of worthwhile tasks was certainly not diminished.

Of course new tasks and aggravations of old tasks arose from causes that agricultural economists could not, however effective, have removed. The rapid reducing of death rates that was the main cause of the human population explosion; the rapid advances of crop plant science that was a major cause of surpluses in North America and Western Europe and of the "green revolution" in some poorer countries; the politicians who grasped power rather than sought real achievements; blind nationalisms - all these and many other "tides in the affairs of men" added to "what should be done". "What was done" was much. Without it the tasks facing us now would be much greater and more difficult. Yet the great majority of the highlights of the conferences showed good reason within their own particular subjects, why for human welfare more thought and work was needed, and soon. "What was done" was not enough.

Why then, as one special institution, did IAAE not accomplish more? What were the constraints and difficulties? The nature of the professional tasks themselves provides clues, but they become more obvious if we move from highlights to a particular problem-area (Chapter 6). We must also study more closely what have been the functions and achievements of the IAAE organization itself in recording, editing and publishing, and in fostering international networks for written information - what and who made the achievements possible and what limited them. We must consider the activities and problems of the Presidents, Executive Committees and Officers, the Country Correspondents and the Council, and particularly in the development of membership and in finance (Part IV).

Only then can the past achievements, constraints and difficulties of IAAE be well understood.

## 6 Achievements and Limitations in a Problem Area

### Particular illustrations

To supplement our brief survey of highlights we must now seek from the conferences more specific illustrations of the functioning of the IAAE. Many illustrations are desirable because of the great scope of the subject matter dealt with and the many changes over time. And the illustrations should make clear what was contributed to holistic thinking because agricultural economics is an integrating discipline, and the purposes of IAAE are international. Unfortunately costs closely restrict our choice.

The illustrations used in this chapter relate to what President Dams called "the great challenge" - deep poverty in rural areas of the tropics and sub-tropics. [14] Such a complex and vast problem area certainly calls for holistic thinking as well as for deep understanding of special subjects. Overall it has been a severe test of IAAE. Elmhirst and Warren knew it would be, but they would, by their standards, probably not have thought it an unfair one. Anyway it serves our purposes here - to help to make clear the nature of IAAE's achievements, and the constraints on them.

The complexity of the problem area can be seen in the long list of relevant special subjects set out in Table 6.1. This was prepared from the recorded proceedings of the Nineteenth conference at Malaga in 1985. It could be made more detailed and somewhat longer, but will serve here as a quick guide to the multitude of variables that would have to be included in any great, ideal "model" intended to be relevant when formulating and assessing all strategic solutions.[15] "Modelling" itself is included in Group 8 of the Table.

Difficulties in the real-life formulation, execution, and assessment of policies have of course also to be considered. Table 6.2 therefore lists major difficulties and characteristics of governments, and limitations on the use of agricultural economics. Unless all these are recognized, the contributions to use of the ideal "model" would tend, overall, to lack reality.

Because so many variables are to be considered, and so many papers were

TABLE 6.1 DETERMINANTS OF POVERTY IN AGRICULTURAL FAMILIES IN THE TROPICS AND SUB-TROPICS

Papers and Discussions at IAAE Conferences,  
1st-10th (E) and 18th-19th (L)

1		2		3		4	
Groups of determinants		Overall studies		Area studies		Subject studies	
Number of papers		E 14	L 30	E 30	L 36	E 13	L 52
		<u>per cent recognising determinant groups</u>		<u>papers (a)</u>			
[1]	<u>People in Agriculture</u>						
	a Rural population in relation to natural endowments	E 57	L 50	E 67	L 64	E 1.5	L 0.0
	b Non-agricultural activities. Net transfers from agriculture. Migration	E 71	L 53	E 60	L 47	E 1.1	L 0.6
	c Health and nutrition	E 14	L 43	E 47	L 33	E 0.3	L 2.2
	d Value patterns. Disutilities of labour. Demands for material incomes. Acculturation	E 64	L 13	E 60	L 33	E 0.6	L 0.5
	e Education - primary and later courses	E 50	L 33	E 80	L 22	E 1.2	L 0.3
[2]	<u>Knowledge</u>						
	a Biological and technical, of local agricultural possibilities and inter-relationships	E 50	L 63	E 53	L 56	E 0.2	L 3.9
	b Ability to reason towards improved farming systems	E 36	L 57	E 53	L 64	E 0.5	L 10.6
	c Research and development. Statistics	E 71	L 50	E 60	L 61	E 0.8	L 14.2
	d Extension services	E 57	L 57	E 87	L 56	E 0.9	L 1.4
[3]	<u>Land use rights</u>						
	a Sizes of holdings (f-distribution). Landlessness of poor rural people	E 36	L 63	E 67	L 61	E 0.4	L 3.1
	b Settlement patterns. Fragmentation	E 21	L 10	E 47	L 11	E 0.0	L 1.9
	c Rural social organization. Land tenure arrangements. Rents. Mobility of land between users. Reforms	E 36	L 37	E 67	L 53	E 2.0	L 2.8
	d Finance	E 21	L 13	E 53	L 33	E 0.8	L 1.0
	e Controls and services. Conservation - extensive margin	E 7	L 7	E 13	L 25	E 0.0	L 0.3
	f - intensive land use	E 0	L 3	E 33	L 19	E 0.0	L 1.1
[4]	<u>Other factors for Agriculture - availabilities, qualities and costs</u>						
	a Water control, incl. irrigation, drainage	E 0	L 20	E 37	L 39	E 0.0	L 1.6

1		2		3		4	
Groups of determinants		Overall studies		Area studies		Subject studies	
		<u>per cent recognising determinant groups</u>		<u>papers (a)</u>			
[4]	continued						
	b Fertilisers, seeds, equipment, chemicals etc	E 27	L 50	E 37	L 72	E 0.2	L 0.8
	c Marketing infrastructure and services	E 50	L 63	E 37	L 50	E 0.8	L 1.5
	d Finance infrastructure and services	E 50	L 43	E 54	L 44	E 0.6	L 3.4
	e International trade and aid - facilities, obstacles and malpractices	E 14	L 33	E 13	L 14	E 0.2	L 1.7
	f Energy	E 0	L 7	E 0	L 14	E 0.0	L 2.9
[5]	<u>Products of Agriculture - markets and Prices</u>						
	a Effective demands of consumers and traders	E 0	L 53	E 27	L 42	E 0.0	L 0.9
	b Government policies and practices	E 21	L 63	E 27	L 64	E 0.1	L 1.4
	c Marketing infrastructure and services	E 43	L 57	E 47	L 44	E 1.0	L 4.8
	d Finance infrastructure and services	E 43	L 30	E 60	L 44	E 0.4	L 2.1
	e International trade and aid - facilities, obstacles and malpractices	E 50	L 47	E 33	L 42	E 0.2	L 2.5
[6]	<u>Taxation</u>	E 29	L 50	E 20	L 17	E 0.0	L 0.2
[7]	<u>Agricultural policy goals (b)</u>						
	a Supra-national	E 14	L 30	E 0	L 8	E 0.0	L 1.1
	b National	E 64	L 77	E 67	L 64	E 0.8	L 4.8
	c Sub-national. Target groups	E 29	L 60	E 20	L 44	E 0.1	L 3.4
[8]	<u>Overall concepts of determinants.</u>						
	a Supra-national	E 14	L 13	E 0	L 6	E 0.1	L 0.0
	b National	E 36	L 30	E 27	L 28	E 0.1	L 0.8
	c Sub-national. Target groups	E 21	L 7	E 13	L 17	E 0.0	L 1.6

- (a) Including discussions, one important point in discussions counting as 0.15 paper equivalents. Papers covering more than one determinant were apportioned according to content. Discussion Group contributions not included.
- (b) Including education, trade, money and other matters affecting Agriculture.

TABLE 6.2 SOME PARTICULAR DIFFICULTIES IN OVERCOMING POVERTY IN AGRICULTURAL FAMILIES IN THE TROPICS AND SUB-TROPICS

Papers and Discussions (a) at IAA Conferences,  
1st-10th (E) and 18th-19th (L)

1 Groups of determinants	2 Overall studies	3 Area studies	4 Subject studies
Number of papers	E 14 L 30	15 36	13 52
	per cent of papers recognising difficulties		
[1] Major difficulties of Governments			
a Balancing international payments. Debt servicing	E 36 L 27	27 31	23 21
b Increasing exports against obstacles to trade and limited demands	E 50 L 17	47 28	15 13
c Deciding whether, and if so how, to use international aid	E 57 L 27	60 25	31 25
d Increasing non-agricultural employment, despite many disadvantages	E 64 L 30	73 28	23 13
e Securing human population control through family planning	E 71 L 3	60 28	23 10
f Giving priority to target groups	E 50 L 23	60 53	23 23
[2] Characteristics of many Governments and Societies			
a Urban bias and tendencies to centralisation	E 50 L 37	60 22	46 6
b Insufficient understanding of local rural conditions and farming possibilities	E 71 L 17	67 44	31 25
c 'Dissonance' between institutions - traditional, colonial, and later. Avoiding changes in power structures	E 79 L 30	53 33	28 25
d High effective discount rates. Short- rather than long-term views	E 57 L 10	40 19	54 13
e Shortage of able and circumspect staffs for administration etc.	E 71 L 17	67 28	23 25
[3] Limitations on the Use of Agricultural Economics			
a Lack of staff and other resources for the problem-area	E 79 L 17	67 17	38 21
b Limited professional training facilities	E 71 L 3	33 8	23 13
c Deficiencies, hindrances and leakages in the knowledge (information and skills) system, incl. statistics	E 64 L 37	60 44	38 31
d Insufficient understandings of the linkages between productivity analyses and applied welfare economics	E 36 L 10	47 8	15 13
e Lack of overall concepts of growth, development, equity	E 64 L 43	33 31	38 17
f Lack of experience of strategies that were designed with reasonable regard to all considerations known to be relevant	E 71 L 13	60 44	62 19

(a) Not including those in Discussion Groups

relevant, a statistical approach is first necessary. This requires re-assessments of various attributes of papers and related discussions over many conferences. Such re-assessments are inevitably time consuming, constrained by difficulties in measuring some attributes quantitatively, and somewhat subjective where other attributes are scored. The numerical results are bulky even when tabulated (Tables 6.1 to 6.5), and they require careful interpretation. Even so they can contribute to an understanding of major characteristics of IAAE functioning, beyond that obtainable from Chapter 5.

To proceed further, the approach must be deeper and more qualitative. For the purposes of this History, this can be on only a comparatively small front. So part of one of the "groups of determinants" listed in Table 6.1 was carefully selected, and the later part of this Chapter 6 about contributions on that special subject supplements the first statistical part and Chapter 5.

### Papers relevant to the problem-area

The number of conference papers with an explicit connection to the deep poverty problem area increased and varied as a proportion of the total number (Table 6.3). The concern and interest of IAAE in the problem area increased, but so too did pressures to deal with other problem areas.

TABLE 6.3 NUMBER OF PAPERS RELATED TO DEEP POVERTY PROBLEM AREA AND EXPLICITNESS OF THEIR RELATION

Years	Conferences	All papers presented	Papers related to the problem area (b)	Explicitness of relation to the problem area (b)
		number	number	per cent score
1929-38	1 to 5	182	8	4 2.3
1947-58	6 to 10	110	34	31 2.7
1961-73	11 to 15	170	90	53 2.3
1976-85	15 to 19(a)	412	208	50 2.4

(a) Excluding poster papers, and host country presentations.

(b) Average score on a scale 0 to 4: 0 = none; 1 = very little; 2 = significant on some matters; 3 = substantial; 4 = especially useful.

### The first ten conferences

Particular determinants of poverty. - Although some early papers, such as Elmhirst's in 1930, contributed much, ten conferences were held before almost all the items in Table 6.1 were dealt with. In judging how much each was presented we can best divide the papers into three groups:- (a) studies of Subjects such as Land Tenure; (b) Area studies of particular localities, countries or groups of country; (c) Overall studies of such wide subjects as "The world economy", or "Analysing national policies", or "Growth".

When the 42 relevant papers at the first ten conferences and related discussions (excluding those of Discussion Groups) were assessed on a 0 to 4 scale for explicitness of their relation to rural poverty, the Area studies averaged 3.2; the Overall studies, 2.6; the Subject studies, 1.7 (Table 6.5).



The 13 Subject studies and the related discussions covered most of the items (Table 6.1, column 4); but some items only briefly as judged by the paper equivalents (eg. item 4b - Availabilities, qualities and costs of fertilisers and other purchased factors). The 15 Area studies taken together clearly recognised most items, and some more significantly than did the Subject studies (eg. item 2a - Biological and technical knowledge). But the importance of item 4b was clearly recognised by only one-third of the Area studies; and item 8 - Concepts of determinants of rural poverty as a group - by only about the same proportion. The 14 Overall studies together recognised some items more than did Area studies - eg. item 1b (non-agricultural employment) and item 8b. But Overall studies were significantly less alive than Area studies to some other items (eg. 1c and 1e - Health and Education; 2d - Extension education; 3a and 3c - Landownership and tenure; 5c and 5d - Product marketing infra-structure.

To summarize. The greatest coverage was of [1] People, [2] Knowledge, [3c] Land use rights, [7b] National policy goals and experiences. The poorest coverage was of [3b] Settlement patterns and fragmentation of holdings, [3d, e and f] Aspects of Land reform, [4] Factor markets, [5] Product markets, [6] Taxation, [7a and c] Supra- and Sub-national policies, [8a and c] "Models" of determinants.

Political and administrative contexts. - The Overall studies were, on the whole somewhat more alive than the Area studies to the difficulties and characteristics of governments and limitations on the use of Agricultural Economics. The Subject studies paid least attention, less than 40 per cent recognizing 14 of the 17 items in Table 6.2. Of the Overall studies over 50 per cent recognized 15 of the 17. No item went wholly unrecognized. The amount (degrees) of consideration given to the difficulties that were recognized was greatest in Overall studies and least in Subject studies (Table 6.4).

Professional approaches. - Area studies drew least from previous work, scoring only 1.0, and less than Subject studies from historical approaches and numerical data (Table 6.5). Overall studies provided the least numerical data and even Subject studies scored only 2.4. In general the settings of the studies in disciplinary and historical contexts and the direct use of numerical data varied greatly and left room for improvements.

#### Changes over time

Between the early (1st to 10th) conferences and the later (16th to 19th), the Subject studies became a little more explicitly related to the poverty problem but the Area studies, as a group, a little less related (Table 6.5).

Professional approaches. - All three groups of study referred more to relevant previous work, Area studies showing the greatest improvement. Area studies also improved in their content of historical information and made more direct use of numerical data. Overall studies and Subject studies presented fewer numerical data (Table 6.5).

TABLE 6.4 DEGREES OF CONSIDERATION OF PARTICULAR DIFFICULTIES IN OVERCOMING POVERTY IN AGRICULTURAL FAMILIES IN THE TROPICS AND SUB-TROPICS

Papers and Discussions (a) at IAAE Conferences,  
1st to 10th (E) and 18th-19th (L)

	Overall studies		Area studies		Subject studies	
	E	L	E	L	E	L
Number of Papers	14	30	15	36	13	52
Degrees of consideration of difficulties	per cent of total possible recognitions (b)					
0 None	39	79	46	71	68	82
1 Very little	3	(c)	4	6	1	2
3 Substantial	22	12	21	13	12	10
4 Especially useful	10	1	5	2	3	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

- (a) Including only those with special bearing on the poverty problem area. Not including Discussion Groups.  
 (b) The 17 difficulties listed in Table 6.2 could have been recognised by each of the studies. So the total possible recognitions in the 14 Overall studies of the E. conferences could have been (14 x 17) = 238.  
 (c) Less than 0.5 per cent.

TABLE 6.5 TYPES AND NATURE OF PAPERS RELATED TO DEEP POVERTY PROBLEM AREAS

Conferences	Papers	Explicitness of relations to the problem area (b)	References to other studies (b)	Content of historical changes (b)	Content of numerical data (b)
	number	score	score	score	score
<u>Subject studies</u>					
1 to 10th	13	1.7	1.6	2.4	2.4
11 to 15th	70	2.3	1.7	1.9	1.6
16 to 19th(a)	111	2.2	2.4	2.4	1.9
<u>Area Studies</u>					
1 to 10th	15	3.2	1.0	2.0	1.8
11 to 15th	8	2.9	2.0	3.1	2.0
16 to 19th(a)	49	2.8	2.3	2.5	2.3
<u>Overall Studies</u>					
1 to 10th	14	2.6	1.8	2.1	1.4
11 to 15th	12	2.1	1.2	2.4	0.9
16 to 19th(a)	48	2.6	2.2	2.5	1.0

(a) and (b) - See Table 6.3.

Allocation of attention/priorities. - Between the early (E) conferences (1st to 10th) and the late (L) conferences (18th and 19th) significant changes were made in the allocations of attention to particular groups of determinant (Table 6.1). The total number of Subject studies was multiplied 4 times but for some groups the number of papers and paper equivalents increased substantially more - 1c; 2a, b, c; 3a, b, f; 4a, d, e, f; 5a to e; 7a, b, c; 8b, c. For some groups the increase was substantially less or there was a decrease in papers and paper equivalents - 1a, b, d, e; 3c, d, e.

Generally similar shifts were made in the allocations of attention in Overall and Area studies, except that Overall studies paid not relatively more but relatively less attention to 3b, 5d and 8c. And Area studies paid relatively less attention to 3a, b and f, but a little more to 3e.

To summarize. Relatively less attention was paid to [1] People and [3c and d] Land reform, and relatively more to [2] Knowledge, [4] Factor markets, [5] Product markets, and [7] Agricultural policy goals. The increase in attention to [8] overall concepts (models) of the determinants of poverty was largely confined to only the equivalent of 2.4 Special study papers (Table 6.1, items 8b and c).

Political and administrative contexts. - Between early (E) and late (L) conferences there was a decrease in explicit recognitions of particular difficulties and characteristics of Governments and of limitations on the use of Agricultural Economics (Table 6.4). The early Overall and Area Studies tended to provide somewhat more about the contexts of their problems. Later studies assumed these were sufficiently well known or had more to say about particular issues and analyses and gave priority to these because paper lengths and time for presentation were closely limited (See Chapter 8 - Designing conference programmes). Perhaps also some speakers at the later conferences preferred not to outline the political and administrative contexts of their work because they depended, directly or indirectly, on the continuing approval and finance of their Governments or large bureaucracies. Such natural preferences were, at the very conception of the Association, greatly feared especially by Elmhirst and Maxton. The constitution, policy and procedures (particularly the Discussion Groups and encouragement of innumerable informal contacts) did much to allay fears and encourage frankness, but could not be wholly successful.

Of course statements of political and administrative contexts can be unnecessarily repetitive, and they may not be particularly relevant for some studies (eg. some Subject studies of "Ability to reason towards improved farming systems). Yet the proportions of papers and discussions that explicitly considered these contexts "very little" or "not at all" (Table 6.4) became alarmingly high. And the alarm was all the louder because, of the total number of papers presented in 1982 and 1985, high percentages purported to give significant, substantial or especially useful prescriptions for future policies (scores 2, 3 or 4):- Overall studies, 87 per cent; Area studies, 89; Special studies, 90. The contributed papers of 1985 did however show some increased recognition of political and administrative contexts.

#### Discussion groups

When Groups of the type still arranged in 1985 were first introduced for the Tenth conference in 1958 in India, some were concentrated on the problems of low-income countries as regards:- (a) "Agricultural Policy" - Land reform, Price policy, Economic development and planning and International trade; (b) "Farm Management Research". Such concentration was arranged for all later conferences and was in the 1960s and 1970s extended over more subject fields. Discussion

Groups provided opportunities for many and various contributions of experiences of poverty problems and their study, indications of political and administration contexts of work in Agricultural Economics, and exchanges of ideas, doubts and difficulties. But the width of each Group's "subject", the flexibility in choosing what to concentrate on, the overlapping of different Groups, the number of national and local circumstances included, the lengths of the discussions (10 to 22 per cent of total conference time) and the brevity required in reports on them - all these frustrate effective statistical summarization now of contributions. Some indications of the importance of the Groups can however be given as we trace significant contributions to the particular "subject areas" listed in Table 6.1.

#### Contributions to particular subject areas

By concentrating on particular items of Table 6.1 and tracing contributions about them, conference by conference, we may secure some answers to historical questions about IAAE that are not so clear from the above analysis and our tour of highlights in Chapter 5. Unfortunately time and costs do not here permit tracing for more than one subject area. This must therefore be chosen carefully. To be most useful it must:- (a) be of fundamental importance; (b) relate to longer term issues; (c) entail multi-disciplinary work; (d) raise value questions; (e) present political issues; (f) be of local and national concern, but also of wide international concern. "Determinants of changes in human birth and death rates and some consequences of such changes in Agriculture" is part of item [1a] of Table 6.1 and is chosen by these criteria. A subject area more central in Agricultural Economics and one posing fewer questions about values and political goals could have been chosen and would probably have indicated greater achievements by IAAE. But exploring this more peripheral subject area may well add more of the answers we seek. Tracing "model" building or other methods of "bringing all the threads together" for policy formulation would also probably not have been as useful. The weaving and the cloth depend on the qualities of the "threads".

#### Human birth and death rates

##### The pre-1939 conferences

At the First conference O.E. Baker charted the rising trend of total world population [16] but he was concerned not with Malthusian results but with the rapidly declining birth rate in USA and a fall in demand for farm products there. In discussion J.R. Orr concluded that Baker's paper was "as epoch-making as Malthus". So, very early, there appeared a considerable propensity to be "optimistic".

At the Second conference Elmhirst presented the Association's first paper on problems of the tropics and sub-tropics.[17] It was based on experiences in trying to find out during the early 1920s for Rabindranath Tagore what lay behind the apparent breakdown of village life in an upland area of western Bengal. It provided an excellent example of comprehensive observation, holistic thinking and imaginative and well presented prescriptions for development strategy, and even some tactics. It was in almost all respects a pioneering study. The main hypotheses were that research and education could improve rural welfare if they were directed, and complemented by wise and active government. The human population of the

area studied had been so high in relation to natural endowments that famine resulted when the rains failed. And insecurities had become even worse because after the coming of the railway - and ill directed attempts at commercial agriculture - tree, water and soil endowments had been severely depleted, malnutrition and disease increased, and social cohesions destroyed. Although the birth rate was high the population was declining rapidly. At the basis of the social and economic troubles lay "malaria, monkeys, and mutual mistrust". To Elmhirst there was "an emergency problem which certainly could be measured in figures but the cure for which was necessarily a change in attitudes of mind".[18] A "multi-disciplinary strategy" was needed. Poverty was very liable to persist if attitudes of mind were not changed.

At the Third conference S.C. Ray attempted a general description of "Economic conditions in British India" and emphasized that, due to falling death rates, the human population was rapidly increasing so that a greater proportion sought incomes from agricultural activities, and under-employment was rising. A "comprehensive policy of rural reconstruction" was needed.[19]

But the main interests of the 1930s lay elsewhere so that papers on "Population growth and Agriculture: the Population prospect" and "International planning of Agriculture" scarcely mentioned our poverty problem area. And it was not until the Fifth conference in 1938 that population pressures in poor tropical countries were considered in a thought-provoking paper by M.L. Wilson on "Social implications of Economic Progress". In poor countries over-population was "probably the greatest single difficulty". And peasant cultures were "ill with over-population". Wilson emphasized too that much depended on education of the right type, on development of a multi-disciplinary "science of man", and on socio-economic planning, using the services of scientific advisers.

Two contributors to the discussion of the Wilson paper had long experiences, Sam Higginbottom [20] of parts of India, and C.Y. Shepherd, of the West Indies. Higginbottom emphasized again high population pressures and related low productivity and under-employment. Shepherd traced historically the influence of the slave trade and the indentured plantation labour system, resulting in large numbers of workers, poor sanitation, bad housing, disease, low productivity and under-employment.

#### Two "rehabilitation" conferences

At the Sixth conference few papers were directed at our problem area, and these related again to India and the West Indies. M. Nanavati again emphasised the increasing absolute numbers pressing for employment in Agriculture, and their low skills. But although he made various policy proposals none was on family planning. Indeed he was "not alarmed by India's population of 400 million and its rapid increase. (By 1981 the population of India became 690 million and with those of Pakistan and Bangladesh the total was 865 million - 116 per cent more than in 1947). C.Y. Shepherd in "Problems of Peasant Agriculture in the British West Indies" also summarized many experiences and made policy proposals, but said nothing about birth and death rates.

At the Seventh conference R.G. Tugwell in a notable paper on "The spread of Industry to Rural areas" also pleaded for "careful and patient planning and social management" [21] but did not consider population control.

#### The conferences of the 1950s - Eighth, Ninth and Tenth

During the 1950s the conferences directed more attention to our poverty problem area. General interest was raised by post-war experiences of food shortages in Europe and elsewhere, by planning for the future in India, Pakistan and other countries that had gained self-government, and by the statistical and other work of UN agencies established in the 1940s. The cold war also heightened concern. It was therefore appropriate that the first two papers presented at the Eighth conference were on "Population and Food Supplies", a great subject of the decade, and that the Tenth conference should be in India where problems were amongst the heaviest.

Starting with the war in Korea the decade also witnessed increasing realisation in North America of peace-time international responsibilities. Those few American scholars who had studied agrarian affairs outside USA and Canada were of key importance and much began to depend on the research abilities and attitudes of North American agricultural economists.

The Eighth conference - The first two papers illustrate the position well. F.W. Notestein in "Economic problems of Population change" contributed a wise assessment of world wide demographic studies. He showed that in economic policy formulation human populations should be regarded neither as predetermined nor as variables to be easily fixed at calculated optima. Populations and food supplies were inter-related dynamically. It was therefore the duty of agricultural economists "to face the broader consequences - economic, social and political - of their own practical activities". "Almost insuperable difficulties were involved in achieving the sort of economic development required to permit reliance upon the automatic process of social-economic change for the transition to low birth and death rates. The difficult initial conditions, and the new efficiency with which disease can be controlled, require measures that will speed the reduction of birth rates, if programmes of economic development are to achieve their objectives".[22] It was not sufficient - indeed it was "worse than useless" - to raise food production about as fast or a little faster than population increases.[23] So the objective becomes "speeding the process of social change in directions that yield falling birth rates ....". "We must move from economics to sociology and back again, travelling always in a political world".[24] There was great need for multidisciplinary research on how to achieve low birth rate - low death rate societies. Notestein emphasized the need for development of research staff in most countries rather than reliance on a few from high-income countries. E. de Vries and E. Flores, with much experience in Java and Mexico, respectively, firmly supported Notestein's conclusions.

J.D. Black attempted an analysis of "Trends in Food Supplies in the World" and, since his own deep research was into the economics of US agricultural policies, he was wise to admit at the start that he could "easily be wrong in ... statements about different parts of the world." If wrong he wanted to be corrected. Unfortunately the structure of the programme in 1952, the absence of members from Japan, China and many other countries, and the interest in Notestein's paper precluded many corrections. Black's paper remains indicative of much N. American thinking in the early 1950s. On the whole he was optimistic about production possibilities if each nation made "a strong effort on both the food supply and the population fronts," but pessimistic about international trade as a corrector of food shortages. For instance Japan was finding export markets for her growing industry more difficult.

Integration of the FAO policy of increasing food output and the International Planned Parenthood League policy needed to be worked out country by country. "Conscious analysis and direction of effort to this end (was) the great task and the great hope of mankind".[25]

The third paper by S.R. Sen gave India's experiences and outlook. Previous conference papers on India were largely confirmed. Sen agreed with Notestein that efficient local leadership was essential to bring about social changes reducing birth rates but felt that "all we can legitimately expect .... in India .. (is) .. to stabilise (population) somewhere between 450 and 500 million by the end of this century".[26]

The discussion of Sen's paper was significant. K. Brandt was optimistic because, "measured by today's farm technology", most countries had "very large dormant food resources". "Irrigation water, nitrogen and pesticides can hardly be over-rated". On birth control he strongly opposed the views of many planners: they would lead to "police states". The "balance between population growth and the constantly changing standards of happiness that people choose for themselves within the framework of the ethical values and moral code of the society in which they live" should be achieved by ways in which "their own conscience is their sole judge".[27] "Practical common sense and scholarly wisdom alike seem to call .... for putting all the emphasis on the all round adjustments of a developing society and an expanding economy". In his own paper on "Economic objectives of FAO, Point IV and the Colombo Plan", Brandt stressed, amongst much else, the need for changes in value patterns.

In discussing Sen's paper J.P. Bhattacharjee briefly indicated the need to use "systems of simultaneous relations and equations" in forecasting population and other magnitudes. But the necessary data were sadly deficient.[28]

The Ninth conference. - The main theme was "The Implications of Technical Change in Agriculture" and interest was mainly in the higher-income countries. But in his Presidential Address Elmhirst made a great plea for attention to our poverty problem-area by emphasizing population problems along with research needs, and the "engineering of desirable social change". "Conscious steps" should "bring about some balance between populations and agricultural potentials, not merely that mouths may not increase beyond the rational capacity to fill them, but that mothers may have the means they need not only to rear children but to guarantee for themselves some leisure in which to enjoy companionship and the cultural activities of their communities". ".... as an organization of scientists we must face the issue involved".[29] "Rural societies require all the help and advice .... economists and sociologists can give them". All this derived directly from Elmhirst's previous work.

In discussion of assessments of "Technical Change" in six different environments, T.Yajuma gave "some points on the darker side" of Japan's development. The "farm population is not decreasing and we are unable to decrease it".

R. Colon-Torres provided a wide ranging and highly significant review of "Social and Cultural Problems associated with Technical Change in Agriculture". He drew on rich experiences in Puerto Rico and had various strategic proposals. But he paid next to no attention to population changes. In discussion J.F. Duncan felt that Puerto Rico had been able to find a place for "redundant workers" in USA and that other less developed countries should take the risk of big social disturbances, "short of entire disruption", in order to secure the gains from new technological methods. Otherwise "with mounting population .... time may be too short.[30] M.N. Huda indicated that the spread of birth control was slow and furtive, although Hinduism

and Islam were not opposed to technical progress. V.M. Jakhade estimated that in India "the surplus of agricultural population" was nearly 40 per cent. N.B. Tablante emphasized heavy and increasing population pressures in the Philippines. By these and related determinants economic growth was checked, and with it part-time and off-season activities that could absorb part of the under-employed and unemployed.

The Tenth conference. - In his rousing speech of welcome the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, made another plea for great and friendly efforts to help solve real problems .... "social and above all .... economic" in "the raising of the level of living of .... hundreds of millions" of poor peasants. On population he hoped numbers would be restricted. A start had been made. But the process would take time and the increase in forty years time was not known. "All that we can do is to work our hardest on every plane; on the plane of production, on the plane of equitable distribution, so that we may build up a society where every person has an even chance, where every person has the necessities of life, .... where cultural and spiritual matters can flourish, for without them all this material progress may lead perhaps in wrong directions".[31]

D.R. Gadgil reviewed the "Experiences of the less fully developed countries" and outlined the "vicious circle" of rapid population growth, immobility of labour outwards from Agriculture, and instability of Agriculture.[32]

K.O. Campbell in "Rural Population Movements in relation to Economic Development" gave a comprehensive review of previous studies. But his and the related discussion were concerned with net transfers from Agriculture and very little with birth and death rates.

In discussion of "The Inter-dependent Development of Agriculture and Other Industries" by U. Aziz, Edith Whetham provided an historical perspective by showing that many challenges arose in Britain when population growth was rapid relative to capital and farmed land. J. Marull surveyed Latin American experiences including rapid population increases and the expansion of city slums. He concluded that a slowing down in rates of population growth might hardly be expected among predominantly Catholic people with high birth rates, and health programmes which were achieving remarkable success in postponing deaths. But there was "an explosion of expectations", so that people found "it increasingly difficult to wait for an orderly and slow development".[33]

Although in some other papers and discussions of the 1950s population pressures and growth rates were mentioned, they received no close attention, despite the early pleas of Elmhirst, Wilson, Notestein and others. Thus even a Discussion Group at the Tenth conference that agreed "Overpopulation was .... a critical problem" [34] did not go on to discuss birth and death rates.

#### Conferences of the 1960s - Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth

The Eleventh conference. - S. Kuznets in a paper on "Economic Growth and the Contribution of Agriculture" included comments on the implications of the commonly higher birth and lower death rates in agricultural populations.[35] And stimulated by discussion he drew a sharp distinction between economic growth that is a desirable process and economic growth as it actually has been observed. He thought it seemed "clearly desirable for many under-developed countries today to minimise the increase in population and to strive for a marked rise in product per caput".[36] Also "the patterns of the past do not indicate inevitable .... trends; .... there are choices. If desirable economic growth is different from the type that was

in fact observed in the past, explorations of policy should be made in the light of what is desirable - provided that some approximation to it is proved feasible".[37] But neither in other plenary session papers and discussions nor in Discussion Groups was there substantial attention paid to population changes.

The Twelfth conference. - Again little was said about population changes. Big population increases appeared to be accepted as inevitable, and exogenous. Attention was much more on transfers of labour out of Agriculture.

Semi-transfer was dealt with by S. Krasovec in a paper on "The Future of Part-time Farming". This emphasized its common appearance with economic development, and disappearance when high development is reached. After the conference this paper induced discussion, particularly in France and the Federal Republic of Germany. It also helped to increase Krasovec's interest in birth and death rates (see below, Fifteenth and Sixteenth conferences).

The Thirteenth conference. - The programme structure was designed to induce thorough discussions integrating views of population growth, technological production possibilities, economic prospects for trade and incomes and political problems.[38]

W.D. Borrie was invited to present "Population Growth - Demographic and Sociological viewpoints". He provided an up-to-date, comprehensive demographic summary, with judgements of family planning programmes, useful references, and population forecasts to the year 2000. Beyond, the arithmetic would lead to "a nonsense conclusion", but meantime it showed "how short is the time remaining for the completion of a victory which is so far apparent in only the world's relatively affluent areas - namely, the rational control of fertility .... the only way out of the population dilemma consistent with human dignity".[39] In essence therefore, he repeated the pleas made by Notestein at the Eighth conference, 15 years earlier. But he did not recognise explicitly that agricultural economics and policy had parts to play in changing attitudes in favour of family planning. He emphasized rather the great tasks ahead because of the population increases inevitable in the next few decades.

The discussions in full conference and in quarter-conference meetings deserve analysis in some detail because they indicate several of the characteristics of IAAE.

(1) Borrie's paper was exceptionally well prepared, drew on knowledge of many scientific studies, and drew conclusions with great caution. But many aggregations were unavoidable because of limits on time and paper length, and many were desirable in trying to provide a clear enough conspectus;

(2) Such aggregations induced constructive criticisms because the conference could pool experiences from many countries and localities, and had special interest in some of the determinants (eg. S.R. Sen indicated and partly explained some wide differences within India);

(3) Some conference members naturally tended to accept medium- and even long-term demographic forecasts, because they wished to concentrate on agricultural implications;

(4) Others tended not to accept even medium-term forecasts because they expected continuous interactions of birth and death rates with economic and social

developments, including general education, public health and sanitation provisions, family planning programmes, and more;

(5) Some were "pessimistic" about birth rates because they felt there would at best be only very slow changes in fatalism aggravated by continuing poverty (due both to low productivity and to inequitable distribution), old religions, and established social practices;

(6) Others were "optimistic" because they assumed individuals were sufficiently rational, and governments sufficiently far seeing and pragmatic. Also there were "accelerated professional and research activities pertaining to family planning" and "rapid improvements in contraception technology".[40] If economic growth were made more rapid birth rates would fall.

(7) Differences between "optimists" and "pessimists" tended to be aggravated by differences of judgement of future changes in agricultural techniques and in outputs over the long-run of usable research results from natural scientists. F.C. Bawden in his major paper on the natural scientist's viewpoint concluded that "if we restrict our considerations to the rest of this century, and hope by then population growth will slow, there seems no technical reason why" food production should not be doubled to meet a possible doubling of the population and increased still further "if everyone then is to get a properly balanced diet".[41] But M. Shafi Niaz thought "hope" was not enough, and "no amount of incoming radiation or increase in the carbon dioxide content of the atmosphere is going to solve the problem".

(8) Similarly some members were "optimistic" because they were relying especially heavily on increases in productive non-agricultural employment or, following land reforms, on intensification of agriculture;

(9) Many members seemed prepared to settle for a rather general plea - "... the fundamental issues were those involving means of bringing about change in ideas, concepts, philosophies, and motivations".[42];

(10) But perhaps most significant were pleas for more work by agricultural economists. "The power of .... knowledge about demographic matters is much greater than about other (social matters) .... We might do well to set up a whole set of facade hypotheses holding, for example, that if  $x$  were true,  $y$  and  $z$  would be the demographic implications. We could then check those in terms of demography".[43] "We must stop thinking in terms of closed models, closed economies, and closed populations".[44] "It is tempting to set up these relationships (that together adjust agricultural outputs and their uses) in an econometric model, for it is indeed an integrated system. I think I know the factors and signs, but I do not know the coefficients, which vary enormously from crop to crop, from country to country, and with the passage of time".[45] "... economists have not developed a theoretical core which explains differences in the growth, composition and quality of different populations, over time and cross-sectionally, as an integral part of factor demands and supplies, and which also explains differences in family planning behaviour ....".[46] "... institutional studies will have to show the extent to which various forces (affecting birth rates) are at work".[47] And, not least, J.L. Dillon's dramatically put conclusions [48] "... there is a substantial field of much needed research - at the level of the .... farm household. What are the costs and benefits of birth control? What are the discrepancies between private and social costs and benefits? What is

the elasticity of response to various incentives or disincentives? And so on". Also "... agricultural economists have ignored assessment of death control as a policy" - difficult .... "economically, politically and morally". "But if success is less than adequate on the food supply and birth control fronts, our conferees" at the 26th IAAE conference "could well be grateful if some research (is) done in these areas".

What then were the responses to these pleas? Were the obvious uncertainties and differences between "optimists" and "pessimists" narrowed by research and forward thinking or only by what time has shown?

The Fourteenth conference. - Birth and death rates and changes in population were scarcely mentioned.

G. Myrdal in his "Agricultural Development and Planning in Under-developed Countries outside the Socialist Sphere" took population densities as "given", and so did J.P. Bhattacharjee in "Peasant and Planner". Even in discussions, including those in Discussion Groups, no attention was paid. T.J. Dams did however again plead for a multi-disciplinary "integrated approach, essential for any consistent and effective development planning" [49] and S.I. Krasovec made clear the dire consequences of the large population increases expected.[50]

The Fifteenth conference. - S.I. Krasovec was invited to present "The Outcome of Population Policies". He found it difficult because the policies had operated for "no more than 20 years".[51] But he summarized the various presentations at the Thirteenth conference and the Dilemma that emerged at the Second World Population conference in 1965 - Can a non-developed .... region achieve a lowering of population growth before it has attained a certain degree of economic, social and cultural development? Can it "start economic development without a previous moderation of rapid population growth?" Krasovec favoured the majority view of the World Conference and many demographers that both economic development programmes and campaigns for family planning were needed simultaneously in developing regions. But any campaigns for "a reduced birth rate can hardly be successful as long as the bulk of the population sees in the large number of children born the only insurance for their old age, while they are still afraid that half their children will die, and as long as each child is a most needed contributor to the labour force in the field. Only when at least one of these elements is eliminated, can a serious campaign find support in the undoubted inclination of women to be relieved from too many births".[52] Therefore the falls in birth rates reported by many countries were determined not by family planning alone. Moreover many Governments had now started other programmes that would affect birth rates - raising the status of women, prohibiting child labour, making education of children compulsory, providing social security, "liberalizing" abortion, modifying marriage and divorce laws. Some Governments had in their taxation and allowance system discriminated against large families. There were about 50 countries with a population policy. "However doubts with regard to the desirability and feasibility of such policies still prevail in many quarters".[53] Krasovec ended with yet another plea: - for "very serious multi-disciplinary study to ascertain what is the really optimal trend of population .... for a given region". Regrettably no record of concurrent meeting discussion of Krasovec's paper was published - a very unusual omission.

However a Discussion Group considered "Population Problems, National and International" using Krasovec's paper and one by their Chairman, D. Ensminger.

The report was comprehensive, with seven big "suggested fields for research" and with a proposal that, "if funded by foundation or other sources .... a nucleus population staff work through the (IAAE's) regional and country contacts in promoting social research relative to population policies and in assisting in working out linkages between agricultural economists and other related social scientists with population policy makers".[54] The Group also proposed that "IAAE seek to ensure that agricultural economists become increasingly aware of the need to consider population questions in rural programming and seek as a matter of priority to encourage more agricultural economists to undertake research in the problems listed so that integrated policies and programmes for population control and economic development can be developed". The IAAE should also encourage training in the population area by institutions involved in the training of agricultural economists and related social scientists.

Such proposals seemed unlikely to fall on deaf ears because in his Presidential address S.R.Sen made wise statements about the need for family planning, about multi-disciplinary work, and about international and national research administration.[55]

The Sixteenth conference. - So it was that this conference devoted much attention again to "Food and Population: Priorities in Decision Making". Indeed a book with this title was published separately with 3 plenary session papers, and 7 special session studies - 2 of African countries, 3 of Asiatic, 1 on small farm management and motivating for farm planning and 1 on the role of social science research and research agencies. The book included reports of discussions, and had a total of 192 pages.[7] A useful Discussion Group report was also published.[56] In all the achievement was substantial, owing much to the basic nature of IAAE and to leadership, especially of S. Krasovec, and D. Ensminger who was made Chairman of a committee of IAAE on "Population and Food". It also showed the advantages of IAAE co-operation with UN agencies, particularly after the World Population Plan of Action was accepted in April 1974 by the World Population Conference. The FAO and the UNFPA (UN Fund for Population Activities) were approached and sponsored jointly with IAAE a seminar in Rome in December 1975. This provided finance and motivation for much of the work, particularly the country studies.[57]

In retrospect it is clear that the main concern was to increase food production so as to meet the demands arising from the increases in population virtually inevitable in the next decade or two. And, to a lesser degree, to ensure that the "basic needs" of the poor were met. Control of yet further increases in population were widely regarded as urgent, but received less attention. This reflected the position at the joint seminar in December 1975 and the greater general interest in the World Food Conference of December 1974 as against the World Population Conference of April 1974. S. Krasovec and Tarlok Singh reported on the seminar: "The theme (of demographic aspects) could not receive sufficiently close attention and the underlying feeling remained that, perhaps at a future date, more specific treatment of research in demographic problems pertaining to agricultural and rural development might be possible".[58] S.R. Sen, Eva Mueller and others had made clear at the seminar that the determinants of birth rates were numerous and in very variable combinations. "The consequential impact on fertility (of rural development with large changes in farm income, agricultural and other economic factors, and community characteristics) is largely indirect. The precise mechanisms involved are still a matter for surmise and Eva Mueller postulated several "intervening variables" such as group norms, values and tastes, familial institutions, "economic attitudes"

(perceived costs and benefits of raising children), and changes in aspirations. The processes may differ in their operation between societies and between groups and individuals".[59] General IAAE discussion brought out that in South East Asia the inter-relationships were so complex that "a good deal more research .... was needed".

J.P. Bhattacharjee also reviewed the joint seminar and strongly supported the majority conclusion that programmes for family planning and for food and agriculture development should be pursued "simultaneously and vigorously". But even how to incorporate the concept of "basic minimum needs for each family" into planning and programme formulation was "still relatively little explored".[60] And the lack of any well formulated and consistent policies affecting population that were politically accepted was widespread. Agricultural economists can help in (the) political process (to decide priorities, and design and implement integrated policies and programmes for growth balance with equity) "if they depart from their adherence to value-neutral positivism and incorporate into their analysis consideration of political feasibility of different policy options and their consequences".[61] The general discussion of the IAAE plenary sessions showed that there were still many uncertainties to be narrowed and therefore confusion about strategies.

The Seventeenth conference. - One Discussion Group and only one contributed paper dealt with birth and death rates. The Group reviewed population growth rates and concluded that Africa was "a critical region". Also the impact of the control policies of Governments varied within countries because of different responses by various ethnic groups and income groups. Again Africa was "a major problem region". Experience of family planning programmes was generally disappointing, but the Group's discussions were more about policies than about research.

In the contributed paper R.D.Singh summarised results from a research project - "Economic Analysis of Fertility Behaviour among poor rural households in Brazil". Poverty, infant mortality and lack of education which reduced the "quality of children" all tended to raise "fertility". Schooling of future mothers tended to lower it slightly, and father's schooling and outside contacts, and modern agricultural technology to lower it more. "Land has little impact, but increases in income have a positive effect on numbers (in families), although this positive effect decreases as income rises".[62] "Policies to deal with high fertility rates, low investment in human capital, and rural development are definitely interlinked and must form an integral part of a country's overall development policies". In opening discussion K.L. Bachman praised the attempt "to shed some new light", but concluded that "Further discussion of hypotheses that might be drawn from the interesting relationships suggested .... would appear desirable in view of the crucial importance to the development of human resources ....". Unfortunately little discussion at the conference was reported. And even in papers such as that by S. Chirapanda and W. Tamrong-Thanyalak on Land Reform in Thailand, where population growth rates (eg. of 2.5%) were found to be alarming, their control was not discussed. Elsewhere longer-run population growth problems were mentioned but only very briefly or tangentially. C.H. Shah in "Accomplishments, Present Status and Future Opportunities for Agricultural Economists in the Planning Processes in Less Developed Economies" stated:- "All related issues that have been raised in the wake of demographic inquiries cannot be put back in Pandora's box". "The vital question .... pertains to the time lag .... (of) beneficial effects (of population control). Agricultural economists .... are waiting for findings (of "practicising economists") to

crystallise". They .... "take the cautious route of multi-modal planning strategy".[63] E.Ojala in the W.K. Kellogg Foundation Lecture stated: "Even when governments are not averse to common action, a staff .... paper has to demonstrate .... a fine tuning to the potential political consensus if international action is to result, .... the most stimulating challenge (for) an international civil servant".[64] But in a contributed paper on "Ethical Issues and International Development" J.R. Simpson included "Population control" as one of ten issues, mainly related to world wide development strategy, that are ethical issues. He ended with the conclusion that "Philosophy is everyone's business", and "... moral philosophy has too long been neglected by too many agricultural economists".[65] This view was supported in a substantial Discussion Group for "Philosophic Thought".

The Eighteenth and Nineteenth conferences. - No plenary or concurrent sessions had any paper on population control. Population pressures were recognised as important by substantial proportions of the Area and Overall studies (Table 6.1) and a few (by Y. Hayami; P.S. Leite; G.K. Eicher and J.M. Staatz; W.M. Mwangi) stressed this point. But no attention was directed to the determinants of birth and death rates. A small Discussion Group had divided opinions about the effects of "larger populations", some "participants identified the positive consequences of population growth, arguing that countries with larger populations are able to achieve economies of scale .... stronger work incentives are developed and increases in population .... encourage technological development".[66] But attitudes to family planning were discussed along with the "necessity for and effectiveness of population control policies". The Group's main attention was on other policies but a recommendation was made that among the subjects for the Twentieth conference there should be "Population Growth - its effects on Agricultural and Rural Development: A possible Help or a major Hindrance?"

#### Some conclusions

Our analysis of contributions related to the poverty problem area, and the more detailed tracing through of contributions about human population changes confirm the conclusions from the survey of highlights (Chapter 5).

Accomplishments. - The IAEE accomplished much. Awareness of problems, experiences and opportunities was widely spread. Members who attended conferences, and members and others who studied the resulting publications, gained many thought-provoking facts and ideas, and much inspiration. On rural poverty in the Tropics and Sub-tropics some early and highly significant papers were contributed (eg. that by L.K.Elmhirst in 1930). About half the papers of the conferences were, by 1961, to some extent relevant (Table 6.3). On human population changes too a succession of significant contributions was made, beginning with F.W. Notestein's in 1952. The IAAE was able to attract as speakers many of the world's best economists and demographers and so secured wise reviews and assessments of problems and policies, and much foresight. Indeed if the conclusions of Elmhirst and Notestein had been really well followed through to effective policies in research, education and extension, and in development and family planning programmes, the world today would be a better place.

A valuable service was in showing, quite largely in contributed papers and Discussion Groups, how many-sided are the problems of rural poverty and

population - how many variables (biological, physical work related, farm economic and socio-economic) are determinants, how complex they are, how inter-related, and how differently combined in different nations and areas within nations.[67] Horizons were broadened. Understandings of the needs for multidisciplinary work were deepened. And holistic thinking was induced also by the general IAAE desire for policy prescriptions.

Why then was not more accomplished? Why are poverty and population pressure problems still so prevalent?

Reasons for limited results. - Clearly the many-sided, multi-disciplinary nature of the problems was a major reason. Elmhirst had his shorthand. "Mosquitos, monkeys and mutual mistrust" summarized much that his wide-angle lens and very sensitive mind recorded and from which his empathy and intelligence distilled out wise conclusions and prescriptions. A much bigger total mental capacity was developed later, but it tended to be drawn into narrower "subjects", or thinspread statistical work, or administrative work with narrow priorities. The multi-disciplinary work essential to understanding in depth and sufficiently comprehensively the variables and their inter-relationships was difficult and time consuming, and demanded scarce empathies and scarce combinations of special skills, not least in field work. "Overall concepts of the determinants of rural poverty" with some related "model" building was even in 1982 and 1985 the subject of only 2.4 paper equivalents (Table 6.1). A great difficulty was that the logic of the work required many valuations that could not even indirectly be made in money terms, and were affected by little understood acculturation processes.[68] All that was needed was regarded as too awkward and too costly to establish in the prevailing academic and national and international civil service organizations which were the sources of IAAE speakers.

A second major reason was the natural tendency of human minds generally to deal with short-term problems rather than long-term and to take routes that are mentally and spiritually easier, even although they fail to solve long-term problems or may indeed aggravate them. Thus many of the IAAE conference papers that we have considered as related to the rural poverty problem area and to human population changes were not closely so directed. They had low scores for "explicitness" (Tables 6.3 and 6.5). And although prescriptions for policy makers were generally wanted there was considerable neglect of the difficulties of Governments and administrators (Tables 6.2 and 6.4). In the choosing of research projects (and therefore in the basic work for papers for IAAE) full use was often not made of the guidance provided by the basic concepts of John Dewey and L.A. Salter - of "central" problems over which there are conflicts and confusions, being surrounded by alternative strategic-solutions, each with related sets of tactical alternatives and so each dependant at the periphery of the policy makers' knowledge on the testing of well formulated hypotheses.[Part II Note 4] So in practice the hypotheses were often not well related to choice of the various strategies and definition of the best tactics, and so not fully pertinent to our "central" and continuing poverty problem.

Third. There were of course many obstacles along the road from research results to acceptance by Governments and programmes really effective "in the field". "Never yet share of Truth was vainly set ...." was part of the faith of Warren.[69] But Truth had not only to be comprehensive enough but also to be readily understandable, to offer early enough benefits, to cost little enough to spread and use, and, often most important, not to run counter to the Falsehoods surrounding some

traditions, and status holders and others with vested interests. And, again, Truth could not be defined without valuations, many of which the "powers that be" could claim were, in the end, only theirs to make. Certainly hard work and patience could work wonders but, where the researchers were few and dependent on patronage, and the work of arriving at Truth was so difficult and costly, then, inevitably, progress was limited.

Fourth, were the constraints on the interchange of information and skills over time and between and within nations - constraints that IAAE was itself organized to help reduce.

Our analysis of the papers with fairly direct bearing on our rural poverty problem area showed that the "professional contexts" were (as judged by scoring for use of previous studies, historical information and numerical data) often not well considered. So there must have been substantial "wastage" or under-use of information. Of course many studies had to pioneer, in the early part of the period covered and in particular areas and countries. The actual "wastage" was less than appears; but still substantial. The IAAE considerations of human birth and death rates provide an interesting example. Despite the excellent presentations by Notestien in 1952 and Borrie in 1967 and the hard work led by Krasovec and Ensminger in 1974-6, there were long delays and big "wastages" between and after these efforts. Even after 25 years some of the important determinants had not had the research and consideration they deserved.[58] By 1985 there was still such "conflict and confusion" that a Discussion Group seemed to want to start the IAAE consideration process all over again. And these were the experiences even when, exceptionally, special co-operation and finance was secured, short-term, from FAO and UNFPA.[56, 57]

The work of Discussion Groups had a very useful spontaneity, but there were big "wastages" because of discontinuities. Viewed historically it becomes clear that progressive build-ups of information and skills were often too small in comparison with repetitions of rather general conclusions, and pleas.

There was a very important flexibility in the allocations of attention decided upon when particular subjects and speakers were invited and when contributed papers were selected for conference programmes. More flexibility was provided by the poster-sessions introduced in 1985. But in retrospect, it may well be judged that the total output of conferences was too "encyclopaedic" and not sufficiently "systematic". The lessons that led to Farm Management research and related biological and engineering work being more "systematized" seemed to need application to a wider socio-economic field. Again, should not the Dewey-Salter guidance have led to closer relation of subjects to "central" problems and strategies? The synoptic views of leading members of IAAE at the ends of conferences from 1967 onwards did tend to "systematize" more in relation to policy problems. But there remained much work to be done in retrieving and refiling in continually up-dated reviews the contents of conference cargoes in ways more directly useful to decision makers. The brief efforts in this direction in this Chapter are inadequate, even on the restricted fronts chosen.

From this standpoint it is also clear that limitations on paper lengths, times for presentation, times for discussion, and on the recording and reporting of discussions did result in considerable failures to achieve such quality in communication as would induce effective understanding. Failures, alas, despite many noble efforts to achieve success.[See Chapter 8: Evolution]



Improvements. - The basic weaknesses of the IAAE that were assessed at the end of the foundation period (Chapter 3) underlie much of this past experience. Lack of finance could be judged the main constraint.

But the basic strengths have also been proven by what was accomplished. And these strengths ensured that experience was allowed to teach: much was learnt and many adjustments made. So, for the future there remains promise.

This history is not, fortunately, responsible for what changes should be; but to help, it must move on to "what happened and why" in Organization and Methods, for they too have lessons.

## PART IV ORGANIZATION, FINANCE AND MANAGEMENT

"... teach them ordinances .... and .... show them .... the work they must do". "... provide able men .... and place them to be rulers of thousands .... of hundreds .... of fifties .... of tens". "... every great matter they shall bring to you, but every small matter they shall judge; so it shall be easier for thyself". Jethro, father-in-law of Moses.[1]

"Where an exaggerated emphasis is placed upon delegation, responsibility like sediment sinks to the bottom". Dean Acheson.[2]

"Experience teaches". Roman proverb.[3]

# 7 Historical Review, 1934 to 1985

## Introduction

Throughout the history of the Association major management functions have been to secure finance, to formulate the programmes for conferences, to edit, and to publish. Experiences in organizing and managing for these functions will be clearer if they are summarized for the whole period, 1928 to 1985, in separate Chapters (8, 9 and 10). But because management problems are closely inter-related they will first be considered all together in this chapter, tracing historically what seemed most important and urgent, the decisions made, and actions taken.

At the end of the Foundation period the constitution was still that accepted in August 1930, along with "Provisions .... for .... organizing and working until the more permanent rules (could) be brought into full operation".[4] The intended organization could therefore be summarized as in Figure 7.1. Much was going to depend on the decisions made in each of the "boxes" of this figure and on flows of information and ideas between them.

Ashby had in 1930 wisely reported: "The drafting of the rules proved more complicated than I expected .... We want to combine three things - a truly international organization, individual membership, and effective organization ...." "We have to face the fact that (after conferences) we will be scattered over the face of the earth .... and yet we must give the officers authority to act .... and give them also the support of the wisdom and activity of a committee which fully represents the common interests of all members".[4]

By early 1935 experience showed that, even with the interim "Provisions", the functioning of the Executive Committee and Council could be delayed and confused. Being "scattered" certainly caused major difficulties. And many others arose from the lack of status and development of Agricultural Economics in most nations, and, elsewhere, the many competing demands for the time of senior members, and illnesses and deaths of senior members. When the Council met in September 1934, more than 100 nations had no members in the ICAE. The 29 nations with members were distributed as follows:-

- 13 with 1 to 4 members
- 9 " 4 to 14 "
- 2 " 15 to 24 "
- 2 " 25 to 34 "
- 3 " 35 or more members.

Only 12 countries had elected members of Council, and only 15 others had Country Correspondents. At the Council meeting only 9 Council members from 6 countries could be present with the 4 Officers. To secure some representation of the views of members from other countries 9 Country Correspondents - some of them temporary - attended. Even after Council members were elected, they might not attend conferences, and quick substitutions were necessary. Moreover Country Correspondents were found to be desirable even for countries with 2 or 3 Council members. And already experience had shown how difficult to follow closely was the constitutional provision that the "Executive Committee shall arrange programmes and otherwise conduct the business of the Conference (ICAE)". Costs in time and money prohibited meetings of the Committee except at conferences and even there full attendance seemed impossible to achieve. Written correspondence was too slow and cumbersome. Yet the difficulties and controversies over the formulation of the programmes for the Second and Third conferences had shown that there was indeed substantial need for "the support of the wisdom and activity of a committee which fully represents the common interests"; but also for avoidance of excessively complicated and slow executive work.

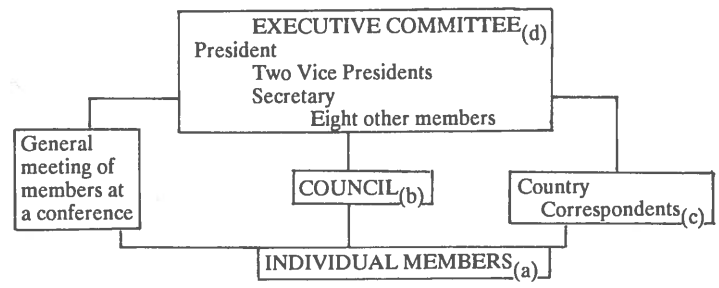
**The fourth and fifth conference periods, 1935-38**

Work of the officers

The work to be done, and all the circumstances, made decisions of the four officers especially important. Elmhirst as President decided that he must himself maintain as close contact as possible by mail with Warren and Sering as Vice-Presidents and with other members of the Executive Committee and leading country correspondents. He must also himself travel widely - to improve these contacts and to develop the membership. So, for example, between the Fourth and Fifth conferences he visited, jointly with Currie and Maxton, 16 countries mainly in north-east and south-east Europe. He also visited Cornell, Washington D.C. and Ottawa twice and Chicago once. He encouraged other senior members to promote ICAE. So H.C. Taylor was encouraged to study possibilities in China and formulated in early 1935 proposals for relations between ICAE and economists there.[5] Later in March 1937, Elmhirst urged Zörner to discuss formation of a "Pacific Section" with headquarters "in say Nanking": but Zörner died soon after, in Japan.

A major duty for Elmhirst was the securing of good programmes for conferences and firm establishment, as traditions, of full, frank and friendly discussion of major issues affecting rural welfare. He continued to rely heavily on Maxton for advice and work on programme formulation, and later he greatly praised Maxton as the "Programme and Publications Secretary". But differences, particularly between Maxton and Warren, were such, and time and money costs of travel such, that Elmhirst himself continued to liaise with Warren, Ladd, and Myers of USA, and J. Booth and J. Coke of Canada, Sering and Zörner of Germany, and others.

FIGURE 7.1 SUMMARY OF INTENDED ORGANIZATION OF ICAE  
December 1934



- (a) In late 1934 there were members in only 29 countries.
- (b) Elected by members in particular countries or groups of country. (See Chapter 3. Constitution).
- (c) Until the intended membership of Council was fully secured, these Correspondents to be appointed by the Executive Committee to canvass for members in particular countries or groups of country, and to provide for election of members of Council.
- (d) The four officers to be nominated by the Council and elected by the general meeting of members in conference. The eight other members to be elected by the Council.

Other actions by Elmhirst were aimed to secure a wider understanding of ICAE's purposes. He used his own status and diplomatic skills often in attempts to secure financial and other support from governments and private trusts (foundations). An interesting example occurred early in 1936, when he was asked for help by S.L. Louwes, Head of the "Crisis Organization" of the Dutch Ministry of Agriculture.[6] Louwes suggested that Elmhirst should invite A.W. Street (a senior civil servant in the British Ministry of Agriculture) and leading economists from Denmark, Czechoslovakia, France, and Germany for informal discussions of "deliberate national planning" so as to prevent further restrictions on international trade. Elmhirst grasped the opportunity to promote ICAE and was generous host one weekend at Dartington to Louwes, Enfield, S. Sorensen and Zörner - all ICAE members - and Street and J.L. Feierabend (of Czechoslovakia). But Street insisted on secrecy and would not agree to Maxton being present. Elmhirst had himself to prepare a résumé sent only to those present. Street wrote afterwards: "The conference was well worthwhile. That is the opinion of us all". But if ICAE gained in status, it was probably only a little. Perhaps the number of government travel grants for attendances at future ICAE conferences was increased a little above what it otherwise might have been.

Warren's actions for ICAE were much more limited. He was extremely busy in Cornell, N.Y. State, and Washington D.C. But he continued to influence progress of ICAE, especially through Ladd, Myers and Elmhirst, by himself attending the Fourth conference, and by his urging the involvement of more young researchers, and men from more countries. One of his last pleas to Elmhirst was: "... don't let

the conference at Quebec (the Fifth) be a kind of American-British picnic. Try to see that it is truly international".[7] He died three months before the conference.

Sering too was busy, and ageing. And he was subject to anti-Jewish and other political pressures from the Nazi regime in Germany. His German Research Institute for Agrarian and Settlement Studies, established in 1922, was closed down. Private funding helped him to continue working and he was grateful for connections with and status within ICAE. The agreement of the Council in 1934 that it was "wise" to carry out "studies of systems of Land Tenure" on an international scale as he had proposed was a substantial encouragement to him, but it was conditioned by the words "as far as was practical". He had to ask Elmhirst for a "Presidential order" so that he could secure a start to surveys of "Social Structure of Agriculture", because "in some countries .... internationality is the only protection for free scientific research ....".[8] A letter seeking co-operation from many countries was signed jointly on behalf of ICAE, although the Association provided no finance. In the end there were too many obstacles but Elmhirst wrote "I agree with you (Sering) that such co-operative work should be an essential part of an international organization such as ours, and I look to the day when we shall have a permanent Institute somewhere in Europe as a home for this international study which is so essential to the future".[9] Alas, Sering was unable to attend the Fifth conference, and died in 1939.

The Secretary-Treasurer, Currie, worked closely with Elmhirst and Maxton, and corresponded widely, particularly to arrange for the Fourth conference, held at St Andrews in Scotland, and to liaise with Coke about Canada being host to the Fifth conference.

How much the efforts of the Officers were appreciated was indicated by Zörner at the Fourth conference: "It is not without great difficulties that the effectiveness of a gathering such as ours is maintained, because it does not depend on a rigid organization or on official support .... We must primarily thank our President .... His untiring efforts, his travel serving to keep alive the personal contact with the various countries, his extremely fine diplomatic gifts, which unravel all difficulties - all these we must thank".[10]

#### Development of membership

One purpose of the Elmhirst-Maxton-Currie visits to countries in Europe was to promote the formation of groups of agricultural economists that could have easy contact with ICAE. Another objective was to establish good contacts with the International Institute of Agriculture in Rome and the International Labour Office in Geneva.

The increases in membership achieved were limited by general economic and political conditions and especially by shortage of travel grants. Table 7.1 summarises the membership lists published in the Proceedings of the Third, Fourth and Fifth (and the Seventh) conferences. In eastern Europe the effects of the recruiting tours were substantial by 1938, but elsewhere in Europe action was not very effective. Holding the Fifth conference in N. America raised membership there again but not beyond 131, which contrasts with N. America attendance at the 1930 Cornell conference of 242 (excluding wives and children). Goodwill and status for ICAE were being built up, but only slowly. War and other changes were to delay the more obvious results until the 1950s and 1960s.

Meantime one interesting outcome of European developments was a proposal to Council in 1938 from S. Schmidt (Country Correspondent for Poland) that Drs.

Aeroboe, Larsen, and Lorenzoni should be made honorary life members. The constitution was amended to allow such memberships but Elmhirst's view prevailed - "leaving all honorary memberships until the next meeting so that this Conference will not be run by names".[11] No honorary memberships were conferred until 1973.

#### Changes in the constitution and organization

Between 1934 and 1938 the number of countries with members that had selected Council members decreased from 11 to 9; the number with only Country Correspondents increased from 16 to 21; the number with neither Council members nor Correspondents increased from 2 to 4. At the Council meeting at the Fifth conference only 2 of the 4 officers could be present and only 5 countries had Council members [11] and 1 had a Correspondent, the total attendance being 14. There was therefore some concern that the 1930 constitution was not wholly satisfactory even when flexibly interpreted. Also from the Elmhirst-Maxton-Currie tours there was the desire to promote more active Groups with Country Correspondents. The constitution was therefore changed so that more "national or area groups" would be formed that would elect Chairmen and "provide for the appointment" of Secretaries, the Chairmen or Secretaries, "as may be designated by the Groups", to be Correspondents with ICAE. But a "provision for temporary organization of Groups" allowed the President to appoint Country Correspondents as before.[12]

TABLE 7.1 MEMBERSHIP OF ICAE

	Countries with members				Members			
	1930	1934	1936	1947	1930	1934	1936	1947
<u>Conference</u>	-34	-36	-38	-49	-34	-36	-38	-49
	3rd	4th	5th	7th	3rd	4th	5th	7th
<u>Region:-</u>								
		<u>number</u>				<u>number</u>		
N.America	2	2	2	2	122	77	131	144
W. Europe (a)	9	9	11	7	175	172	162	112
Scandinavia	3	3	4	3	17	19	21	7
E.Europe	6	5	6	3	43	45	67	3
USSR	1	1	2b	-	5	2	9	0
Australia, NZ	2	2	2	2	2	3	5	6
Japan	1	1	1	-	7	3	3	0
India	1	1	1	1	1	2	7	1
China	1	1	1	1	15	8	9	2
Near East	2	2	1	2	3	3	2	3
Africa	2	1	1	1	4	4	6	3
Latin America	-	1	2	4	0	1	3	4
<u>Total</u>	30	29	34	26	394	339	425	285

(a) Including ILO and IIA. (b) Including Latvia

Another change was intended to improve the balance of representation on Council of members from countries with few members as against those from USA, Canada, Germany and the UK with many. [Table 7.2]

TABLE 7.2 MEMBERSHIPS OF COUNCIL AS DETERMINED BY NUMBERS OF ORDINARY MEMBERS

Members in National or Area Groups	National or Area Groups		
	1930 Constitution	1938 Constitution	1973 Constitution
	<u>number of members of Council</u>		
5 - 9	1	1	1
10	1	2	1
11 - 14	1	2	2
15 - 24	2	2	2
25	3	3	2
26 - 60	3	3	3
61 or more	3	4	4

The basic difficulties of securing good use of the "wisdom and activity" of Council along with timely, effective and low cost executive work had also to be reconsidered because of the death of one Vice President (Warren) and the ill-health of the other (Sering). Moreover there were pressures to create new Vice Presidents so as to be able to honour senior members. Warren's early view that there should be no Vice Presidents largely prevailed in Council [13] and executive Vice Presidents were abolished. Sering became an Honorary Vice President. So there were now in the constitution only two Officers - Elmhirst as President and Currie as Secretary-Treasurer. (Maxton was still de facto Programme Secretary and Editor). But the Executive Committee was expanded to include the Chairmen of all National and Area Groups having 5 or more members: the old intended limit of 4 officers and 8 others was withdrawn. It also became explicitly .... "the duty of the Executive Committee to act for the Council between meetings of the Council". But "the acts of the Executive Committee shall be subject to the approval of the Council".

J.F. Booth a Council member from Canada wrote later to Elmhirst ".... in dealing with the knotty constitution problem .... you have your fellow countryman Runciman (Minister of Trade) backed off the map ....".[14]

#### Financial difficulties

These tended to increase. Currie had to write in April 1936 to warn Scandinavians that there was difficulty in getting sufficient funds to cover the expenses of the Fifth conference .... "largely due to Uncle Sam's increasing the taxes of wealthy Americans". Elmhirst's request in 1937 to the Rockefeller Foundation was unsuccessful and he pressed Warren and Coke to try to secure other N. American funds to subsidize travel especially from Continental Europe and Latin America. In the end US\$ 1,000 were granted from Carnegie funds, and Dartington funds helped 10 to travel to Canada, but in all only 23 economists attended the Fifth conference from Europe, and 4 from Latin America. So meantime there was a poor return for

the great efforts of Elmhirst - including correspondence enough for a very thick file about travel scholarships for Latin Americans.[15]

Financial constraints were also evident in other ways. The ICAE was greatly dependant on work by Maxton and his staff at Oxford and by Currie and his at Dartington. But Dartington paid for all their work and still subsidized the Proceedings. Control was such that budgeting had to be careful. For example, Currie had to secure prior agreement for his and Maxton's brief visits to Cornell and Washington after the Fifth conference.[16] Substantial effort was made to negotiate favourable terms with Oxford University Press for printing and distribution of the Proceedings.

The Council meeting in 1938 showed concern about the financial picture as a whole, despite the "surplus of close on £60 as compared with a deficit of £30 for the last period (1934-1936) "that was shown by the accounting system" (See Chapter 10).

It is noteworthy too that in agreeing to be President for another period Elmhirst hoped "that the Conference (ICAE) would soon be self-supporting so that someone else could take his place".[17]

#### Proposals for a journal

Maxton prepared for Elmhirst a long memorandum proposing a twice-yearly Journal that would be financed by Dartington and edited and published in Oxford. It would be "primarily in the interests of the (ICAE)" and expect help in the way of contributions which ".... at present at least - would not be paid for". The fundamental purpose would be to keep agricultural economists well in touch with one another. The main sections would "pursue the kind of subject, and the kind of treatment which we are attempting to establish in the .... main .... sessions of our conference programmes". The kind of discussion started at the conferences would be followed up by publishing "the after-thought, and the results of more mature thinking which is stimulated by the conference talk" (See also Chapter 9).

Members of ICAE would receive the Journal on their existing ICAE subscription. Until the ICAE could afford to pay the full costs of the Proceedings volumes, it should not be expected to pay "even 6 pence" (then about US\$ 0.12) per copy of a 50 page Journal. It ought to be clear that the Journal would not really be an ICAE Journal with the Conference exercising editorial control. Financially and editorially it would be a private publication.

Although no Council discussion of Maxton's proposals was recorded, some discussion did take place at the Fifth conference and the first issue of the International Journal of Agrarian Affairs was published in October 1939.

#### The rehabilitation period, 1945-49: the sixth and seventh conferences

##### Questions and criticisms

World War II left the ICAE vulnerable. Many countries were under military occupation or in revolution. In many other countries members had their travel prohibited or closely restricted. Food was short. Most members of ICAE were so fully occupied in reconstruction that they could have little time for conferences of the pre-war type.

Also the war had given rise to the United Nations Organization with the FAO and other agencies. These began to employ agricultural economists and to attract to

international meetings senior agricultural economists and other officials of government departments. Was there need for the ICAE to continue? Should it be absorbed by FAO?

Serious questions were asked too about whether conferences of the type developed by 1938 were desirable. If there were to be ICAE conferences should they not be more along N. American lines with more papers presented, more closely defined subjects, more concurrent meetings, and less discussion? Indeed, should not the American Farm Economic Association manage ICAE as a subsidiary? Was "Dartington" really capable of managing? Anyway, had not the Cornell influence been too great on "Dartington" and so on ICAE?

And more fundamental questions were asked, particularly by T.W. Schultz of Chicago, J.D. Black of Harvard and M.K. Benedict of Berkeley. Schultz wrote:

"There simply is not (in US Agriculture and Agricultural Economics) a sufficient realization that the really important .... issues lie in the international field. They are in substance problems in political economy of the type that we (in USA) have not really ever wrestled with .... Now we are forced .... into a position where we must take major responsibilities in the international field .... We are unprepared .... We are deeply uneasy ...."[18]

#### Leadership by President, Council and others

President Elmhirst and Secretary-Treasurer Currie were now the only executive Officers. The few remaining pre-war Council members included A. Hobson of Wisconsin, USA, and J.F. Booth of Ottawa, Canada and they were leading questioners. Much therefore depended on the President and on how members in N. America would react to the questions and criticisms, given the deep uneasiness mentioned by Schultz.

The critics became obvious at the time of the FAO organization meetings at Quebec in October 1945 and their questions spread fast to Washington, to the new Director General of FAO (J.B. Orr), to the American Farm Economic Association, and to major College centres in USA. Elmhirst wrote long letters in reply, and to secure support again from remaining members of Council and other eminent members who had pre-war appreciated the purposes and successes of ICAE. In response, as early as August 1945, M.L. Wilson (Director of Extension, USDA) wrote that although "there should be some proper working relationship between (FAO and ICAE)", the latter "should remain entirely independent of government".[19] P. Lamartine Yates of the FAO wrote: "There are many useful functions which non-governmental international bodies can perform which FAO by its nature and constitution cannot. FAO wishes not to influence the policy of these bodies but to aid them as and when they themselves feel they need aid".[20]

Elmhirst also discussed ideas about calling the Sixth conference, with the UK group in December 1945 and with Orr and Louwes and others. But it was not until 25 May, 1946 that a plan for the conference was sent out "to every member nation". This ended many uncertainties. In a letter to Booth, Elmhirst summed up much:

"Obviously .... we can't assume that we can simply carry on from where we left. But we were founded on certain principles which were thoroughly thought-out and which stood up to the tests of the pre-war ten years. .... individual membership will be just as important in the post-war world. As to having something of a concentration of official authority at Dartington, we naturally

are in the hands of the organization and its constitution .... But we were fulfilling - and we are more than willing to go on fulfilling - a responsibility which the vast majority of active members in pre-war years encouraged us to believe we had peculiar advantages in shouldering. Warren and Ladd .... emphasised the danger of an international organization becoming either an all-American or an all-European show. We were encouraged in the belief that our peculiar status was one of the safeguards .... All of us (Elmhirst, Currie and Maxton - the "three musketeers") were much freer to devote the time - and it meant a tremendous lot of time - .... than any one whose first responsibilities were to either a Government Department or an Academic institution of his own country".[21]

Two weeks later Elmhirst sent further explanations to Case in Illinois [22]:

"Some men who are active in government are particularly open to think in terms of representation of government institutions rather than in terms of individuals who are likely to make the most constructive contribution to whatever group or institution they belong. Again, the officers of a national association tend to change from year to year, and in the international field continued interest and enthusiasm (are) absolutely essential. It is important too to find the right balance between those who will represent their government's policy and those who will freely criticise official policy, their own, or anyone else's .... The greater variety of points of view we can gather .... the better, and we are most likely to get original and stimulating discussions from non-government people".

By September 1946 Elmhirst was in N. America again explaining purposes, countering misunderstandings about organization, and seeking views about the 1947 conference programme. Booth himself later wrote: ".... the folks in Ottawa .... had a splendid visit with Leonard .... they felt that he recognises some of the difficulties and .... think we should drop the discussion and get on with the job of re-establishing the Conference".[23] Booth naturally felt that Elmhirst and Maxton - who had succeeded in his "aim of becoming the scapegoat and diverting the shooting from Leonard" [24] - were too hard on government officials. But a new constructive phase was started.

Benedict sent in constructive proposals including some for:- (a) making the Association's Journal a "strong and major medium", because only a small percentage of what should be the total membership could attend conferences; (b) maintaining the President and Secretary located in the U.K., but strengthening the executors by a number of Vice Presidents - perhaps one per 25 or more members in a country or group of countries; (c) establishing a Finance Committee in USA.[25]

Comments on the draft programme for the 1947 conference were made, many as late as January and February 1947, by Council members and others, including members of the American Farm Economics Association. Some were usefully detailed (e.g. those of F.F.Hill). Others emphasized mainly the basic differences between British and German debating around major topics and American presentation of research results from narrower projects (See also Chapter 8).

#### At the Sixth conference, 1947

The circumstances of the times virtually dictated the location at Dartington, and the use of quotas by country or group of countries for the limited places at it. Money, travel regulation and food rationing problems were minimised, and Dartington staffing made conference management much easier than it would have been elsewhere. The papers and discussions, and above all the re-establishment of many personal contacts were all pronounced useful and invigorating. And ICAE was set again on its pre-war foundations.

One decision that had great significance was that the past or present politics of nations would not determine whether particular individual agricultural economists were invited. The ICAE was to remain an association of individuals. So, for example, individual Germans were invited: memories of the 1939-45 war were not allowed to sway decisions any more than was the Nazi regime in the 1930s.

Council and the General Meeting agreed "to continue as an International Conference until the conditions in European countries have become more settled", and that the "next meeting should be held (in) two years so as to make the fullest use of (the) new interest", the attendance to be "open", as for the 2nd to 5th conferences. Ashby wanted to go further by holding "a subsidiary conference somewhere in the East .... which (some few) from the West might attend so as to carry to it something of the atmosphere and interests of the (ICAE)". But only "exploring the possibilities" was agreed.

A small sub-committee of Council - Hill, Norton and Young - were asked to look into "extending the ICAE activities to South America".

Both the President and Secretary-Treasurer were unanimously re-elected.

The only constitutional change was to permit Council to nominate for election not more than four Vice-Presidents to serve from the end of one conference until the end of the next and to be "ex officio members of the Executive". At least one was to be a European. G. Minderhoud of the Netherlands and E.C. Young of USA were then appointed. But Ashby secured agreement to the nomination of a committee by the President ".... to consider how the ICAE may be put on such a basis as to carry it on for as long as it continues to serve a useful purpose, since it is very desirable .... (to) .... have a constitution and form of organization which will ensure its future". Findings and proposals were to be reported to Council for their 1949 meeting. None were forthcoming until, five years later, a "Sub-committee on Organization" reported to the 1952 Council meeting.

On finance there was again concern because of heavy, not fully accounted, dependence on Dartington. But the action taken was only to double the subscription from the equivalent of £1 per conference period to £1 per year - a small change in real terms, and inadequate, particularly when it was agreed also "that members would be entitled .... (still) .... to a free copy of the Proceedings of the 1947 conference and of such volumes of the Journal of Agrarian Affairs as may be published between conferences".

#### Before the Seventh conference

After the many expressions of appreciation in late 1947 the major criticisms of 1945-46 did not re-emerge. Indeed the 1947-49 period and the 1949 conference seem, in retrospect generally quiet, and relatively unproductive. The total membership fell to 285 for 1947-49, although Canada had, thanks largely to Coke, an increase to 54 members (cp. 43 in 1936-38). The total number of countries with members fell by 8

to 26 (Table 7.1). The number with Council members was by 1949 only 3. In the Proceedings, published in 1950, the only Country Correspondents were from the 3 counties with Council members.

Elmhirst had numerous and various commitments in the UK and India, but continued to make many visits abroad largely to help ICAE. In winter 1947-48 he visited Colleges in the East, Mid-West and North West of USA and the Prairies and Eastern Canada. In September 1948 he again visited USA, making a speech at the American Farm Economic conference at Greenlake, Wisconsin, and having discussions there. In November 1948 with Currie and Maxton he visited Italy and four other Western European countries. And in February 1949 he again visited Cornell and Ottawa. He kept in close touch with the Agricultural Economics Society of the UK and had a very extensive correspondence with other groups and important individuals. He secured ideas about the 1949 conference programme, and carried major responsibility for it, but he still regarded Maxton as "programme secretary".

A bigger worry was to find a host for the 1949 conference. Hungary became increasingly doubtful, so Italy was closely considered. Italian members, including G. Medici, gave a hearty welcome and Stresa was chosen and announced as the site. But in 1948 it became clear that the 5 million lire required from the Italian Government as host could not be allocated by their Finance Minister until spring 1950. Elmhirst had to arrange that Dartington underwrote the commitment, and, because of currency regulations, this required agreement by the Bank of England.

Another worry was that with heavy commitments in other directions Young as executive Vice-President was not active in securing memberships in USA and his sub-committee on Latin America did not function. There were only 4 members in Central and South America listed in the 1949 Proceedings, and no report to Council.

Such were the origins of a squall of criticism a few months before the Seventh conference. Young wrote Elmhirst [26] that there was in USA "a general feeling .... that the programme did not get down to the fundamental issues in the world today and .... apparently there was no provision .... for coming to grips with these problems". He softened these criticisms by admitting that the "US Council" was partially responsible, but he also stated that "there was some doubt on the part of Council members as to whether or not the formulation of the program was part of their responsibility". However he ended by assuring Elmhirst of the "US Council's" sincere desire to co-operate in making .... the (ICAE) the potent force that it can be". And he noted: "We owe a great debt of gratitude to you for your courage and persistence in continuing .... and succeeding in spite of all the discouragements and handicaps ...."

Elmhirst immediately sought information about US members' complaints, and then sent Young a long reply that is illuminating.[27] A few short extracts must suffice:-

"This problem of programme building is never an easy business. Terms and subject matter have such different meanings in our respective countries. When I look through the draft programme .... the subjects are precisely those which represent the most fundamental approach to the problems which quite a number of your folks (at Greenlake) wanted us to tackle".

"I can see how easy it is for (a Middle West man) to imagine that his interest .... is far distant from the "Pathology of Peasant Farming". But is it? I don't think so ...."

"The second subject (Agricultural Co-operation and the Modern State) (if) handled somewhat as I suggested (at Greenlake) .... is an important aspect of the recovery technique, and I hope the conference will be quite frank in its analysis of .... strengths and weaknesses ...."

"Similarly the third main subject ("The Spread of Industry into Rural Areas") is of tremendous importance .... for those millions who are surplus to an efficiently organized agriculture, especially in Europe".

The "non-discussion" paper on "Food and Agriculture in the European Recovery Programme" .... "may appear to be unimportant .... but this is not intended".

"Under the Constitution and by tradition it is the President's job between conferences to try and keep in touch with all Chairmen of national groups and with his Vice Presidents during the process of drawing up plans and programme .... this I have tried to do, but it is impossible, of course, to get them all together in one place at one time".

Elmhirst also took a large part of his Presidential Address at the conference to explain the nature of the programme and how it had been designed.

#### At the Seventh conference, 1949

The difficulties and shortcomings of the ICAE organization for executive work, both national and international, led once again to changes at the Vice- President level. Ashby and Manilal Nanavati were added to Young and Minderhoud. The other Officers were also re-elected. The weak financial condition was not much discussed, nor pleas to increase membership.

Elmhirst and his closest supporters were thus set to carry on till the weather improved and the tree they had established could grow to bear much more fruit. Elmhirst knew he was needed, and Currie and Maxton too. He also knew of executive failures, particularly in the Country Correspondent and Council member system, and of great needs for more finance. But what he himself could contribute seemed to him to be inspiring leadership through his many influential contacts rather than more thorough definition and delegation of responsibilities. He wrote to Liberty Hyde Bailey: "I am missing Carl Ladd more than I like to say".[28]

#### The 1950's: the Eighth, Ninth and Tenth conference periods

##### After the 1949 conference

A few weeks after the 1949 conference Elmhirst wrote to Young urging early action in North America to discuss "site and programme and mode of operation" of the 1952 conference, and to maintain the "best tradition" of the ICAE. He was arranging that Currie would visit USA in spring 1950. He also sent a list of

suggested subjects for discussion in the 1952 conference because it was "not too early to get these in circulation ....". And finally he emphasized the main conclusion of a meeting with Benedict, W. Murray, Ashby and Manilal Nanavati - that because of high travel costs and the dollar gap "still further funds will be needed than have been raised in the past in the country acting as host".[29] Thus was the stage set for the 1950s.

The rate of growth of ICAE in the 1950's was the fastest ever. The needs and interests of the times were perhaps the main cause, but what had been established since 1928, and increased efforts to secure finance, particularly in USA, greatly contributed. Over three conference periods - essentially from 1949 to 1958 - the number of countries with members increased by 123 per cent to 58, and the total membership by 202 per cent to 861 (Table 7.3). By 1958, 49 countries had Country Correspondents. Attendance of members at the 1958 conference in India was 214 - 68 per cent greater than attendance in 1949.

##### Before the 1952 conference

The choice of USA as the host country in 1952, and later acceptance of Michigan's invitation, were very helpful starts. The Kellogg Foundation was approached and granted \$20,000 largely to subsidize attendance of Latin Americans and to provide for simultaneous interpretation and recording of proceedings. Travel grants were also made from the William C. Whitney Foundation (in all \$5,200), and various groups in USA and Canada, as well as from many individual governments and institutions and Dartington. The number of US members more than doubled from 1947-49 to 1949-52, and after the Michigan conference did not fall back as after the 1930 conference. Much effort, tact and friendship were needed for these successes, particularly by the Finance Committee of Council members for USA, with J. Ackerman their active Secretary, and by Elmhirst himself.

But there were difficulties, tensions and failures.

On April 8, 1950, Elmhirst wrote to Vice President Young again to prepare him for a meeting of US Council members in North Carolina. He ended his letter significantly:

"The Editor, the Secretary and the President (the "three musketeers") are mortal .... (therefore) .... it might be a good occasion now, well ahead of 1952, to consider the proposal that .... the main responsibility .... be taken over by N. America after 1952 .... It might be well worthwhile your forming a committee with the four Council members (Benedict, Jessness, Sherman Johnson and Hill) and Joe (Ackerman) as Secretary, with yourself as Chairman, to explore the methods whereby other International Organizations in the field of the Social Sciences manage, organize and finance ....".

The three musketeers were not only ageing but committed to much work not directly related to ICAE. And Dartington Trustees had many other increasing calls on their limited funds. So, after reviewing the rehabilitation period and Currie's discussions with Council members in N. America, Elmhirst decided to try "to get the Americans to face certain issues and to deal with their own woolly members. They (were) quite capable of dealing with them ....". He felt that " .... as long as the three musketeers (were) in reasonably good trim, .... members will not find or look for an alternative mode of operation, but there is no harm at all in saying to the Americans: "If anything happens to this trio, or even to one of them, what would you



do?" "... only by challenging them to think ahead now .... will (we) get them to face the issues they have enjoyed avoiding ... so far".[30]

TABLE 7.3 MEMBERSHIP OF ICAE OR IAEE

	Countries with members				Members			
	1947	1955	1970	1984	1947	1955	1970	1984
Conference	-49	-58	-73	-86	-49	-58	-73	-86
Region: -	7th	10th	15th	19th	7th	10th	15th	19th
	<u>number</u>				<u>number</u>			
N.America	2	2	2	2	144	270	682	514
W. Europe	7	13	13	13	112	274	538	369
Scandinavia	3	4	4	4	7	62	103	54
E.Europe	3	5	7	6	3	15	46	39
USSR	-	1	1	-	0	2	66	2
Australia, NZ	2	2	2	2	6	86	191	157
Japan	-	1	1	1	0	9	26	84
India	1	1	1	1	1	31	56	61
China (a)	1	1	1	1	2	7	5	15
Asia, Other	-	7	11	11	0	23	37	65
Near East	-	2	1	2	3	3	2	3
Africa	1	5	14	26	3	5	38	99
Latin America	4	11	16	17	4	52	68	75
Total	26	58	80	90	285	861	1879	1543

Maxton thought Elmhirst was again being self-conscious about appearing "to hold control by supplying the finances". The "average conscientious Council member" might wrongly conclude that he "really wanted to shed the load". After "a valiant attempt" by "our best wishers" "to take over full financial responsibility" .... "the way will be opened up for all and sundry to say:- if we are to raise either the necessary membership or other funds - in America - we must do this and that to the conduct of the Conference affairs and particularly to the programme procedures and the publications". There was not sufficient understanding of "the amount of imponderable detail and of personality that has made the conferences what they have been".[31] Elmhirst thought however that he had already made it very clear that "... the Programme ...is the President's peculiar job and must take into account who is coming, and what suggestions Council members from other countries have".[32]

Vice-President Ashby was kept informed. His response was that Elmhirst should "in the plainest possible terms (tell) what the continuous organization and publications cost and where the money came from", and how travel to conferences was financed".[33] Elmhirst replied that he had "wanted to avoid any ideas of advertising amounts involved in such a way as to arouse the wrong kind of response and a feeling that (he) personally, might want to dictate, or might feel (he) had a right to dictate".[34]

So Elmhirst proceeded with his methods of inducing leading Council members in N. America to think ahead about finance, organization and personnel. In addition to his letter to Young as Vice President he wrote careful letters particularly to Hill and to Coke as Chairman of Canadian Council members. He thus induced some discussion of long-term problems at a meeting of Council members from USA in

August 1950 which Coke attended. But this meeting came to only one agreement about them - that a Finance Committee of Council members from USA should be set up.

In 1951 discussion of organization and finance was limited because of concentration on ideas about subjects and speakers for the 1952 conference. Elmhirst took great care over these and was involved more than ever after Maxton died on May 6, 1951. His loss was very greatly felt by the remaining "musketeers". The Council members from N. America also felt a special responsibility for the programme.[35] However in July 1951, at an open meeting at the joint conference of the American Farm Economic Association and the Canadian Agricultural Economics Society at Guelph, discussion led to an agreement to "conduct a poll" of the wishes of ICAE members and of their ideas and suggestions about putting ICAE "on a more permanent basis".

On 8 May, 1952 Coke wrote a long letter to Elmhirst. It was partly an outcome of discussions with N. American members of Council but he labelled it "an opening shot in the battle of re-organization". It contained the idea that Elmhirst should be elevated to Honorary President, and somebody in USA, perhaps Sherman Johnson, made President. An executive secretary should be appointed. Financial proposals would have to wait because Young was in Latin America, but "a small group" would meet before the conference. Significant mention was also made of the fact that "the Two Joes" (Coke and Ackerman) had agreed "to exchange information without any omissions of importance".[36] Elmhirst replied that he had already proposed to Myers that the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations should agree to support the ICAE "to the tune of one full-time assistant or full Professor, with secretary and office, and ample travel allowance - in America, attached to a University". He (Elmhirst) "would back Sherman 100 per cent" - but would the State Colleges, and would Uncle Sam as his employer agree? The Presidency should be in USA. But "leave out L.K. (Elmhirst) for honorary anything - it would only create an awkward precedent".[37] On the other hand the Dartington Trustees were guaranteeing funds for the Institute of Agrarian Affairs at Oxford until 1956 so that R. Dixey could follow Maxton as Editor. (Dixey was in fact to remain a member of Ashby's staff and to be paid only a small additional salary). So there would be "an office in Britain .... for the American set up to collaborate with".[37]

Elmhirst sought Sherman Johnson's reactions and his advice on the application to the Ford Foundation. Johnson indicated that he himself could not be President while he was Assistant Chief in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the US Department of Agriculture.

Hill also indicated that he could not be President because of his very heavy commitments as Provost of Cornell University. Also he thought it important to avoid "any widespread feeling that (ICAE) was a Cornell show". Because of the number of countries involved the Secretary should be located in Europe. Hill also summarized the problems of (a) finance and (b) organization, for Council members for USA and Coke.

On 14 July, 1952 Coke wrote another long letter to Young. He repeated his proposals of 8 May with some additions - rotating Vice Presidents; much leg work by the Executive Secretary to stimulate the development of membership in many countries and to maintain contact with members. But the Secretary's office should be in Europe because of currency controls and because of possible criticism "that dollar countries are working towards complete control" despite the "indicated willingness .... of the present US Council .... to almost lean over backwards to avoid the possibility of such criticism". Young responded on 18 July by summarizing his

own views for Hill, Jessness and T.K. Cowden (Head of Agricultural Economics at Michigan). He posed three alternatives and obviously drew on ideas of the "two Joes", including that of Ackerman to have the Farm Foundation accept responsibility for providing a part-time Secretary-Treasurer. The alternatives were sent also to Elmhirst and became the basis for discussions prior to and at the 1952 conference. Elmhirst cautioned Young on several points and added:- "I cannot again take on the responsibility of arranging a programme .... since John Maxton died .... too much of a strain". "Hitherto your President has been your Chief Executive, and if Council want to stick to this pattern they should find someone else ....". But again he emphasized that ICAE was "extremely fortunate to have .... an unofficial headquarters "in Oxford guaranteed by outside funds (Dartington) .... for five years". And there was "just the possibility that the University will decide to support the Agrarian Affairs Institute out of its own funds when the five years is over".[38]

#### At the 1952 conference

Elmhirst nominated a Sub-committee on Organization of which the members were those he had suggested to Young in August 1950, but without Benedict and Hill, and with the addition of Vice-Presidents Ashby and Minderhoud and also Coke, von Dietze, and J.F. Duncan and E. Thomas. This committee recommended, as Elmhirst had expected, the retention of his services as President, but also nomination of an Executive Vice-President and abolition of all other Vice-Presidencies. They also recommended that the President and Executive Vice-President nominate a Special Committee. This should seek financial support and be authorized "to obtain, invest, and generally administer funds for the purposes of the Conference". Also the Special Committee should find a Secretary-Treasurer who would assume Currie's duties after a transition period. The location of his office should be determined by the President and Executive Vice-President. One or more "corresponding Secretaries" could be appointed by the three Executive officers (President, Vice-President and Secretary-Treasurer).

These recommendations were unanimously accepted by Council and the General Meeting. E. Thomas was nominated Executive Vice-President after expression of views of Young and Jessness that "the centre of gravity should be spread around" [39] and that "the new Vice-President should be close to the scene of activity" for the next conference (in Finland).

Invitations were received from India as well as Finland, and indications of interest in being host from W. Germany and Mexico. Elmhirst had previously induced Finland to consider being host and he was meantime against accepting India's invitation. He made it clear years later that he felt in 1952 that India had not had time to complete enough "grass roots" research.

Ashby suggested that regional conferences be held once a year, but discussion of these was postponed.

A Publications Committee chaired by Hill recommended that the Journal of Agrarian Affairs be published at least once and preferably twice a year and that an Editorial Council be appointed to advise the Editor (Dixey) in planning issues. The long-term problem of financing the Journal as well as the Proceedings should be considered as part of the overall financing of ICAE by the Executive and the Special Committee.

#### Before and at the 1955 conference

Progress in nominating the Special Committee was slow. Several of those in USA whom the President first selected could not or would not serve. Those to be selected from elsewhere were dispersed. Not before 12 September, 1953 was Ackerman able to arrange a joint meeting of a Finance Committee (C.M. Hardin (Chairman), Young and Norton) with two members of Council for the USA. Not until 28 February, 1954 was the full Special Committee membership made known by Elmhirst when he met the Finance Committee and Ackerman in Chicago. And even then Young still had major questions about trustees, methods of disbursement, budget, and fund raising in other countries before he felt able to prepare an application to any US foundations. After discussion it was agreed to approach the Kellogg Foundation for approximately:-

\$16,000 a year for 5 years for a Secretariat

\$ 7,500 for each of two conferences to assist Latin Americans to attend

\$ 7,500 to assist others to attend - to be determined by "Council and Finance Committee".

It was also recorded as agreed that the US Finance Committee would be responsible for selecting the Secretary-Treasurer. An Assistant Secretary-Treasurer "should be employed with the funds raised abroad ....".

Action then followed quickly and the request to Kellogg for a total of \$110,000 for the 1954-59 period was met by agreement announced on 24 May, 1954 to make a grant of \$75,000. The Foundation explained that they expected a transition to less financial dependence. Unfortunately Elmhirst did not understand that the application for \$110,000 was intended to be the only one to Kellogg. After confirming that none of the \$75,000 was intended for allocation outside of the Western hemisphere, he applied on 1 July, 1954 for £10,500 for a Regional Secretariat, £5,000 for publications, £4,500 for travel grants to assist attendance at conferences, and £1,000 for expenses of conference staff - a total of £20,500 (\$57,400) for 1954-55 to 1958-59. But Kellogg felt that "other parts of the world should support their sections".

Progress in formulation of the programme for the 1955 conference was also slow. It began after a meeting on 4 June, 1953 of Elmhirst, Thomas, Dixey and Currie. But by 28 July, 1954 after criticisms and suggestions had been received, a "penultimate draft" was sent to Ackerman and others. A few alterations were still being suggested as late as May 1955.

As Executive Vice-President Thomas carried somewhat more responsibility for finalizing the programme than Maxton had previously, and he liaised closely and well with Nils Westermark over Finland's responsibilities as host country. With Currie he also visited late in 1953 Rome and Geneva to promote interest amongst FAO and ILO staff. But Elmhirst continued to take the initiative in N. America and India.

Following announcement of the Kellogg Foundation grant and selection in USA of H.C.M. Case as part-time Secretary-Treasurer, Elmhirst confirmed his appointment and wrote him a long letter.[40] He suggested Case's title should be "Secretary-General and Treasurer". His chief responsibilities were:- (i) full collaboration with the President and Executive Vice-President in carrying out the decisions of the Council; (ii) operation of an office "where he himself finds most convenient"; (iii) obtaining finance to get full attendance at Helsinki (Finland) and

"to build up a permanent basis for holding of the Conference and the servicing of its members". Currie would "carry on such secretarial duties as are needed for the rest of the world until the Helsinki meeting, when further arrangements can be discussed .... The editorial office for the time being (would) remain in Oxford ....". "We have always hoped that a second office will be located in Europe - preferably in Oxford - which will handle the European end of the (ICAE) and its needs, but we shall need to find additional money". "The programme is the responsibility of myself (as President) and the Executive Vice President".

Case's part-time salaried appointment began in February 1955. He continued as Professor in the University of Illinois but visited Latin America on behalf of ICAE.

Currie visited Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and Canada in 1954. One result, after Elmhirst explained his own thinking about Australia's needs and world responsibilities to R. Casey (Foreign Minister of Australia), J. Crawford and D.B. Williams, was a substantial relaxation of the Australian restrictions on finance for travel to ICAE conferences.

The Special Committee that was agreed at the 1952 conference and nominated by Elmhirst and Thomas in 1954 did not have its first full meeting until the 1955 conference. It had so far had little influence except that part of it which was the Finance Committee in the USA.

The Council meetings in 1955 were quiet. They thanked Currie greatly for his vital past work and confirmed that he be permitted to hand over his duties to Case. His continuation as any kind of assistant was not formally discussed. Elmhirst, Thomas and Case were re-elected. The Special Committee was instructed to proceed with planning for more finance, and a Committee to Assist the Editor (Dixey) was to be nominated by the President and Vice-President. This was to help improve publications and to plan, with the Special Committee for adequate financing of additional service to members. Thus the recommendations made by the Publications Committee of 1952 were largely repeated.

The invitation of India for 1958, which Elmhirst had fostered in various ways, was accepted.

#### Before and at the Tenth conference, 1958

Elmhirst now felt himself to be in a difficult situation. He was greatly encouraged by increases in membership and by the prospect of India being host in 1958 and members seeing something of India's problems. But he was still the President and the finance of "overheads" was not assured, the travel grants needed for the Indian conference would be especially large, publication problems were not fully solved, and the Country Correspondent - Council Member system still needed great care to foster real strength. Many of those whom Elmhirst had inspired to help grasp ICAE opportunities had died or were caught-up in administration. New men had to be led. Indeed the three years 1955-58 were amongst Elmhirst's busiest and most difficult in ICAE affairs.

But in the end his friendships and his own efforts carried him through. He had many heartfelt satisfactions from the 1958 conference. Sherman Johnson was elected President and Joe Ackerman as honorary part-time Secretary-Treasurer, with, to assist him, Currie as one Regional Secretary and D.G. Karve as the other. Elmhirst was created Founder President for life as an honour, but also in the expectation that he would continue to inspire and to help. He was continued therefore as an Executive Officer. Thomas was re-elected as the Vice-President but

without the implication that he would usually carry executive responsibilities much beyond those for programme formulation.

The three years taught, however, hard lessons of substantial importance.

One lesson, now obvious but hard at the time, was that secretariat-membership relations built up slowly and with much personal empathy cannot, easily and without loss, be bureaucratically controlled. When the membership is in many countries and cultures and still growing, both human-hearted perceptions and business precisions are desirable; but in balance. When he accepted the Secretary-Generalship Case did not realise, nor was he fully told, all that membership relations meant to Currie and the other "musketeers", and how carefully they should be evolved.

A second, related lesson was that the various difficulties in allocating travel grants wisely, and making satisfactory travel arrangements, were becoming far greater. Ladd's problems of 1928-30 were indeed compounded. Mistakes were all the more important because, as Elmhirst insisted, there should be no political bias of any kind, nor bias against individuals not related to big organizations.

Third; if decisions on constitution and organization taken at conferences are not clearly and promptly interpreted by the Executive in appropriate and effective actions, then some results may be good but overall they may be patchy or worse. And again, an international organization is very liable to suffer. Elmhirst had failed to follow up promptly the agreement to nominate a committee on the long-term "basis" of ICAE that followed Ashby's proposal in 1947. He had also failed to act quickly on the 1952 decisions about the Special Committee. A confusing mixture of the responsibilities of the Finance Committee of Council members from the USA set up in August 1950 and those of US members of the Special Committee set up in 1953 was allowed to develop. These US members were called in USA "the Finance Committee of the ICAE". They took, and indeed were in some ways encouraged to take, responsibilities and powers that belonged to the Special Committee as a sub-committee of the ICAE Council. This confusion had already contributed to misunderstandings about applications to the Kellogg Foundation and it continued to cause confusion about what Case's priorities should be. He had of course to work closely with the "Finance Committee", but Elmhirst felt that he tended to serve their W.Hemisphere interests more than the wider financial needs. In retrospect it is obvious that, in the face of many difficulties, the Special Committee was not put well to work, with Case helping to execute their decisions.

In January 1958 in USA incorporation under a legal statute was required so that dollar funds donated for ICAE activities could remain tax free. So the "Fund for the ICAE, Incorporated" was constituted. The Executive Committee and Council of ICAE had no direct power over the officials of this Fund. In August 1958 therefore Elmhirst proposed and the Council agreed that the President should be consulted "in selecting replacements to their members (officials) from members of ICAE"; also that the President should continue to choose "additional members of the Conference Finance Committee".[41]

A fourth lesson also stemmed from failures of communication as affecting executive action. In earlier periods the "three musketeers" took much of the necessary action and much of the remainder was required within countries. Some failures occurred because Elmhirst tended in his visits to USA to be more inspirational than executive, yet on the whole communication was good on innumerable matters. But when a new Secretary-General and a new Editor took office the needs greatly increased for very thorough hand-over procedures, for more adequate written communications, and more frequent and costly telephone communications. One serious example was that after the Council discussions of

1955 Dixey was allowed to assume ICAE was itself ready to pay for additional issues of the Journal.

A fifth and quite fundamental lesson was that the building up of ICAE to be viable and effective was far more demanding of skills, energies and money than was recognised by all but a few members. Two types of leadership were essential - (i) inspirational and strategic; (ii) tactical and practical. Both types had to assess well the wishes and needs of the whole increasing membership and operate on a democratic foundation, despite many cultural differences and other obstacles to communication. Losses by death of men such as Warren and Ladd, Sering and Ashby, Maxton and Norton made particularly difficult the securing of good continuity of understanding and purpose in Council members. The countries with most Council members now changed them embarrassingly often. So the burden was all the greater on those few who, to Elmhirst, understood ICAE well and who were prepared to try hard to meet their commitments fully. These included in USA:- Ackerman (who at the start of 1955 became Managing Director of the Farm Foundation), Myers (then Dean at Cornell), C. Hardin (Chancellor of Nebraska University), Hill (now Provost at Cornell), L. Norton of Illinois, and Sherman Johnson and M.L. Wilson of the US Department of Agriculture. The contributions these few men made to the progress of ICAE were indeed of very great significance and should never be forgotten, particularly in relation to finance. Elsewhere there were Thomas and Dixey, Minderhoud, von Dietze, Westermarck, Nanavati, S.R.Sen, D.G.Karve, and others. But, such were the circumstances, Elmhirst judged that his own inspiration and prodigious efforts, diplomatic skill and contacts were still needed, over finance and many other matters. Even with all that he did for better continuous services to members and potential members, secure solutions were indeed difficult to find.

In the hot light of the success of the Tenth conference in Mysore these lessons tended to be forgotten. Indeed, by most members they remained unrecognised. But the Council's decisions, evolved as they were over the whole period since Elmhirst wrote Young on 8 August, 1950, served to sustain progress in the next phase, 1959 to 1973, under the Presidencies of Sherman Johnson, Nils Westermarck and S.R. Sen - all men greatly influenced by the long Elmhirst Presidency (Tables 7.4 and 7.5).

Invitations were considered at the Tenth conference from Australia, Germany, Colombia and Pakistan and, informally, from Mexico.

### The 1960s and early 1970s - the Eleventh to Fifteenth conference periods

#### Achievements

Growth in number of members and attendances at conferences continued to be comparatively rapid, particularly during the 1960s. Between 1958 and 1973, over 5 conference periods, the number of countries with members increased from 58 to 80, and members from 861 to 1,879 (i.e. by 118 per cent). The attendance at the 1973 conference in Brazil was 695 - greater by 93 per cent than that at the 1958 conference in India (Table 7.3 and Figure 1.1). The "opening of new doors" that resulted from the locations of the conferences - in Mexico, France, Australia, USSR, and Brazil - was also recognised as a major achievement.

Publications increased. More papers were presented and discussed and more Discussion Groups reported. More issues of the Journal of Agrarian Affairs were published, and 29 members contributed papers for a book in honour of Elmhirst,

International Explorations of Agricultural Economics. [42] The establishment of the World Abstracts of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology and of the Commonwealth Bureau of Agricultural Economics depended largely on IAAE, as did progress towards the World Atlas of Agriculture. [43] Max Rolfe's brief history was published in 1970. [44]

The first regional seminar was sponsored jointly with the Polish Government, and largely organized by R. Manteuffel. From 11 countries of Europe 24 participants met in spring 1968 in Warsaw and 30 papers or summaries were published as a supplement to the Journal. [45]

Another type of achievement made possible by IAAE, and one on which it would largely depend later, was the establishment on one site at Oxford of the Agricultural Economics Research Institute (first Director, Orwin), the Institute of Agrarian Affairs (first Director, Maxton), the offices and library of the Plunkett Foundation for Co-operative Studies, and the Commonwealth Bureau of Agricultural Economics. The Institutes were amalgamated under K. E. Hunt as Director and the services to IAAE that began in Maxton's time were continued. J. O. Jones became first Director of the Commonwealth Bureau, continuing and extending the services first begun by S. von Frauendorfer. [46] The new building was named Dartington House because Elmhirst with great perseverance, many skills and much help from Jones, Hunt, and J. J. MacGregor - all members of IAAE - carried through the complex negotiations over institutional changes, and the various items of real estate. The Dartington Trustees invested the capital required for the whole site and the new building (See Chapter 9).

Yet another achievement was a re-drafting of the constitution of IAAE.

#### Problems and difficulties

General - None of these achievements was possible without policy decisions and much executive effort. Moreover the increased membership, the greater attendances at conferences, and the expansion of editorial and publications work all themselves entailed needs for yet greater care and work.

The need for regional activities grew because the 3-yearly conference could now be located reasonably near many individual members perhaps at best only about 5 times during their whole working life-times. And also the underlying demands, effective and potential, for agricultural economics were in many regions rising fast relative to the few well trained and experienced economists available. As President Westermarck said in Council in 1970:- "It is easy to imagine what a tremendous improvement it would mean if money on a regular basis was available for seminars, workshops, and especially for salaries enough to employ a paid Secretary-Treasurer, and for travel".

Financial difficulties were however serious enough in struggling to maintain, at previous levels, services to members and grants to attend conferences. Publication and postage costs were still not covered by membership fees and were rising. Yet there was reluctance to raise membership fees. Money to meet "central" costs in Chicago (Farm Foundation) and Oxford (Institute), and the activities of the Officers was still far from assured for the longer run. Support from foundations in USA was becoming increasingly difficult to obtain. In Europe the usual answer from foundations was that "money for science will be allocated for national rather than international purposes".

Ackerman and his staff in the Farm Foundation offices had to struggle more than ever with problems of communication with members. The Country Correspondent

system was in 1958 weak and uncertain. Increases in membership, mobility of members, lack of notification of changes of address, failures in customs and postal services, diversions of individual members' Proceedings and Journals to libraries - all these aggravated difficulties, delays, and costs. A substantial number of Correspondents did not carry out their commitments to ICAE. So there had to be pleas from the Executive Officers for livelier work or, if other commitments were too heavy, for transfer of ICAE responsibilities to other individuals. It was recognised of course that in countries with large memberships these responsibilities were quite heavy, including collection of fees, promoting memberships, selling publications to libraries, acting as a news channel, arranging selection of Council members, and more. Choice of Correspondent was therefore highly important. Ackerman arranged at the 1970 conference a meeting of Correspondents and others in an attempt to help and improve their work.

Programmes and Publications - Programme formulation for conferences and selection and arrangement of speakers and discussants became increasingly complex and time consuming because (i) for the 1967 conference and later, concurrent meetings were scheduled; (ii) for the 1970 conference and later, contributed papers had to be assessed, selected and included, usually as concurrent presentations; (iii) more Discussion Groups had to be arranged.

Editorial work was greatly increased, for the same reasons and because more translations were required (e.g. before the 1970 conference at Minsk). Securing prompt responses from authors and rapporteurs, and from printers also became increasingly difficult. To reduce cost increases, Hunt as Editor had to work out a scheme for publications with "all feasible economies short of changing the appearance of the Proceedings on library shelves" (see Chapter 9). Another big set of editorial problems centred on the more frequent and regular publication of the Journal. Not only were there financial constraints but also delays by some authors - the latest to deliver his paper in acceptable form delaying the publication of whole issues. Also highly desirable sets of papers for particular issues were sometimes difficult to secure because "the authors found the task too daunting". For example Hunt made two vain attempts to secure contributions for an issue on "the requirements of agricultural statistics in developing countries".[47]

Relations with Host Countries - The increasing size of IAAE and the strong desire to locate conferences in different continents and in countries with different types of economy led inevitably to greater problems in relations with host countries. Choice of location was not easy. In 1961 invitations for 1964 were from Australia, Denmark, France and the USSR, and for 1967 from Canada. Israel and Lebanon registered wishes to be host. France was chosen, and eventually the site at Lyon. In 1964 Australia and Canada competed, and Australia was chosen, with Sydney University the site. A desire for the 1970 conference to be in East, West or Central Africa was registered. The USSR's repeated invitation had to be accepted for 1970 by the Executive before the 1967 conference because of Five-year Plan procedures. Kenya sent an invitation in 1967 for 1970, which was sympathetically considered, but Brazil eventually had priority for 1973, and Kenya was not host until 1976.

Many of the problems of IAAE-Host relations were of course connected with choice of conference locations - about accommodation for plenary and other sessions, discussion groups, meals, social gatherings, sleeping; local transport; translating, reprographic work, and recording arrangements; secretarial work; registration and banking facilities; tours before, during, and after conferences. Host

countries also differed widely in how far they understood the need to subsidize conferences and related tours. Most tended to think members were as rich as tourists. There could be lack of appreciation of the need to facilitate collection by the Secretary-Treasurer of membership and conference fees and transfer abroad of the resulting funds. They also differed widely in what they expected to be their responsibilities for the content of conference programmes and for chairmanships of meetings. Some naturally tended to expect excessively large proportions of conference time for their own ideas, problems, and experiences, although all in the end were willing to prepare separate publications summarizing these. Some also had at first unrealistic expectations of how early programmes could be finalized and papers sent to them for duplication. There could be serious delays in widespread announcement of general arrangements, costs, programme structure, and tours. Of course, within host countries, there were substantial obstacles to good communication and understanding. "They" - the hosts - were made up of various "units". Ministries and Treasuries, and tourist agencies tended to understand conference needs and traditions far less well than members of IAAE. But, members had little or no previous experiences of all the executive works required. The obstacles were greater where there had been recent shifts of political power or changes in the status of important individuals. "Who was to be whom" in relation to IAAE? And even when this was more or less settled, another source of anxieties for hosts as well as for IAAE officers was the apparent impossibility of securing sound forward forecasts from individual members about attendance at a conference and joining particular tours.

And, more fundamental, the Officers and Council wanted to be assured that all the relevant units in "They" would provide for full freedom of speech for all attending a conference - each to be treated as an individual and a professional and not as a representative or delegate. Also to have the fewest possible obstacles at the borders of host countries. So immigration controls that had been found difficult first in 1930, and dangers of speech controls that were evident in 1932 and 1933, were also still major considerations. At the 1970 conference Council resolved "that it is the sense of the Council of IAAE that, in the selection of a host country ..., high priority be placed upon assurances that all members will be able to attend and will be free of any discrimination in the privileges extended ..."

Relations with UN and other International Agencies - Yet another set of problems for Officers and Council arose from the desirability of sound relationships with UN agencies and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

Organization and Personnel - The name of ICAE was changed to International Association of Agricultural Economists (IAAE) in 1961.

The successes that were achieved despite all the problems and difficulties depended on the IAAE organization as it had been evolved up to the end of the Mysore conference in 1958. Between then and the end of the Brazil conference in 1973 there were few alterations. To secure greater continuities in the small group of Officers, a new position of Immediate Past President was created in 1961. So Sherman Johnson continued as an Officer, 1961-1964; and Westermarck, 1970-1973, after his Presidency, 1961-1970 (Tables 7.4 and 7.5). The number of Vice-Presidents was discussed again in 1964; and having a programme committee, again in 1970. Methods of selecting Council members were discussed again in 1961; the selection of Country Correspondents, again in 1967. One important change was in

procedures for nomination of Officers (see "Major Constitutional Changes" below), a matter to which Elmhirst had devoted much care. But this began to affect elections only at the end of the 1973 conference.

The 1958-1973 phase did however have the advantage of a greater number of active executives. They included Founder President, President, Vice-President, Past President, Secretary-Treasurer, Regional Secretaries, and Editor. Also, a greatly increased number of Country Correspondents. The organizer of Discussion Groups played an increasing part and in 1970 Vice-President Raeburn had an assistant (J. Marsh) responsible for much of the work on papers and discussions in concurrent sessions. From 1970 onwards a committee did most of the work on the contributed paper competition. The Director of the Commonwealth Bureau of Agricultural Economics (J.O.Jones) was also actively helpful to IAAE. And not least important were those promoting The Fund for the ICAE in USA. In host and other countries there were also those seeking funds and otherwise promoting IAAE. Table 7.4 lists the Officers and other executive personnel during this long phase (and, for convenience, in earlier phases also). Unfortunately even brief notes on personalities such as were given for the Foundation period cannot be set out but some references to fuller notes can be given.[48]

Most executive communication had still to be by air mail. Meetings of the Officers were at the conferences and usually annually between conferences. Costs to IAAE were kept down by the generosity of the parent organizations of the Officers and their own voluntary work, and by the hospitality of the Founder President. Also some foreign travel costs were avoided by doing IAAE business on stop-overs in travel for other work. Even so overseas travel costs were substantial.

Sherman Johnson travelled widely during 1961-64, speaking to agricultural economists in Iran, India, Taiwan, Thailand, the Philippines and Indonesia. Westermarck visited in 1963 Austria, Czechoslovakia, Italy and Switzerland and, before the 1967 conference, Portugal, Poland, Hungary, Greece, Turkey, USSR, the United Arab Republic and Israel. In the 1967-70 period he visited France, Italy, Poland, Spain, Switzerland, USSR; Morocco; Thailand, Hong Kong, Malaysia, and New Zealand. In the same period Ackerman visited six Latin American countries and a regional FAO conference in Chile. In 1968 he attended in Hungary a seminar on Economic Production organized with the help of E.O. Heady and financed by the Ford Foundation. In early 1970, on his way to India for other work, Ackerman also visited Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, the Philippines and Thailand. S.R.Sen, in the 1970-73 period visited some 20 countries, and his position as an Executive Director of the World Bank proved particularly helpful. The Regional Secretaries, Currie and Karve, helped Ackerman to promote membership, and collect fees in Europe and Asia. Currie travelled in 1963-64 with Dixey to nine countries in Africa and the United Arab Republic.

Links with UNESCO and OECD were established largely by the efforts of Westermarck and Elmhirst.

Another noteworthy change was a substantial improvement in some forms of written communication (e.g. the Minutes of Executive Council meetings). The needs of a much larger Council had to be met: even by 1964 as many as 44 countries had members at the Council meeting.

#### Major constitutional changes

At the 1970 conference the Officers suggested, and Council agreed, that a Committee to Revise the Constitution should be appointed.

Once again there was pressure to have more than one Vice-President, "Cutting the world into Regions, with someone representing each", would, it was claimed, be "useful both in raising funds and in keeping close contact with national societies". Another reason given was that the operating Executive, in contrast to the big and widespread Executive Committee of the existing constitution (as agreed in 1938), was still too small.[49] And status for particular groups and individuals was sought (e.g. for the centrally planned economies of the USSR and Eastern Europe [50], for Third World countries, and for some individuals "on grounds of professional eminence).[51]

And again there was concern about the size and composition of Council. Some thought there were now too many members in it.[49] Others believed no maximum size should be imposed and that the number of Council members from particular countries should be in straighter-line relationship to numbers of ordinary members.[51]

Financial constraints were somewhat more widely recognised than in the 1950s and 1960s.

Secretary Ackerman had substantial difficulties in drafting a revised constitution before the 1973 conference. Hunt felt that there would be advantages in having only one person on Council from each country or area group), but with "voting weight equivalent to the number of people now designated as members of Council". And, because Country Correspondents needed to have their status built up and their functions more clearly defined, perhaps they themselves should be the Council members.[49] Elmhirst thought that individual countries should be careful not to rely on only one "representative" because he could remain a "sleepy figurehead and (as Warren used to say) dependent only upon the mortician for removal".[52] But Elmhirst agreed with Hunt that weights might be used to reduce numbers attending Council meetings.

Elmhirst emphasized that the procedure for changing Presidents should be well stated, with adequate time for sound choice. The Executive ought to be given the power to recommend to Council the re-election of an existing President, or names from which to choose a successor, or a name of someone eager and competent to take on the job.[52]

Westermarck thought that "the position (of) Executive Vice-President, if so desired, be reserved for a person representing the countries with a socialised economy." "Otherwise ... their remaining as members might be jeopardised". And he suggested that Country Correspondents should be re-named "Country Representatives".[50]

Campbell wanted standardization of the period of memberships to "the beginning of one conference to the beginning of the next".[51] Currie had tried to keep to his original interpretation - "from the end of one conference to the end of the next" - because this attracted new members who were thereby immediately entitled to the Proceedings volume for the previous conference, and because it motivated them to remain members so as to secure the volume for the first conference that they attended. But in USA and some other countries this idea had been abandoned.

TABLE 7.4 OFFICERS AND OTHER EXECUTIVES  
1938-1973

	1938-49	1949-58	1958-73(n)
Conference series number	6,7 (a b)	8 to 10 (c d e)	11 to 14 (f to l)
Presidents:			
Founder	-	-	L.K. Elmhirst
Current	L.K. Elmhirst	L.K. Elmhirst	S.E. Johnson f. N. Westermarck g,h,j. S.R. Sen k.
Past President			S.E. Johnson g,h,j. N. Westermarck k.
Vice-Presidents	M. Sering l. G. Minderhoud b. E.C. Young b.	as in 1947-49+ A.W. Ashby c. M. Nanavati c. E. Thomas d.e.	E. Thomas f.g. J.R. Raeburn h,j. K. E. Hunt k.
Secretary/ Treasurer	J.R. Currie	J.R. Currie c.d. H.C.M. Case e.	J. Ackerman
Regional Secretaries	-	J.R. Currie m.	J.R. Currie f.g,h. D.G. Karve f.g.
Editor m	J. Maxton	J. Maxton c. R.N. Dixey d.e.	R.N. Dixey f. J.O. Jones g. K.E. Hunt h,j,k.
Organiser, Discussion Groups	-	H. Trelogan e.	H. Telogan f.g. E. Brooks h,j,k.
Chairmen, Contributed Papers Committee	-	-	K. Campbell j. K. Farrell k.

(a) 1938-47 (b) 1947-49 (c) 1949-52 (d) 1952-55 (e) 1955-58(f) 1958-61 (g) 1961-64 (h) 1964-67 (j) 1967-70 J.R. Raeburn was assisted by J. Marsh (k) 1970-73 (l) Honorary, until death in 1939 (m) de facto (n) see also Note 48.

In the end various compromises and improvisations were agreed. The resulting changes from the constitution as amended in 1961 can be summarized as follows, and some comparisons made with the constitution agreed in 1930.[53]

The Objectives now more explicitly included "communication and exchange of information among those concerned with rural welfare throughout the world".

Activities - Although "a major conference .... (should) in general be held every three years", the final decision on location being made by the Executive Committee, the IAAE might engage in other activities "such as international and regional meetings and seminars" and "publication of .... matters of interest to .... members", all "within the sphere of (the) objectives".

Membership - was as before to be made up of individuals who are "interested in agricultural economics", and corporations, libraries and similar institutions who designate individuals to be members for them". The fee .... determined by the Council .... (was for) a three-year period, beginning on the first day of January 1975, and the first day of every third year thereafter. Any member who fails to pay his dues within the first year of the three-year period shall be considered to be delinquent".

Executive Officers - The Founder President and the Past President would no longer be included. But, in addition to the President and Secretary-Treasurer, there would be a President-Elect, a Vice-President for Administrative Affairs and a Vice-President for Programme Development. An attempt was made briefly to define responsibilities:- The President's, as those of "the chief executive officer", "subject to the authority of the Executive Committee"; the President-Elect's, as deputising for the President; those of the Vice-President for Administrative Affairs, as largely to secure more funds and facilitate "local arrangements"; those of the Vice-President for Program Development, as largely the preparation of the programme for the major conferences; those of the Secretary-Treasurer as listed under eight headings.

The Executive Committee - would include the Founder President and the Immediate Past President as well as the Executive Officers - but not as previously all the "duly elected Chairmen of all national (or area) groups having five or more members". Special committees could be created by the Executive Committee or by Council, the President nominating the members.

Council, and County Representatives - Council was designated as "the major policy formulating body". ".... at a formally constituted meeting during the conference", Council (was) "to elect the Executive Officers" and they "hold office for a period beginning with the close of the conference and ending with the close of the next succeeding conference".

(Nothing else was stated about selection or retirement procedures).

The members in each country (or group of countries) were expected to have - or now to form - a National (or Area) Branch to promote the objectives of IAAE. Each Branch should designate a member as Representative, to liaise between the Executive Officers of IAAE and the membership within the Branch. Each Branch would elect members of Council, in accordance with almost the same scale as that agreed in 1938 (see Table 7.2). But where no Branch is constituted, the President might appoint a temporary Representative to canvass members and establish one.

Amendments of the Constitution - could now be made at any formally constituted meeting of the Council by a three-fifths vote of members present, provided that, at least six months previously the amendment had been sent in writing to Country (or Area) Representatives for Branch members to consider. A three-fourths vote of members present at a Council meeting could make an amendment that had not been so submitted. Previously "a majority vote at any conference" - presumably in the general business meeting - could make amendments provided a simple majority of Council had previously approved them.

### Resulting organization

Contrasting the organization of IAAE after these constitutional changes of 1973 with that of the ICAE intended after the 1934 conference (Figure 7.1), the most noteworthy changes were as follows:-

- a. The greater number of individual members - 1,690 in 1975-77 as against 339 in 1934-36;
- b. the apparent abolition of the General Meeting of members at conferences: ideas and information would have to travel almost entirely up and down the right side and centre of Figure 7.1.
- c. The much larger Council, and many more Country Representatives. But only small changes in the relation of Council memberships to total Country (or Area) memberships, and continuing big differences still possible in how Council members and Country Representatives are selected in different countries (or Areas). The organization did not become federal.
- d. The greater importance attached to the functioning of Country Representatives, but continuing lack of definition of their relation to Council.
- e. The smaller Executive Committee - as against 14 members according to the 1934 constitution, only 7 (or 6 after the death of Founder President). But a greater explicit dependence on the Officers - 5, as against 4 previously.
- f. The formal attempt to secure continuities by selecting the President-Elect and having him serve for three years as the President's deputy, then for three as President, and then continuing for another three as a member of the Executive Committee.
- g. Contrariwise the resulting tendency to change Presidents and Vice Presidents every three years.
- h. The emphasis on one Vice-President's securing more funds and promoting "local arrangements".
- i. The continuing lack of constitutional provision for editorial functions, and those in assisting the Vice-President for Program Development over contributed papers and Discussion Groups.

The mid-1970s to the mid-1980s - the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth conference periods

### Personnel

Death of the Founder President. Elmhirst died on 16 April, 1974. He had, over the 46 years since he invited Ladd to visit Dartington in 1928, done more than any other individual to form and sustain ICAE and IAAE. The loss of his influences and work were keenly felt by those who understood his high ideals, the deep reasons for the

traditions that he strove to establish, and the trials and tribulations of many kinds that he faced. His death, as much as the constitutional changes of 1973, marked the beginning of a new phase in IAAE history.

Officers and other executives. Officers for the 1973-76 period were elected by Council in 1973 in accordance with the new constitution, although the wording of this constitution was left to the Executive Committee to finalize. S.R. Sen was elected as President again; D.K. Britton, as the President-Elect; K. Campbell, as Vice-President for Administration; T. Dams, as Vice-President for Program Development. These and later selections are summarized for the whole phase to 1982-85 in Table 7.5.

In general, during the new phase, the IAAE was able to rely on a slightly larger and younger executive team than in the 1958-73 phase. They included for each conference period one or two members with substantial experience of low-income countries, and one or two with experience of socialist economies. The very heavy responsibilities that the hurried 1970 selections made Hunt shoulder as both Vice-President and Editor were wisely reduced in 1973. The Vice-President for Administration was different in each conference period so that different abilities and aptitudes could be brought to bear for different continents or regions. Time, finance and freedom for travel by these Vice-Presidents became doubtful however soon after the 1973 conference.[54] The question remained therefore: "How much fund raising and "local arrangements" could Presidents and other executives accomplish?"

The somewhat hasty nomination procedures for 1970 and 1973 led Council in 1976 to suggest that the Nominating Committee appointed by the President should submit two names for each office. President Sen appointed a Committee almost three years before the 1979 conference, but at the 1979 Council meeting some members wished the Nominating Committee "to be elected by the Council at the first meeting at a conference. And the wish for "not less than two candidates" to be nominated for each position was repeated. But no amendments to the 1973 constitution were made. Early in the 1982 conference however President Dams announced his Nominating Committee appointments to Council and to Country Representatives, and the Committee did present two names for each Executive Officer position, except those of President and Secretary-Treasurer. Some dissatisfaction with hasty procedures continued and the suggestion was made that the Nominating Committee should be appointed one year before the elections of Officers. For those in 1985 President Johnson announced a large Nominating Committee in May 1983 and they were asked to present two names for each office except Secretary/Treasurer.[55] Thus it was that somewhat more directly democratic procedures were established. They might provide some invigoration through more new executives. But, they also could eventually excite those disruptive contentions for status and power that were feared by Warren and Elmhirst: many Council members still might not understand well enough the abilities, aptitudes, energies and freedoms required in the executive posts.

In 1985 J.W. Longworth was made President-Elect; A. Valdes, Vice-President for Program Development and W.F. Mwangi, Vice-President for Administration. Petit took up position as current President and Hildreth and Maunder continued as Secretary-Treasurer and Editor, respectively.



## Achievements

The most noteworthy achievements of the 1973-85 phase included the following:-

- The maintenance of attendances at conferences about the high level reached in 1970 and 1983, despite choice of two locations - Nairobi in 1976 and Jakarta in 1982 - that were, for a majority of members, expensive to reach. These locations "opened new doors". The big programmes formulated by Dams, Johnson, Ohkawa and Renborg were attractive and increased the number of contributors listed (See Figure 4.1). Perhaps also attendances were sustained by increased concern over the seriousness and urgency of international problems, and recognition of the main themes chosen for the conferences as especially pertinent.
- The establishment of the Elmhirst Memorial Lecture as a feature of the main conference programmes.
- The initiation of "Introductory Memberships" to encourage young agricultural economists, particularly in developing countries, to become full members. Under the leadership of President Dams finance was obtained from individual members, especially in the Federal Republic of Germany and the USA, as well as from other sources. There was continuing support by individual members.[56]
- The planning by Hunt in 1976 of a comprehensive new scheme for publication of IAAE proceedings and other matters of interest to members, and the following of this plan in later years.
- The negotiation of arrangements for "Agricultural Economics: the Journal of the International Association of Agricultural Economists" launched in 1986.[57]
- Joint sponsorship with FAO and UNFPA of a seminar on Food and Population.[58]
- Establishment and use of other relationships with UN agencies, including UNCTAD and the World Food Council, and continuing close liaison and co-operation with the Commonwealth Bureau of Agricultural Economics.
- Decisions on relations with multi-country associations - the European Association of Agricultural Economists, the Caribbean Agro-Economic Society, the Agricultural Economics Society of South-east Asia, the East African Agricultural Economics Society, the Nigerian Association of Agricultural Economists, and others. And consideration of formulation of "Branches" of IAAE for staff of UN Agencies.
- Co-operation with other bodies in the fostering of "inter-conference seminars," including those on Marketing and Rural Development, Dec. 1977 in Germany; Agricultural Adaptation Processes in Newly Industrialised Countries, Sept. 1980 in Korea; Women, Agriculture and Modernization in Latin America, Sept. 1983 in Sao Paulo; Accelerated Growth and Development in West Africa,

Dec. 1983 in Abidjan; Rural Urban Inter-faces and the Quality of Life, April-May 1984 in Sao Paulo; Effectiveness of Bilateral and Multilateral Programs (for) Rural Development, with IIASA. It was established that responsibilities for fostering such seminars rested on other members as well as the Vice-President for Administration.

TABLE 7.5 OFFICERS AND OTHER EXECUTIVES  
1973-1985

	1973-76	1976-79	1979-82	1982-85
Conference series number	15	16	17	18
Presidents:	(c)			
Current	S.R.Sen	D.K.Britton	T.Dams	G.L.Johnson
Elect	D.K.Britton	T.Dams	G.L.Johnson	M.Petit
Past	N.Westermark	S.R.Sen	D.K.Britton	T.Dams
Vice-Presidents:				
Administration	K.Campbell	V.Nazarenko	R.O.Adegbeye	P.F.Cidade de Araujo
Program	T.Dams	G.L.Johnson	K. Ohkawa	U.Renborg
Secretary-Treasurer	J.Ackerman(a)	R.J.Hildreth	R.J.Hildreth	R.J.Hildreth
Editor	K.E.Hunt	A.H.Maunder(b)	A.H.Maunder	A.H.Maunder
Organiser, Discussion Groups	W.E.Kibler	W.E.Kibler	W.E.Kibler	W.E.Kibler
Chairmen: Contributed papers committee	K.R.Farrell	K.R.Farrell	K.R.Farrell	B.Greenshields
poster sessions committee	-	-	-	L.Martens

- (a) J. Ackerman died 3 May, 1976 after many years of great service to ICAE and IAAE in USA and elsewhere. His position as Secretary-Treasurer was filled by his Assistant R.J. Hildreth who became Managing Director of the Farm Foundation.
- (b) K.E. Hunt died 6 Jan, 1978 after great service to ICAE and IAAE since 1970. As Editor he was immediately succeeded by A.H. Maunder also of Oxford. The Oxford Office continued to provide services in assistance to the Secretary-Treasurer after the death of J.R. Currie (see Table 7.4). Mrs Mavis Hunt became editor of the "Cowbell" and Mrs Pearl Maunder assisted her husband as Editor, particularly at conference.
- (c) Founder President L.K. Elmhirst died 16 April 1974.

- The acceptance in 1979 by members from the People's Republic of China of invitations to take part in the conference programme, and the acceptance in 1980 by President Dams, Vice-President Ohkawa and Secretary Hildreth of an invitation to Beijing from the Chinese Agricultural Economics Society. Thus the reconstruction of the IAAE after World War II was completed (See also Note 17 Part V).
- The build-up of substantial reserve funds (see Chapter 10).

### Difficulties, partial successes and failures

**Total membership.** Despite increasing international concern over many of the problems that agricultural economists study, the total membership of IAAE tended to decline (Figure 1.1). The efforts of Vice-Presidents for Administration and others, the siting of conferences, and "Introductory Memberships" had apparently only small longer-run effects on the total membership statistics (Table 7.6). But after 1976 there was an underlying tendency for numbers to increase in Asia and Latin America. About 40 per cent of the big percentage increase achieved in 1976 in Africa was sustained. In North America, Western Europe, Scandinavia, Australia and New Zealand, the basic trend was downward.

**Finance.** The build up of IAAE reserves and the ability to fund "Introductory Memberships" masked the increasing difficulties in securing grants from foundations and governments. The Fund for the ICAE had such difficulties in USA that all their remaining balances were transferred in 1983 - \$15,000 to be used directly by IAAE, and \$24,460 to be allocated by the American Agricultural Economics Association (AAEA) for travel and work in relation to IAAE.[59] In England, despite efforts by the Executive Committee of IAAE and others, it was not possible to reverse plans to remove the Bureau of Agricultural Economics from Dartington House, Oxford and to reduce the Oxford Institute for Agricultural Economics to a unit within Queen Elizabeth House, the newly established International Development Centre of Oxford University (see Chapter 9). The Institute Director, G. Peters, was however able to agree that Maunder could continue meantime as Editor of IAAE, and Ms Margot Bellamy was able to assist in editing, and to maintain other relations of the Commonwealth Bureau with IAAE. No longer-term assurances could be secured.

**Relations with Host countries** continued to pose, in greater or lesser degree, the problems experienced earlier; but four problems were prominent.

- The increased size of conferences and the desire to locate in low-income countries led to city sites and expensive hotel accommodation in Nairobi and Jakarta. And similar accommodation had to be accepted at Malaga for 1985. Only the Banff (Canada) facilities were ideal.
- The difficulties in arranging a sufficient number and variety of pre- and post-conference tours, all with substantial agricultural economic content and all cheap enough, were experienced in East Africa and Indonesia, and Spain also had considerable difficulties.
- In 1985, for the first time, no formal invitations from would-be host countries were available. Two were however expected later - from Argentina and the Ivory Coast.
- Perhaps the most disconcerting problem was the old one of how to secure entry permits to host countries for all individual members wishing to attend conferences. Great efforts were made, especially by Presidents Dams and Johnson. But against the policies of individual Governments towards South Africa, Israel and some other countries, and against UN resolutions, these efforts could not completely prevail, although based on the logic of IAAE having

scientific purposes and a membership of professional individuals. On several occasions and at length, the Executive Committee and Council debated the issues involved, and finally at the 1985 conference the agreed resolution was:-

"The IAAE will only meet in countries which permit entry to all members of the Association who wish to attend the conference. In order to implement this principle, the Association is determined to take any steps to find a suitable arrangement in this respect".

TABLE 7.6 TOTAL MEMBERSHIPS OF IAAE, 1967 TO 1986

	1967- 73 (a)	1975- 77	1978- 80	1981- 83	1984- 86
	members	index numbers: 1967-73 = 100			
N.America	641	106	104*	78	80
W.Europe	546	66	70	62	68*
Scandinavia	102	122	101	72	53
USSR, E.Europe	82*	109	114	99	48
Australia					
New Zealand	269	56	63	59	58
Japan	20	65	480	470	420
India	40	89	99	230	152
China (b)	7	31	231	292	214
Asia, Other	36	83	214	444*	181
Near East	23	35	57	61	48
Africa	40	468*	40	230	248
Latin America	103*	46	73	73	73
Total	1,908	89	96	89	81

(a) Average of 14th and 15th Conference periods.

(b) Including Taiwan

\*Main conference located in the Region.

**Social cohesion.** Inevitably the large sizes of conferences made more and more difficult the achievement of social results that, when all was said and done, Elmhirst and Ladd valued more highly than the methodological. Continuation of Discussion Groups, concurrent sessions and contributed papers, pre-, within- and post-conference tours, receptions and barbecues, the new Members Bulletin, (including every third year, the world-wide membership list with addresses) - all these helped. The Cowbell was very usefully continued at conferences [63 of Part II]. But faced with what could at best be much greater and wider social opportunities as well as many more professional facts and ideas, individual members had to make greater efforts at conferences if they were to secure that "friendship" as well as "science" hat Warren praised at the end of the 1934 conference.[60] Indeed to follow Elmhirst's recipe in the first conference News of the Day [60] became increasingly difficult, especially for new members. The decision in 1985 to reduce the length of the 1988 conference to 8 days instead of 10 seemed likely to aggravate the difficulties.

In brief, the forces of urbanization and late 20th century formalization and standardization were increasingly opposed to the rural needs, diversities and human-heartedness of ICAE and IAAE. This was the main reason why the

Executive were led by President Dams to consider provision of a History for all members, as one of the bases for policy decisions within the future IAAE.

## 8 Designing and Detailing Conference Programmes

### Organization

Special attention was always paid to decisions about the programmes of conferences. They were the schedules that quite largely determined uses of the scarce and very costly days of conference every two or three years, the use of the time of members and invited speakers in preparing for conferences, and the cargoes of Association publications resulting.

The programme for the First conference was the responsibility of Ladd, Orwin, and Currie but they consulted widely and Elmhirst greatly influenced the allocation of time as between formal presentation of papers, round-table discussions, special sessions on research methods, personal conversations, games and other group activities. Warren and his Cornell committee largely determined the Second conference programme, with some consultation with senior members in Europe. For the Third to the Eighth conferences Elmhirst carried what he asserted was the "peculiar responsibility" of the President himself: he it was who had to judge the balances of "interest of all members". He tried at Council meetings to secure debate of the purposes and structures of succeeding conference programmes. He gathered up opinions about subjects and speakers from senior members in North America, the UK and western continental Europe, from his travels elsewhere, (often with Maxton and Currie), and from country correspondents. He gained experience particularly before the Third, Seventh and Eighth conferences of the many-sided nature of programme building and the many uncertainties and frustrations in choosing and securing speakers. He relied heavily on Maxton as his main "think tank" and as de facto Programme Secretary. After Maxton's death in 1951 and the Eighth conference in 1952 the responsibilities were largely carried by Thomas for the Ninth to Twelfth conferences. He too consulted widely, with help from Elmhirst and other members of the Executive and from Country Correspondents. Council continued to make recommendations, but would not agree proposals to transfer responsibility for the programmes to a committee. So the Vice President's major duty remained that of consulting widely, of laying proposals before the

Executive Committee and himself carrying ultimate responsibility for structure, subjects and speakers.

Later Vice-Presidents with these responsibilities were Raeburn (1967 and 1970 conferences) and Hunt, Dams, Glenn Johnson, Ohkawa and Renborg (for one conference each) (Tables 7.4 and 7.5).

After Discussion Groups of the 1958-85 type were introduced, responsibility for these was carried by Trelogan (1958-64), Emerson Brooks (1967-73) and W.E. Kibler (1976-85) and all liaised with Country Correspondents and with the Vice-President. When the contributed papers competition was introduced in 1970, a committee of 7 with K. Campbell as Chairman was constituted as judges. Succeeding Chairmen were K.R. Farrell (1973-82), and B. Greenshields (1985). By 1982 the Committee had almost 300 contributed paper proposals from which to select no more than 45. The introduction in 1985 of posters and competition for places in poster sessions or concurrent sessions required another committee with many judgements to make - Chaired by L. Martens. Also Chairmen and Discussion openers had to be found for 15 Sessions to deal with a total of 172 selected papers.

Figure 4.1 shows the numbers of papers presented. In addition, from 1970, many other papers - contributed and "posted" - had to be judged.

### Purposes

The history of decision-making about conference programmes can be best understood if all the purposes of conferences are conceived, and the logic of choices in trying to achieve them is recognized.

The purposes can be stated in various ways but essentially they are to help ensure that conferences improve the future decisions of IAAE members (and others who read IAAE publications) so that the Association's objectives are well secured - advancement of knowledge; communication; and application to improve "the economic and social conditions of rural people and their associated communities".[61] These objectives are for all regions and socio-economic systems of the world, so regard should be paid to the development and use of agricultural economics in countries with few agricultural economists, as well as to the improvement of future decisions in those with many. The programmes should be such that no alterations would result in yet further improvements for the future in the ideas, facts, methods and sustained information-inflows of members (and others) - alterations in:- length; structure; subjects; speakers; actual content of papers and discussions; major themes and attractiveness; and regard to reprographic needs and early provision of papers, visual aids, language barriers, recording needs, and editorial and publication difficulties and costs.

Many changes and prospective changes in economic and social conditions, in doctrines, research methods and results, Government policies and results, education, and more, affect the problems to be faced by members (and others). Also regard should be paid to changes or possible changes in other ways of improving decisions (e.g. use of abstract and review services, journals, books, regional conferences, seminars and work-shops, interchange of speakers at national (Branch) association conferences; optimum use of post graduate training capabilities and investments therein; consultancies regarding under-graduate education). In other words, the conferences should suit the times and be designed within the context of other possibilities of improving the decisions of agricultural economists.

### Uncertainties and value judgements

Such a general concept of the benefits to be maximized makes obvious that in practice many uncertainties are inevitable over benefits. The future decisions to be improved will eventually be made about many and various problems in many and different socio-economic conditions, by numerous members (and others) each with different and changing aptitudes and abilities, responsibilities and powers. What relative values should be placed upon:- (i) Policy analyses, formulation, decision making, execution and feed back; (ii) Research purposes, scope, methods and results; (iii) Education and training of economists; (iv) the build-up of friendships, information net-works, and working teams; (v) the provision of "stages" for the younger "actors"; (vi) awareness in an ever-shrinking world of our "neighbours" problems and our inter-dependencies?

Costs too are uncertain, and difficult to measure. What are the alternative use values of members' times and energies? What inducements and guidance are necessary to ensure that eminent and able contributors do contribute their best or near-best to suit conference purposes? What inducements, and translations and other inputs are desirable to ensure that papers and illustrations are available early enough to facilitate and encourage the best discussion? What is the alternative use value of conference time taken to present a paper well and minimize misunderstandings of it: when does discussion time become more valuable than presentation time - paper by paper? How far would guidance on, and regulation of, the minutes allowed optimize overall benefits, or reduce them by detracting from individual freedoms? What, member by member, are the social opportunity costs (loss of friendships and build-up of personal information-networks) of increasing session time and reducing free time?

### Different preferences

It was thus inevitable that personal understandings and valuations of costs and benefits varied over wide ranges, making judgements of programme designs differ widely. Only for the First conference were purposes easy to agree, and costs to avoid. Thereafter, there were always some criticisms as well as much favourable acceptance.

Examples of ranges of preference included those concerning:- lengths of conferences; the structures (uses of time for different types of meeting, field trips, and recreational and social activities); the content priorities (amongst particularly (i) descriptions of experiences and problems by region and country, (ii) specific research projects, (iii) strategic and problem area reviews of government policy purposes, and research purposes and methods); the ratios between presentation and discussion times.

Renborg's study of members' evaluations following the 1985 conference provided interesting illustrations. For example of the 140 members reporting, 26 per cent preferred a conference to be only 7 days long; and 18 per cent, even shorter. But 31 per cent preferred 10 days, and 2 per cent even longer. Changes in the allocation of total conference time were wanted by substantial percentages:-

	Increase share	Decrease share
For: Scientific sessions	33	16
Free time (including discussions)	45	7
Discussion Groups	18	33
Poster sessions	33	17
Host country's agriculture	8	30
Welcoming and closing ceremonies	0	59

Other indications that more discussion time was preferred by substantial percentages of members were (a) that 33 per cent of those reporting wanted 2 or fewer papers for contributed paper sessions, while only 13 per cent wanted 4 or more; (b) that 33 per cent wanted only 5 or fewer poster papers per session.[62]

### Evolution

Indications of the actual decisions taken about programmes are given in Table 4.1 and 4.2, and in Figure 4.1, and in Chapters 5 and 6. The evolutionary changes were big. Such were the purposes and nature of the Association and its environment that evolution was inevitable. And evolution will continue.

Big alterations in the management of change were made with the introduction in 1958 of Discussion Groups; in 1967 and 1970, of concurrent sessions and competition between contributed papers; in 1985, of competition between poster papers. The Vice-President in charge of programmes still had ultimate responsibility for length and structure, but in the increasing portions of conference time not used for invited papers his de facto responsibilities for content priorities and presentation:discussion ratios were, to some extent, shifted to the Discussion Group Organiser and the committees for contributed papers and poster papers. These shifts, together with changes of Vice-President (Program) every conference from 1973 onwards, tended to quicken changes.

The evolution has sometimes been regarded as proof of past mistakes in programme design. But judgements should be made within the past environments, not within those of the judges. Historically what is more useful is to study afresh the value patterns of the designers so as to be able to assess how relevant or irrelevant those patterns have become.

Part II indicates the values and goals of the Founders and how all wanted to establish ICAE on a basis of friendship and frankness. But also how the awareness that Warren wanted to develop (largely of research problems, methods and results) differed somewhat from the awareness that Ashby sought of the need for an integrated body of concepts useful in policy analyses and reforms. Fortunately Maxton, like a good Oxford don, did his best to set down the arguments on both sides, and his own judgements. His lengthy memoranda in the 1930s and the rehabilitation years were of great value to Elmhirst. A few extracts must suffice to show their importance.[63]

4 Sept. 1931 "... in public agricultural economics a consideration of national policies and fundamental philosophies does not denote an inclination to theorizing but means taking account of things which themselves are facts of the first importance".

"... it is necessary to show not only that practices on the individual farm are best, but (also) that the whole social basis of the rural economy is well adapted to its

purpose. This requires a questioning spirit and the investigation of fundamental problems".

"To seek for the fundamental philosophy is, therefore, to display, not a remoteness from facts, but a desire to take account of an even wider field of data than that of the individual farmer and his economic position - no less than the totality of the ethical, social and political forces operating in the community in which he produces, to the extent (to) which they determine action and mould thought ..."

Sept or Oct 1931 "The (ICAE) would be occupied most profitably in considering the more fundamental concepts .... in preference to detailed treatment of problems peculiar to certain areas, or proposals capable of only limited application" "The objects .... (should be) .... primarily:-

- 1) to stimulate the individual member to thought along unfamiliar lines, and thereby
- 2) to impart to his mind freshness and breadth of view, which may react favourably upon his work;
- 3) to disseminate information upon special problems; this, when permitted ...., should aim, not at cramming the audience with raw material (which they may never need, and which, if they do, they can acquire with less expenditure of time and trouble), but at drawing attention to new trends in research .... likely to be universally operative in the near future and .... demand the serious attention of students of every country".

"It follows that papers should be framed so as to stimulate open discussion .... (not) echoing or controverting minor .... unimportant points .... (Later speakers need) scope to state their own view freely upon general principles without becoming irrelevant to the set subject".

"Might it not be wise to invite .... pure economists, general historians etc. to speak where they might be expected to possess a more comprehensive grasp ....?"

"(Should not subjects) .... be first chosen for their general value, without reference to regional considerations, and then choice of speakers made, mainly because of their specific competence ...., adequate representation for each country being regarded as secondary but not entirely overlooked

"No speakers should be allowed to accept invitations until the titles of their papers have been accepted?"

"Have the (main, basic) programmes in general session(s), and, in addition, .... devote .... two days to sectional sessions .... (so combining) "manageability" with comprehensiveness .... avoid "blurring" the mind of the individual member, (but offer) more papers on (his) own subject than could be dealt with .... at the general sessions".[64]

6 Oct. 1936, evaluating the Fourth conference. "The way in which we hoped our 4 main days would work was that a discussion of fundamentals would get started on Monday, continue from a different angle - namely land tenure - on Tuesday, carry on from still another angle, farm organization, on Thursday, and then to some extent again from a different angle on Saturday. (It) .... would be .... cumulative, working all the time on the challenge that agriculture is as an industry which must measure up to the needs of the community. Alas .... we didn't get a very good start on Monday, and what start we did make was killed on Tuesday and it wasn't until Thursday that we began to get the real challenge. Still .... we did get plenty of discussion on Thursday and on Saturday, while Monday was not a complete failure in that respect."

"I feel at times somewhat strongly that it is one of the jobs of an international conference to jolt specialists out of their accustomed grooves .... I really don't think it would be a good thing to split the conference into sections - not unless we got to having 500 to 1,000 people, in which case we'd better start having two or three conferences .... I'm all in favour of young men having an innings .... but it is going to be disastrous from the point of view of getting a "discussion conference" - if we have .... always .... (to favour them). We have got to reach a stage where authorities will grant permission to young men to attend .... because it will be good for them .... and not because the .... conference wants to hear them. ".... it is simply ridiculous to think that an international conference really seriously wants to invite a young man they've never heard of".

"What is the quality which makes .... a good paper to open discussion? .... It is, I think, .... (the setting) of two or more opposing points of view against one another and tries to set out briefly and clearly the case for each. .... In some cases, we will find something of it hidden away in a mass of scholarship or .... descriptive matter .... in .... tables of figures or screeds of Acts and Regulations. If however, we want brevity, the scholarship and the description should be reduced to the minimum required for evidence.

".... we are terribly dependent, in trying to get a "discussion conference", on the type of paper given. Unfortunately, there isn't much we can do about it .... without being offensive .... It seems we have just got to be patient and wait until people realise it from experience". ".... we simply have not got the room in a week's (international) conference for the recital of facts, and where one man knows his bare facts and another knows his bare facts, there simply can't be any basis of discussion, unless they get a good bit further ahead in their analysis than the bare facts .... All we can do is .... to arrange the opportunity on the programme for discussions on basic subjects - not the whole programme .... and hope that through time we will all learn the technique of that kind of conference". ".... people can prepare in advance to take part in a discussion without having seen the main paper and without departing at all seriously from the spirit of real discussion (by preparing an extra paper in the name of discussion)".

"It might be well worth trying .... to open a discussion .... (with) a very brief statement of a case or argument - say not more than 500 words - put forward anonymously".

"A lot of existing rural society may be on the wrong psychological basis, and therefore what we have to think about and what we have to debate is - what is the type of ruralized society which is worth seeking".

June 11, 1937, "We are quite convinced that it is foolish to count on any more than 5 hours a day for (effective) conference sessions". ".... more .... turns pleasant work into irksome work for the members, (and importantly) you must leave a reserve of time (in case) your schedule gets out of hand at any time".

"We must try to get at least a summary of the opening papers circulated in advance but .... authors rarely deliver the goods in time".

".... speeches in discussion .... in the main subject section .... become as important as any other part of the programme. At a maximum of 20 minutes per person we have (in all) space for 45 speakers, which is as much as all the rest of the full conference (plenary) sessions".

November 1946 "Perfectly good people get into Government service .... To them Government representation is perfectly all right because it enables them to pick the people they want". ".... that is just why we shouldn't leave all the .... choice in one set of hands". ".... We have no prejudices against FAO having Government-picked

conferences. But in practice .... they will settle down into a little more or less permanent group. That kind of thing has no real interest .... for the average agricultural economist".

12 Aug. 1950 in letter to Currie:[65] "In 1947 we took the (ICAE) up by the roots and gave it a very thorough inspection at at least 3 Executive meetings. .... nobody (except Joe Coke ....) really wanted any material change. Now, only three years after, you suggest taking things up by the roots again .... that would be .... silly and fussy .... (and have) an unsettling effect ...." "You are not going to have the kind of independence we've had to run our kind of conference, if you invite others to put themselves in a position to veto you - not because they want to change the kind of conferences, but simply because they don't understand the amount of imponderable detail and of personality that has made the conferences what they have been".

About 1950 "What we are striving for in the first instance is to get the full value of the spoken, not the written, word. We try to use methods which will give us a means between the speech on the one hand that is all speech, and the meticulous paper which tends to deadness. We have found that, on the whole, the normally well-informed, intellectually honest agricultural economist can be trusted not to inflict the first on us. We have to discourage him from inflicting the second".

"The difficulties at our conferences arise for the most part only in those comparatively few hours while some are still strangers and not yet friends".

"Because the appreciation of our conferences has been so sincere and general, we have not had to explain .... our methods. Perhaps it was wrong .... not to do so...."

".... we choose and announce a main topic in plenty of time and it is that which we set for discussion - not the opening paper".

".... the critics don't know the (many) very real difficulties in having papers circulated in advance". "The ICAE is not rich and .... when (essentials of expenditure in holding a conference) have been met .... any extra should be spent in assisting people to attend."

".... on the running of sectional meetings concurrently .... our objection .... is based on the sheer impossibility of dividing one man (which may be all most nations can afford to send) into several sections". And "there is no need to provide special facilities (for regional groups to consider research techniques). Also "it is not the purpose of a conference to provide everyone with facilities" (for) "an intensive pursuit of a particular line of research." "One may find it possible to establish personal contacts to that end but .... specialized research is usually on a comparatively narrow plane and it is almost a sheer coincidence if any of the members .... from a variety of countries .... is engaged on the same narrow plane".

Elmhirst on 31 May, 1951 soon after Maxton's death wrote:- "I propose that we continue our .... policy of having three or four main themes with discussion following the opening papers. These should be of an international character, as it gives members from all parts of the world an opportunity of contributing their point of view. In addition we should have the usual non-discussion papers, say fifteen or twenty .... of a descriptive or informative nature. Although called non-discussion, we have allowed questions when time was available".

On 9 May, 1952 Elmhirst wrote: "One reason why I like to send the Papers out to the (first) discussants is that it gives me a chance to warn them that we do not want a second Paper .... (not) .... playing fair by the opener or the body of the conference".

Prior to the 1952 conference Currie prepared a summary for Elmhirst that indicates some of the results of Maxton's basic reasoning.

Conference	Total hours	Hours per day	Total pages of proceedings	Per cent of total pages for discussion
1st	35	3	350	14*
2nd	103	9	1,033	1*
3rd	38	5.5	376	5
4th	45	6.5	444	39
5th	41	6	411	52
6th	47	5	467	44
7th	35	6	340	53

\*Recording systems different from that in later years.

In general, Thomas aimed to carry on the traditions established by Maxton and Elmhirst. On the nature of ICAE he wrote on 15 Dec 1953 to Elmhirst ".... for me it was an instructive experience to see a high-level official international (FAO) conference at work. The experience underlined my previous conviction that our own informal organization fills a very real need".

On 24 July, 1954 Thomas wrote to Ackerman ".... we are firmly of the opinion that at least sixty per cent of the time at each (main theme) session should be reserved for open discussion. (So) we intend to limit readers of papers to from 30 to 45 minutes each". "(And) in choosing the readers we have endeavoured .... to select recognized authorities on the particular tropics while .... maintaining a fair balance between countries. We hope that any unevenness in geographical scatter can be corrected in the selection of the openers of discussions".

Later he wanted papers of 3,000 words or less to take 25 minutes to present and openers of discussions to be limited to 10 minutes each.

When "work shops" were first proposed, by Trelogan and Ackerman, for the 1958 conference, Thomas was cautious but Elmhirst was in favour because, he reported, Dantwala and others in India thought they "would be very important for new and shy members, for the making of friends, and for the breaking up of national groups". Members from countries "where the study and use of agricultural economics is a new idea .... will be asking such basic questions as: How does a sensible government get the best service out of agricultural economists inside its Ministry of Agriculture?". In the end Thomas included four afternoon sessions of 2 to 3 hours concurrently for each of 8 broad subjects such as "Farm management research", "Undergraduate teaching". The arrangements were assigned only to Trelogan and Ackerman because "it would be difficult for a larger number to confer in arranging the details ...." The plan was to be given "a thorough trial". Thus began Discussion Groups of the types used 1958 to 1985.

On May 16 May, 1959 Thomas summarized the reactions to his major proposals for the 1961 conference. These included:-

- 1) "That 2 or 3 days should be given to papers on professional topics, suitably weighted to the stage of development in teaching, research and extension activities in the Host region".
- 2) "That work-study (Discussion) groups be retained and .... linked more closely to the subjects under discussion in the main programme".

Country Correspondents expressed both support and substantial criticism of these proposals, and made some suggestions for modification. There seemed however to be almost full agreement that Discussion Groups should be continued.

To the General Meeting at a Lyon conference in 1964 Thomas described his procedure and emphasized that every request for advice from all Country Correspondents "means a lag of from three to four months before the next step can be taken". To a request sent out at the end of January 1962 he had replies from only 14 Correspondents by the end of April, and a further 11 after reminders. Regrettable delays made Trelogan's problems in choosing "Officers for the Discussion Groups" more difficult.

After a review of Maxton's principles, Thomas' experiences, and members' assessments [66], Raeburn attempted in the 1967 programme to maximize discussion of major international strategic issues by having four eminent speakers from four major disciplinary fields to open plenary session discussions, followed by concurrent "Quarter-conference" meetings with able openers to consider all four plenary sessions and report back for a final, synoptic, plenary discussion. Also he introduced concurrent special group meetings with most subjects related to the broad plenary session themes.[67]. The "Quarter conference" procedure was not repeated, because it tended to press too hard and long for high quality debate of world-wide issues. But the concurrent meetings were continued. Interpretation of different languages and recording services could not be provided at all concurrent meetings any more than at all Discussion Groups. Hunt and Raeburn therefore introduced rapporteurs who summarized discussion at concurrent meetings, listing the names of the main contributors. A major break was thus made with the tradition well established by Maxton and Thomas to have full reporting of all discussion. Exhibitions of publications and films were also introduced.

In 1970 contributed papers were invited, with competition for places in some concurrent meetings. Language difficulties inevitably caused anxiety to ensure that they would not in practice constrain fair competition. The committee of judges felt however that they had to insist that papers be presented to them in English only. A compromise was reflected in the statement that it would "help the committee if papers are linguistically satisfactory, but no paper will be rejected for any deficiency of this kind".

Hunt continued the tradition of major plenary sessions with carefully selected generic subjects, and eminent paper "readers" and openers of discussion. He secured good emphasis on the future largely through 16 Special Groups, meeting concurrently on 4 occasions devoted to "foreseeing", "preparing for", "adjusting for" and "living in" the future. He improved on the final "Synoptic Review" sessions introduced in 1967 by asking A. Valdes and G. Weinschenck "to highlight the unfinished business".

Dams continued in 1976 the same programme structure but with emphasis on "Decision-making and Agriculture" and devoted a whole day to "food and population problems".[68] Because of rising printing costs he had to agree that for the first time the open discussion at plenary meetings would not be published except in summary form, prepared from written statements by the speakers and taped recordings.

Glenn Johnson in 1979 continued the emphasis on decision making under the general theme of "Rural Change: The Challenge for Agricultural Economists". He divided the programme usefully into considerations at six different levels from "Micro" to "Multinational" and "Supra-National," keeping one whole section for the "Disciplinary" level. He was determined to have a bigger number of able members on the programme and therefore greatly increased the use of concurrent sessions and Discussion Groups, relating them to the six levels.[69] One result was the provision of more on research results, following Warren's early priorities rather

than Maxton's. But Johnson was himself alive to the importance of value patterns and one Discussion Group was devoted to "Philosophical Thought".

Some of Maxton's thoughts also had an echo, before the 1982 conference, in experiences of K.R.Farrell and his Contributed Paper Committee (now of 11 members). Almost 300 outlines of proposed papers from 412 authors in 62 countries were submitted. Only 5 could be selected by Ohkawa for development as "invited papers", and 41 to be developed as "contributed papers". "The overall quality (of these 41) was (in the end) highly variable - .... (as) "judged on the basis of their effectiveness in stimulating substantial discussion ...." Farrell who had carried very heavy responsibilities over four conference periods recommended that competitors should be required (as before 1979) to submit full draft papers before the Committee made their selections. And the submission should be a full 9 months before a conference.

For the 1982 conference in Indonesia, Ohkawa arranged a programme with concurrent meetings fewer than in 1979 but more numerous than in 1976. He too had to restrict closely the time allowed to all types of speaker. He did however secure substantial discussion of strategic issues in the main theme of "Growth and Equity in Agricultural Development". He carefully selected invited speakers and openers of discussion and related the sub-topics of concurrent sessions and Discussion Groups to the main topics of plenary sessions. Topics and sub-topics were sufficiently closely defined. A whole plenary session was "from an action-oriented stance". Much of Maxton's thinking was reflected and not least in the final paper, Glenn Johnson's "Synoptic View". But again some members felt that the pressure to struggle with strategic issues precluded their own interests rather too much.

Renborg for the 1985 conference increased again the number of contributed papers and introduced posters and poster paper sessions. His main aim was to secure many more papers, selected quite rigorously by committees largely on the basis of their contents of recent research results. Preferably they were "to address uncertainty aspects of .... specific topics" because the main theme was "Agriculture in a Turbulent World Economy". He did have 18 carefully chosen subjects presented by invited speakers and so used plenary sessions much as previously. He extended the end-of-conference synoptic functions by including a major section of the programme on "Implications for Policy and Research" with five eminent speakers on five well chosen topics. Related to Renborg's preferences for new research results was of course a desire to provide a "stage for new actors" and President Johnson commended his provision of "even more opportunities for (i) widespread participation and discussion and (ii) upward mobility for our new, younger members".[70]

## 9 Editorial and Related Work: the Oxford Contribution

J. O. Jones MA (Oxon)

### Foundation and other pre-war years

"In the beginning was the word ...."

To make the word of the newly born International Conference of Agricultural Economists effective, direction and structure were required, both in the planning and programmes and in the recording and distillation of the knowledge and wisdom revealed.

After the Second conference, programme-making and editorial roles fell naturally upon John Maxton.[72] His friendship with Elmhirst and Currie, and his close professional connexions with many other leaders, enabled Maxton to collaborate widely in developing Conference programmes and in editing the resulting Proceedings. The Conferences had the role not only to produce publications of an acceptable professional standard but also to bring and hold together a wide range of participants with common objectives but with varying backgrounds and abilities, from all parts of the world. Thus it was editorial policy from 1934 onwards that, together with presented papers, all contributions to discussions should also be recorded and published in the Proceedings. Maxton's concise mind and friendly approach were invaluable in convincing discussants that what they had attempted to convey in one hundred words could, when written, more usefully be expressed in ten.

As Conferences grew, the number of languages of participants also increased. Simultaneous translations therefore became necessary in Conferences, and the Editor needed later to be able to call on the help of linguists. The procedure evolved by Maxton and developed by his successors was to require typescripts of principal papers before the Conferences. In the ensuing discussions each contribution was individually recorded, transcribed, translated if necessary, and returned to the contributor for approval or correction during the Conference. These approved transcripts were collated and edited after the Conference, and returned by post to the contributors all over the world for final approval or amendment. Last adjustments were carried out by the editor before the volume



was sent to press, and the editor was responsible for proof-reading and indexing. This procedure resulted in a high standard of publication and in the general satisfaction of all Conference participants. It was, however, time-consuming and arduous. As the Conference developed, a permanent editorial office became necessary.

### The origins of the Institute of Agrarian Affairs

At the time of the first Conference, Maxton held a full-time appointment at the University of Oxford's Research Institute (AERI) under the Directorship of C.S. Orwin. Orwin was a founder-member of ICAE - one of the Committee of Three.[73] However the AERI was concerned mainly with UK interests; and Orwin and Maxton did not always see eye to eye. As time went on it became difficult to see how Maxton could continue to fill this growing editorial role within the AERI. Also Orwin communicated to Elmhirst in 1934 that Maxton had become supernumerary to the needs of his Institute, but that it was hoped that Maxton's services would not be lost to agricultural economics.

Characteristically, Elmhirst evolved a bold plan. Maxton was engaged by the Dartington Hall Trustees to develop the work of the Conference at 3 Magpie Lane, Oxford, these premises being leased from Barclays Bank. With the backing of W.S.G. Adams of All Souls College, Sir Thomas Middleton of the Development Commission, and A.D. Lindsay, Master of Balliol College and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, the University Authorities were then, in time, persuaded to establish the Institute of Agrarian Affairs (IAA) at 3 Magpie Lane, with Maxton as its first Director "to carry out research into the economic and social problems of agriculture and rural life, especially those which are common to all countries or to several countries, and to collect information on these subjects and publish it by means of printed papers, informal instruction or lectures". The editorial work of the International Conference of Agricultural Economists fell squarely within this remit.

Oxford University guards its privileges and reputation most zealously. Thus the establishment of this Institute was a remarkable achievement. The University, however, would not accept financial responsibility: and the life of the Institute was conditional upon continuous financial support by the Dartington Hall Trustees (Chairman, L.K. Elmhirst). This was guaranteed at £1,600 per annum for five years from the founding of the Institute in 1941. Support for subsequent quinquennia was assumed, failing two years' notice by the Trustees. In this way the full costs of the editorial work of the ICAE were met by the Dartington Hall Trustees, in conjunction with the Staff of the Institute of Agrarian Affairs.

In the first years of the IAA, the Dartington Hall subvention was sufficient to pay Maxton a salary in keeping with a University post and also to employ a small staff. Phyllis Hooke was appointed Secretary. She served Maxton and his successors, and the ICAE, in an outstanding manner until her retirement in 1971.

Another important assistant until 1940 was James Grant, and for some years J.J. MacGregor gave invaluable service before taking up a post as a Provincial Agricultural Economist, and later as Oxford University Lecturer in Forest Economics. MacGregor's continuing support for ICAE and IAA, and his expanding contacts and influence within the University were significant in later developments.

### The International Journal of Agrarian Affairs

Elmhirst and Maxton also turned their attention towards maintaining and developing effective contacts between members throughout the inter-Conference period. The need for a periodical publication to strengthen interest and focus research became evident. Thus The International Journal of Agrarian Affairs was launched in 1939.[74] The aim was to select topics of current international importance in consultation with the country correspondents and to commission articles on agreed aspects of these topics from a wide international panel of expert contributors. Co-ordination was maintained by the Editor at the Institute of Agrarian Affairs. Contributors provided their articles without payment but normally with the full support of their own departments and institutions as part of their share in the work of ICAE. The prestigious Oxford University Press undertook the printing and distribution of both the Conference Proceedings and the Journal on payment by ICAE. In this way, with a minimal core staff and slender finance, the Institute of Agrarian Affairs achieved great potential as a fully international centre.

### Post-war challenges and responses

Developments were inevitably checked by the Second World War. But much work and many contacts were maintained, and the first post-war Conference held at Dartington Hall in 1947 ensured that the work would be continued with renewed enthusiasm.

The ICAE suffered a great loss in Maxton's untimely death in 1951. However, the pattern and methods of production of its publications and the international status of the Institute of Agrarian Affairs were by then firmly established. R.N. Dixey, a senior member of the Staff of AERI, accepted the invitation of the ICAE and Oxford University to take over the Editorship of the Conference publications and the Directorship of the IAA. This move was greatly facilitated by A.W. Ashby who had succeeded Orwin as Director of IRAE, and by the Oxford University authorities. It was agreed that Dixey could retain his appointment at AERI as Research Officer together with its full salary, receiving an additional sum of £250 per annum in token of the increased responsibility. Ashby most generously insisted, in conversation with Dixey, that the whole should be treated as "one job". This contribution of the University was enormously important; for although the Dartington Hall Trustees agreed to increase their subvention to £2,250 a year for five years from 1951, the ravages of inflation had made it impossible to pay a reasonable salary to a Director from this sum together with other Institute salaries and costs. For a period, A.W. Ashby's son, Andrew Ashby, assisted Dixey at IAA. When Andrew took up an appointment with Unilever in 1953, J.O. Jones accepted Dixey's invitation to join him as his assistant.

Despite the help given in kind by the University, finance was a growing constraint as costs continued to rise with inflation. The printing and distribution of Conference Proceedings was paid for by the ICAE. Membership and Conference fees were expected to cover this cost. Also, members of the Conference received, without further charge, all issues of the International Journal of Agrarian Affairs, printed during the period covered by their membership subscriptions. These Journals also needed to be paid for by the Conference. Against these costs were sales of Proceedings and Journals to unattached libraries and individuals. For the

Journal especially, these sales became significant. However, the balance between membership subscriptions and publication costs seemed always to be precarious: there was a measure of under-writing, and occasional rescue, anonymously, by Dartington Hall.[75] In 1959 the Institute was given a grant by the Gulbenkian Foundation of £1,500 "towards the cost of the next International Conference" together with £1,500 a year for three years. But this was ear-marked "for foreign travel" so that its application to general Institute needs was very restricted. In 1962, this grant was extended for a further two years, without restriction on use.[76]

On Conference planning, Maxton's role was taken over largely by Edgar Thomas, Professor of Agricultural Economics at Reading University, and an old friend and colleague of Maxton. As Vice-President of the ICAE, Thomas worked closely with the President Elmhirst, Currie, Westermarck, the IAA, and country correspondents in formulating programmes and selecting speakers and discussants. Programmes for the 1955, 1958, 1961 and 1964 Conferences were developed in this way. For the 1967 Conference Thomas was succeeded as Vice-President and programme builder by Professor J.R. Raeburn of Aberdeen University.

#### The foundation of the world-wide abstracts service

In addition to the International Journal of Agrarian Affairs, a further need was felt for some means of informing members of the full range of relevant research and publication carried out throughout the world. In its formative years the Conference had inevitably drawn mainly on English language work, gradually expanding into the main European languages. Much insularity persisted. Within language groups, reference to publications in other languages was rare.[77]

In 1957, J.O. Jones of IAA received a grant from the British Council to make a study-tour of agricultural economics research and teaching in Yugoslavia.[78] In this tour he was concerned also to maintain and extend contacts with ICAE. Elmhirst suggested that, Jones should also visit Austria, where links with ICAE were not very strong. A firm adherent was found, however, in the person of Professor Dr. Sigmund von Frauendorfer, Librarian of the Hochschule für Bodenkultur in Vienna. Frauendorfer was also concerned that agricultural economics should have a scientific information service. Before the war he had edited the Bibliographie Internationale d'Agriculture at the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome. This bibliography had included agricultural economics references; but it ceased publication in 1946. Now Frauendorfer was striving with a new venture called World Agricultural Economics Abstracts. This would include short summaries or abstracts, as well as titles and other bibliographical data; and Frauendorfer envisaged a co-operative international enterprise in which correspondents from all countries would select and abstract from their respective national literatures, sending their abstracts free of charge to the central editorial office and receiving copies of the final publications in exchange. This could best be done in collaboration with ICAE. The proposal was carried back to Elmhirst and the other Officers of ICAE by whom it was enthusiastically received. Frauendorfer was invited to present his proposals to the next Conference meeting, to be held in India in 1958.

In Britain, following the start of a book review and abstract service by the Agricultural Economics Society, a national venture at an agricultural economics abstracting and information service had begun in 1957 financed by the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food. R.A. Dudman was employed by the AERI to

prepare a quarterly Digest of Agricultural Economics, listing and summarizing mainly UK publications.

R.N. Dixey retired from the Directorship of the Institute of Agrarian Affairs in 1961. At the same time R.A. Dudman resigned the Editorship of the Digest of Agricultural Economics. It had been already agreed by the University and the Dartington Hall Trustees that J.O. Jones should succeed R.N. Dixey as Director of the Institute of Agrarian Affairs. But by this time the Trustees' subvention had been reduced to the minimum of £2,000 per annum, affording little provision for salaries. Jones was encouraged to accept the Editorship of the Digest in addition to the Directorship of the IAA. However, the editorship of the Digest had hitherto been regarded as a full-time occupation and the duties had been in no way diminished. Also, the Digest was financed by the Ministry. Thus at this stage there was no longer an element of subsidy by the University. Jones received a nominal £300 per annum as Director of IAA but his salary for Digest work was reduced. M. Butterwick was appointed as assistant, but at a salary far below comparable grades.

Yet from the editorial point of view a number of strands were coming together. With financial help from the Ford Foundation and the Council for Economic and Cultural Affairs (CECA) Frauendorfer was able to expand coverage to include rural sociology and to produce a preliminary edition of World Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology Abstracts for the 1958 Conference. The volume was received with acclaim and the project was given the blessing and encouragement of the ICAE. Its country correspondents were advised to supply the required abstracts for a regular service and at the same time the subject scope was expanded to include Rural Sociology. In the case of UK, from 1961 it was comparatively easy for summaries and reviews already prepared for the Digest to be shortened to comply with Frauendorfer's requirements. For the US the US Department of Agriculture agreed to provide the necessary services and its Librarian, Foster Mohrhardt, became a key figure in the project, linking also with the International Association of Agricultural Librarians and Documentalists (IAALD). ICAE became the main sponsoring body of World Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology Abstracts (WAERSA) and an Editorial Board was constituted of which most members were prominent members of ICAE.

Given this vital support and collaboration, Professor von Frauendorfer was able to bring WAERSA into regular production as a quarterly Journal. Office accommodation and facilities were provided by the Austrian Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry at Vienna. An international panel of voluntary abstractors, drawn mainly from ICAE members, provided the main flow of material. A first assistant, Miss A. Thirkell-Smith, was appointed in 1960 through the mediation of the Institute of Agrarian Affairs, and a second assistant, Miss H. Krois, was appointed in 1961. The Ford Foundation and the Council for Economic and Cultural Affairs provided limited short-term finance, supplemented by small grants from the Gulbenkian Foundation and Commonwealth Agricultural Bureaux. These arrangements carried WAERSA through the early development stages. However, finance was always a constraint. Revenue from sales was low, and with the Ford Foundation grant terminating in 1965, other arrangements became necessary. Also, Frauendorfer indicated his wish to retire on completion of this pioneering stage. He agreed that the Institute of Agrarian Affairs, with its specialist knowledge and its links with all the scientific, linguistic and bibliographical resources of Oxford University, offered the ideal location for the next stage of WAERSA's development. IAA's distinguished Committee of Management [79] welcomed the proposal, which was endorsed by the University Faculty of Agriculture and Forestry. The

Gulbenkian Foundation indicated the likelihood of substantial financial support and the Ford Foundation had been encouraging. A meeting was arranged with the World Bank.

### More Oxford challenges and responses

A severe and unexpected set-back occurred when the University's General Board of the Faculties, meeting in March 1963, turned down the proposal on the grounds that it might not safeguard the University from future financial involvement and also because it could not provide the necessary additional accommodation in the face of prior requirements of other University departments. Further it was considered by the University authorities that the balance of work of this small Institute would be undesirably overweighted by a large increase in bibliographical activity. The Institute was not allowed to seek funding from outside bodies such as Trusts and Foundations with authority from the University, the University being already in touch with most Foundations with a view to other needs.

However, other means to the desired end were immediately sought. Since the First World War, Commonwealth Agricultural Bureaux (CAB) had provided continually expanding documentation and information services for the scientific and technical branches of agriculture through the establishment of specialized Bureaux linked to leading research institutes in their respective fields. The possibility of a Commonwealth Bureau of Agricultural Economics linked to the Oxford Institute for Research in Agricultural Economics had been considered for some time, but little progress had been made. Executive Officers and Council of CAB were doubtful that the literature of agricultural economics was sufficiently scientific to be treated systematically and objectively as in the established Bureaux. Also political implications and involvements were feared. Agricultural economists themselves did not help by seeming unable to agree on the definitions and scope of the subject field. However, in 1963 the newly appointed Secretary of CAB, Sir Thomas Scrivenor, was fully prepared to consider the proposal anew. CAB had already shown sympathy and support in its small grant to WAERSA: the practicability of a quarterly abstract Journal for Agricultural Economics had now been demonstrated; and the feared political repercussions had not materialized. In discussion with Elmhirst, Currie, Thomas and Jones, Sir Thomas indicated that CAB might be prepared to consider incorporating the Editorial Office of WAERSA in its network in collaboration with the Institute of Agrarian Affairs, provided that agricultural economists could agree on subject coverage and suitable accommodation could be provided.[80]

The classification of subject matter in the early numbers of WAERSA had been subject to much criticism by agricultural economists. But now, drawing on experience of the Digest, Thomas and Jones drafted the outline of a subject classification which was generally accepted and which still endures in WAERSA.

The problem of accommodation remained. No.3 Magpie Lane, which housed the IAA, was a delightful old-world house, ideally located in the centre of Oxford, but with only four rooms, which could not possibly contain the additional staff and material which WAERSA would bring. Neither could the combined library accommodation of AERI and IAA cater for the vastly increased flow of publications which would eventually follow. At the June meeting of the IAA Committee of Management in 1963, Colin Clark, then Director of IRAE, suddenly declared that the ideal solution would be for the Dartington Hall Trustees to provide a new

building in Oxford to house the AERI, the IAA, and a Commonwealth Bureau of Agricultural Economics. The Committee endorsed this bold proposal, and Currie agreed to present it at Dartington Hall. Elmhirst and his fellow Trustees accepted the challenge. Following discussions with the Dartington Hall Trustees, the University, and Commonwealth Agricultural Bureaux, Jones was instructed by Elmhirst to find a freehold site with vacant possession in the centre of Oxford, which would provide accommodation for the two Institutes and a Commonwealth Bureau, with greatly enhanced library space, if possible with room also for kindred bodies such as the Plunkett Foundation for Co-operative Studies. Demand for space in central Oxford at that time was intense both from University and commercial interests, and freehold property was especially scarce. However an ideal site was found at 31 St Giles which the Dartington Hall Trustees immediately purchased.

The existing building on the site could provide ready accommodation for the Editorial Office of WAERSA together with residential accommodation for its Staff, and a show room and offices on the main road frontage for commercial letting. In the spring of 1964, on the recommendation of a Special Committee, CAB agreed to take over for the time being, financial and administrative responsibility for the editorial office of WAERSA at Oxford, pending a decision of the 1965 CAB Review Conference on continuing support for the Editorial Office, or the creation of a Commonwealth Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Elmhirst and Jones then visited the WAERSA Office in Vienna, reaching full agreement with Frauendorfer on the transfer of location, and also the agreement of Miss Thirkell-Smith and Miss Krois to continue their work with WAERSA in Oxford. Frauendorfer himself, however, had already indicated his wish to retire at this stage. A new Editor was needed, and the post was advertised by CAB in the normal manner. After the usual procedures Jones was appointed.

The new appointment entailed that Jones should resign the Directorship of the Institute of Agrarian Affairs and the Editorship of the ICAE publications. These posts passed to K.E. Hunt, University Lecturer at the AERI, on terms similar to those previously held by Dixey. It was decided by the Ministry of Agriculture that the Digest of Agricultural Economics would now be superceded by WAERSA. The Digest was therefore brought to a conclusion, A.H. Maunder kindly agreeing to edit the final numbers.

But Hunt's succession to the Directorship of the Institute of Agrarian Affairs did not pass smoothly. Some members of the IAA Committee of Management considered that the existence of this very small Institute was an anomaly, and the resignation of the present Director afforded the University a good opportunity to end it. The co-ordinating and stimulating influence that a minimal core staff could have on a world-wide network of agricultural economists did not seem to be appreciated by the objectors, nor had they taken into account the fact that expansion of the IAA had been deliberately prevented by the General Board of Faculties. Nevertheless, Elmhirst was able to persuade the University authorities to keep the IAA in being, mainly through a most skilfully written letter to the Vice-Chancellor, then Sir Kenneth Wheare, outlining the history and achievements of IAA and its continuing potential. Thus Hunt was eventually appointed. The Institute and Bureau were able to work together most effectively in the new association which involved considerable joint planning of the St. Giles/Little Clarendon Street site.

## Building Dartington House, Oxford

The practical aspects of building development now required great attention. The 31 St. Giles site was "L" shaped, with an aspect to Little Clarendon Street. The main building was "listed" as of architectural distinction, and therefore could not readily be changed in structure. The parts which fronted on to St. Giles were of high commercial value. With a developer's eye, Elmhirst viewed the adjoining properties on St. Giles and Little Clarendon Street. These were in poor physical condition and ripe for redevelopment. It seemed that a complete rectangle, which would greatly facilitate building, could easily be assembled if existing owners of the adjoining properties could be persuaded to sell. Elmhirst again sought the advice of J.J. MacGregor who, since his early days at Balliol College and Magpie Lane, had made wide contacts and friendships throughout the University. MacGregor was most helpful in presenting the IAA case in many quarters, introducing Elmhirst to key figures including H.H. Keen, then Secretary to the University Chest, and Lord Bullock, a future Vice-Chancellor of the University. In discussions with Keen and MacGregor at their College, Balliol, Elmhirst learned that Balliol owned properties Nos. 33 and 34 St. Giles. A little further investigation revealed that St. John's College owned No. 32 St. Giles and also a large motor repair building adjoining No. 31 St. Giles - No. 44 Little Clarendon Street. These properties together constituted the grand rectangle of Elmhirst's plans. In view of the overall importance of this scheme the Colleges generously agreed to sell the freeholds.

By now, however, the Dartington Hall Trustees had become committed to property-holding in Oxford far beyond their original expectations and they had many competing demands for investment funds.

Also there were some feelings of reservation within the University about this outside body which appeared able to scoop up accommodation on prime sites in an area designated for University development when prestigious University departments of high priority were being choked by lack of space. So, Elmhirst, disclaiming any wish to forestall or pre-empt the University's plans, offered to sell the whole site to the University, but with the suggestion that room may be found for the Institutes he had in mind. However, the University could not readily find sufficient instant money to purchase the whole site - although in these exceptional circumstances an application to the University Grants Committee might have been considered sympathetically. More fundamentally, in the face of established priorities for other departments, the University could not bring agricultural economics to the head of the queue for accommodation in property which it owned. However the University did agree, eventually, to rent accommodation in the proposed new building for the AERI, recognizing that in moving from its original housing in Parks Road, the AERI would release an important site for high priority departments in the Science Area. Thus Elmhirst was left free to develop the St. Giles site, and much possible antagonism was removed.

However, at this stage the Dartington Hall Trustees decided to limit their commitments. The newly enlarged site allowed for an adequate building for the envisaged needs of agricultural economics to be erected in the rear without involving the commercially more valuable St. Giles frontage.

WAERSA office becomes the CBAE - The Editorial Office of WAERSA moved into 31 St. Giles at the end of 1964. The Editor and staff had just six months to re-organize WAERSA and bring it up to the standard of the existing CAB Journals, in

time for consideration by the 1965 CAB Review Conference. During this time two numbers were produced under the new arrangements and work in general was sufficiently advanced to convince delegates to the Review Conference that an international information service for agricultural economics could take its place alongside the highly acclaimed services already established for technical and scientific aspects of agriculture. The Commonwealth Bureau of Agricultural Economics (CBAE) was accordingly established in 1965. Not the least of the achievements was to bring together within the Commonwealth Agricultural Bureaux the scientific and technical aspects of agriculture with the economic and social aspects, where these had for so long been estranged. The 1967 volume of WAERSA included 4,455 abstracts drawn from publications of 79 countries, in 23 languages. Abstracts were made from articles in 940 journals, together with 1,702 books and reports. WAERSA was then distributed amongst 94 countries. A further feature of WAERSA was the inclusion from time to time of Review Articles on selected subjects of current importance, presenting definitive expositions of the state of knowledge of these subjects, with comprehensive bibliographies.[81]

The organization of CBAE differed, however, from that of other Commonwealth Bureaux in some important respects. CBAE inherited the world-wide network of correspondents and abstractors built up by Frauendorfer in conjunction with the ICAE, so that continuing contact was maintained with overseas agricultural economists. But inevitably under the earlier arrangements where contributions were entirely voluntary, some contributors were more competent and dedicated than others. Also, the time that they were able to devote to this exacting task, the comprehensiveness of the material available to them, and the degree of support provided by their host institutions varied from one situation to another. Now, however, under CAB, some payment was made for the overseas contributors' services so that it was easier for the editorial office to exert a measure of control. Also it was now possible progressively to supplement the work of overseas contributors and relieve demands upon them, by the work of professional salaried staff at the Bureau, thus ensuring evenness of quality and coverage. The improved quality and organization of WAERSA was reflected in renewed enthusiasm of subscribers. Thus between 1964 and 1967 circulation increased from 672 volumes to 1,355 volumes. The Editorial Board, mainly of ICAE (now become IAAE) members and Chaired by the President of IAAE, continued to give world-wide representation and guidance. The Editorial Board also included representatives of the International Association of Agricultural Librarians and Documentalists (IAALD) and the International Rural Sociology Association (IRSA). The full Editorial Board met at each International Conference of IAAE, of which a Standing Committee met each year in Oxford. General meetings were also held at each International Conference, allowing exchanges with the wider membership of IAAE. A further link was maintained through the Director of the Institute of Agrarian Affairs, K.E. Hunt, who, in accordance with CAB practice, became the Consultant Director of the Bureau.[82]

The new building - In the meanwhile building work commenced on the rear portion of the site in full consultation with the Directors of the Institutes and Bureau. The new building, appropriately named Dartington House, was opened in 1970 in the presence of the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, at that time, Lord Bullock, with the Institutes and Bureau already installed. Shortly after this time, Elmhirst's work in so many fields was recognized by the University in the form of an Honorary Doctorate.

Together with generous provision of study rooms, office, teaching and common-room accommodation, the building included as its central feature a magnificent library with shelf and catalogue space for the massive accumulation of publications resulting from the continued accessions of Institutes and Bureau over the foreseeable future. It was the aim to house all the material which was abstracted and indexed by the Bureau, currently some 5,000 items per annum in almost all languages, so that readers and research workers would have ready access to the original publications from all the world's literature in agricultural economics and rural sociology, to which they may be led by WAERSA. Thus the world's leading international library in these subjects was formed.

The building was planned to provide shop and other commercial premises at the ground floor, from which a rental income was derived by the Dartington Hall Trustees. This income was used to subsidize the Institute and Bureau areas for which a lower rent was charged. The Trustees aimed in this way to "break even" on finance, whilst at the same time giving favourable conditions to the University and CAB.[80]. In fact, the support of the University by the Trustees turned out to be even greater than this.

A sad event in 1966 was the death of Jock Currie, who did so much in every way to nurture the IAAE and who was greatly involved in the Oxford centre. But his work and faith were now bearing fruit. By this time, University constraints upon the possible raising of outside finance had been somewhat eased. However approaches to the Ford and Gulbenkian Foundations were unfruitful.

The subvention of the Dartington Hall Trustees to the University for the maintenance of the Institute of Agrarian Affairs was increased to £2,500 per annum for five years from 1966. But this was to be the Institute's last quinquennium.

### Evolution and progress

At the time of the opening of Dartington House, Colin Clark retired from the Directorship of the Institute for Research in Agricultural Economics. He was succeeded by Hunt, who then directed both Institutes. Under Hunt's direction, the need for a separate Institute of Agrarian Affairs became less imperative. At the same time Phyllis Hooke retired as Secretary of IAA after some thirty years of devoted service to Institute and Conferences. The combined functions of the previous Institutes were exercised from 1971 by a newly named Institute of Agricultural Economics, with Hunt continuing to act as Editor of the Proceedings and Journals of the International Association of Agricultural Economists.

The 1970s were generally a period of steady and harmonious growth. The library expanded and became increasingly recognized as leading in its field. WAERSA continued to increase in size and reflected both increased efficiency and world growth in its subjects. It was joined by new Bureau Journals:- Rural Development Abstracts; Rural Education, Extension and Training Extracts; and Leisure, Recreation and Tourism Abstracts, together with numerous annotated Bibliographies and Review Articles on special subjects. In 1970 the University Grants Committee, following a visit to Oxford of its Agricultural Sub-Committee and a full investigation of the new facilities, recommended that Oxford University should be one of six main UK centres and potential growth points for teaching and research in agricultural economics.[83]

### More challenges and some big losses

One considerable loss during the 1970s was the International Journal of Agrarian Affairs of which the last number was published in 1973.[84] In 1975, S.R. Sen, then President of the IAAE, wrote in the IAAE Bulletin "The irregular and infrequent publication of this Journal in recent years has confused both recipients and distributors but without assurance of more funds a regular frequent publication programme for such material is not possible". In an earlier period, 1961-65, Vols. III and IV, the Editor, in close collaboration with Secretary Ackerman, had been able to maintain a substantial flow of twelve numbers. Not only did topics of vital importance on an international and regional scale, such as The Economics of Water Supply and Control (with 15 co-ordinated country studies) and Agriculture and the Common European Market receive unique treatment from expert international panels, but the IJAA had also become a valuable medium for circulating key Conference papers before meetings, and also subsequent reports of Conference discussions. For example, Vol. III No. 2, April 1961 The Role of Agriculture in Economic Development, included original papers by three of the world's leading economists, Professors Svernilson, Kuznets and Cairncross, preceding the 1961 Conference. After the Conference Vol. III, No. 3 presented a timely distillation of all the Discussion groups' findings in Contemporary Problems in the Economics of Agriculture. So the material reached Conference attendees and also a wide additional readership. Indeed the planning and co-ordination of IJAA papers created some elements of an international university centred on the Editorial Office of the IAAE. In the fairly informal nature of the earlier organization the necessary funding for the IJAA always seemed to materialize. The financial load on the IAAE was not heavy as there were no payments to authors or editors, and sales outside the IAAE membership went some way towards meeting printing costs.

From 1975, again relating to cost, Sen reported that "verbatim records of individual contributions from the floor in plenary sessions were discontinued - regretfully". Again a personal element had been lost.

Substantial compensation has since been found in Agricultural Economics - The Journal of the International Association of Agricultural Economists. This was launched by Elsevier in 1986 as a commercial venture "to serve members of the IAAE". The Editor and Editorial Board are "under the general direction of the IAAE's President, Executive Committee and Council". Yet it will be hard to fill the "University" role previously held by the IJAE and the IAA.[85]

The death of Elmhirst in 1974 had already marked the end of an era. Tributes were paid in many places, including the Proceedings of the 15th International Conference. Memory of his unique contribution to international agricultural economists is kept brightly alive in the Elmhirst Memorial Lectures which grace IAAE conferences. Following Elmhirst's death, another most serious blow was felt, particularly in Oxford, by the untimely death of Hunt in 1978. This left the Institute of Agricultural Economics with an Acting Director, A.H. Maunder, at a time when the University Grants Committee was seeking economies and rationalizations, throughout the UK Universities. G.H. Peters was appointed as Director in 1980; but hardly had he taken up office when the UGC recommended to Oxford University that the Honour School of Agriculture and Forest Science should be disbanded. Although this did not affect the Institute directly, reductions in teaching requirements eventually weakened staff establishment and status. Fortunately A.H. Maunder had taken over the Editorship in 1979 and Mrs. Mavis Hunt maintained Membership records and Mrs. Pearl Maunder assisted the Editor at Conferences.

J.O. Jones retired from the Directorship of the Bureau in 1981, to be succeeded by P.A. Stonham. Peters and Stonham continued the excellent working relationship between Institute and Bureau, but the partnership began to be disturbed a year later by suggestions for amalgamating all Commonwealth Bureaux on a central site. This severing of the Bureaux from their parent Institutes and their continuous day-to-day connexions with teaching and research could hardly be regarded as anything but a retrograde step. However, consideration of apparent economy and of administrative convenience seemed to prevail. Stonham considered that if centralization had to be, it could best be in Oxford - for which he presented a strong case. However, this did not succeed, and Stonham resigned in 1983. A senior member of the Bureau Staff, Ms M.A. Bellamy, was appointed as Officer-in-Charge, pending centralization and the moving of the Bureau from Oxford. Sir Thomas Scrivenor, who had done so much to assist in the establishment of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics at Oxford, had retired from the Secretaryship of CAB several years before.

In 1984, the University lease at Dartington House came up for renewal, and both the University and CAB were inevitably faced with a considerable increase in rents. (The subsidized rent had been unchanged for fourteen years, at 75p per sq.ft. for 18,000 sq.ft. in spite of rapid inflation). The Institute was reduced to the status of a Unit of Agricultural Economics in 1987, and moved to the International Development Centre at Queen Elizabeth House, 21 St. Giles, with greatly reduced library facilities. At the same time the Bureau departed to a central site for all Bureaux, near Wallingford, some twenty miles away. Units attached to the University, including Food Studies and Refugee Studies Groups are now (1988) accommodated in Dartington House, for which they are able to pay rent from outside sources. These link, in some ways, with agricultural economics, but sadly Dartington House no longer serves as the kind of world centre for agricultural economics and related subjects that Elmhirst conceived. Much of Dartington House now seems destined for general University purposes, far removed from the aspirations of those who worked together for its establishment.

Despite the loss of Dartington House, the future of the Editorial Office in Oxford, at Queen Elizabeth House, seems assured at least for the foreseeable future. For the pattern of publications since 1977 see Table 4.3.

Within the general policy guidelines set by the Executive Committee, of which he is *de facto* a non-voting member, the Editor (A.H. Maunder since 1979) is responsible for all publications of the Association; although since that date also the actual editing of the *Occasional Papers* has been undertaken by Margot Bellamy of the CAB and Bruce Greenshields of the USDA. Since 1981 both the *Proceedings* and the *Occasional Papers* have been published for the Association by the Gower Publishing Company.

## 10 Finance

### The nature of benefits and costs

The services produced by (or directly because of) ICAE and IAAE brought money receipts from:- membership fees (dues); registration fees for those attending conferences; sales of publications; and interest on unspent money. The total of the money receipts did not of course measure the total economic and social value of the services. So Governments, foundations and other donors were prepared to pay out grants - some to the Association, some to individual members through the Association or direct, and some in the form of subsidies when host to conferences. And because many individual members also valued what they received as worth much more than the money they had to pay, they were prepared to provide voluntary services in paper writing, executive work, editorial work, and more.

The input mix of the Association was provided only partly from money receipts for the Association itself. Table 10.1 summarizes the types of input and who incurred the costs. Only the \$ sign indicates money expenditures of the Association. The money and other costs to donors and host countries are indicated by F and H respectively; the voluntary work of members, by v; the voluntary contributions of their employers, or parent organisations, by O; the unrefunded personal money expenditures of members, by p.

In this Chapter, the main data are for the money receipts and expenses of the Association itself, treating separately those F donations made to it specifically to subsidise travel to, and living costs at, conferences. Some attention is also paid to H costs. But in interpreting the data, the many O, v, and p costs, and their variations between countries and changes over time, need to be borne in mind. Uncertainties about what F, H, O, v and p contributions would be forthcoming caused major difficulties throughout the history of the Association.

In interpreting the financial history other difficulties inevitably arise from differences in the currencies used and from big changes in general price levels, which also were different in different countries. In Currie's time as Secretary-Treasurer the central accounts were kept at Dartington in pounds sterling but

TABLE 10.1 TYPES OF INPUT FOR IAAE ACTIVITIES  
AND WHO INCURRED COSTS  
ICAE/IAAE, 1929-1985

Types of input	Those incurring Costs:-					Others
	Executive Committee members (a)	Council members	Country Correspondents (Reps)	Other members	Host countries	
	<u>Nature of costs, and how met (b)</u>					
Travel to recruit and maintain membership	\$Ov	Ov	Ov			
Correspondence, travel, other executive matters (c)	\$Ov	Ov	Ov			
Host country costs (see text)					HOv	
Invited speakers' travel etc.						\$FOpv
Travel to conferences	\$Ov	FOpv	FOpv	FOpv		
Living costs at conferences	\$Op	FOp	FOp	FOp	HO	
Presentations and discussions at conferences:-						
Preparation (d)	Ov	Ov	Ov	Ov		
Assessments, contributed papers				\$Ov		
Reproduction	\$Ov				H	
Interpretation				v	H	
Recording	\$Ov				H	
Editing, Publication	\$Ov					

- (a) Including related staffs working on IAAE matters, and editorial work  
 (b) For key see following footnotes - \$-v  
 (c) Including relations with host countries, UN agencies, other international bodies, local associations of agricultural economists  
 (d) Translations arranged by Editor, when necessary  
 \$ Money costs met by IAAE  
 F Travel grants by Foundations and other donors that were not employers of members  
 H Host country  
 O Time and money costs to members' parent organizations, not charged to IAAE  
 p Money costs to members, not charged to parent organizations or IAAE excluding membership and conference registration fees  
 v Voluntary work of members

North American membership fees and conference charges were in US or Canadian dollars. Appropriate conversion rates became difficult to determine after World War II because of currency regulations. Multiple exchange rates and restrictions affected members and donors in other countries even pre-war. Nor can any corrections for changes in price levels be wholly satisfactory. To secure some worthwhile comparisons the simplest approach is used. The pounds sterling figures are converted to US dollars at the official rates, period by period; the dollar sums in the various accounts are then consolidated into one account; and adjustments period by period are made according to index numbers for consumer prices in USA so that the resulting figures are in US dollars "of 1984-86 value". The money figures in the remainder of this Chapter are all in terms of such dollars.

The various accounts included:- Currie's ICAE/IAAE account at Dartington; the Agrarian Research Publication fund for Maxton's office; the ICAE and IAAE accounts kept at the Farm Foundation by Ackerman and Hildreth; the "Fund for the ICAE"; the account kept at Oxford since 1975.

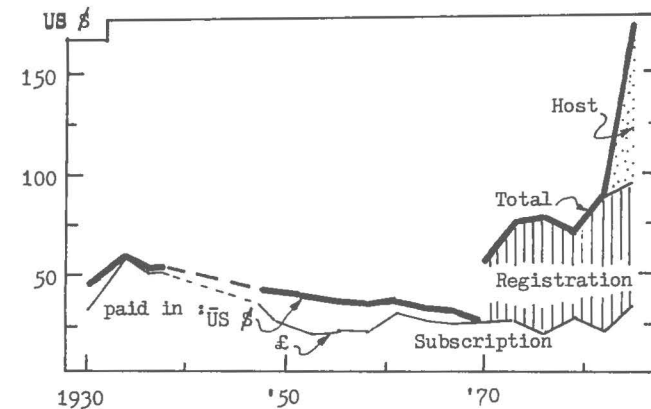


FIGURE 10.1 MEMBERSHIP FEES AND CONFERENCE REGISTRATION (ATTENDANCE) FEES

ICAE and IAAE 1929 to 1986  
in US\$ of 1984 to 1986 value

#### From the standpoint of members

The changing levels of individual membership fees are indicated in Figure 10.1. Before 1970, the conference registration fee was nominal, or none was charged. So such fees are shown only from 1970 onwards.

The membership fees for pre-war conference periods were high relative to 1982-85 levels. Post-war increases to keep pace with inflation were delayed or restricted so that by 1967 those paying in US dollars paid \$32. Those paying in pounds sterling paid only \$25.60. Since 1967 the membership fee has varied but even for the 1985 conference period was not, in historical perspective, very high. Members attending conferences had to pay also substantial and rising registration fees, and in 1985 an additional US\$80 was charged to help meet some of the host country's costs. Thus

in 1982, and even more in 1985, the total of membership and registration fees was high.

Travel to and from conferences (excluding pre- and post-conference tours) and living costs at conferences were together almost always much more than total fees. With the development of air travel, costs of transport were reduced. But living costs at conferences tended to increase. In 1938, trans-atlantic boat fares (tourist) and 10 days at Macdonald College cost, in 1984-86 dollars, \$2156. In 1979, the UK-Banff Canada return by air (economy) and 10 days at the conference centre cost the equivalent of \$1218. The charges per day at Banff were at \$41 some \$8 dearer than in 1938, but air travel costs in money - and also in time - were much lower.

The location of conferences, the types of accommodation chosen, the subsidies paid by host countries, international fixing of air fares, use of group-travel arrangements - all these determined big variations in costs amongst individual members, and big changes from conference to conference. For example, a UK member was faced in 1967, 1970, 1973, and 1976 with costs (roughly comparable with the \$1218 in 1979) of, respectively:- \$4420, \$1336, \$2333, and \$966. The costs facing members in some lower-income countries for the 1961 and 1967 conferences are set out in Table 10.2. In relation to the annual income of young agricultural economists such costs were both high and unstable. Indeed, even for those in higher-income countries, conference attendance could not be sustained on personal incomes alone. Much depended therefore on grants from donors, members' own organizations, and IAAE.

TABLE 10.2 ESTIMATES OF TRANSPORTATION AND SUBSISTENCE COSTS AND GRANTS

Individuals attending IAAE Conferences in Mexico and Australia

Countries of members	Attendance		Estimated costs (a)		Average grant (b)	
	1961	1967	1961	1967	1961	1967
	members		US\$		per cent of costs	
<b>Latin America</b>						
Argentina	5	1	2,774	6,199	39	78
Brazil	14	9	2,730	5,473	24	23
Columbia	19	3	1,747	5,187	9	41
Costa Rica	13	1	1,358	4,870	24	66
<b>Africa</b>						
Nigeria	2	1	4,696	4,876	66	39
<b>Near East</b>						
Israel	3	1	4,656	4,160	33	85
<b>Asia</b>						
India	13	6	5,777	3,464	15	46
Philippines	9	2	4,616	2,321	13	0
Thailand	5	5	5,009	2,793	22	23

Source: Ackerman's reports to Donors

- (a) Per member economy air fare from principal city in country, plus US\$728 in 1961 and US\$642 in 1967. Dollars of 1984-86 value.
- (b) Total grants in IAAE related accounts (see text) divided by number of members attending conference.

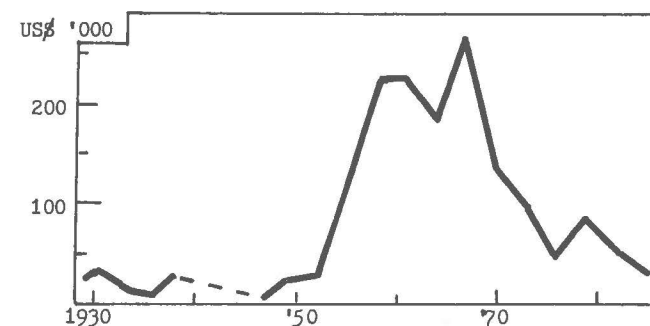


FIGURE 10.2 GRANTS FROM FOUNDATIONS AND OTHER DONORS TO SUBSIDIZE ATTENDANCE AT CONFERENCES

ICAE/IAAE 1929 to 1985  
In US\$ of 1984-86 value

Only those grants that were recorded in the accounts listed above can be summarized. Figure 10.2 shows how they changed. And Table 10.2 shows how far they offset the costs facing economists in the selected countries. The wide variations between countries and between the two conferences provide some indication of the difficulties of many who attempted to attend a conference or to continue to attend over the years.

In addition to costs, and the grants shown, other grants, and many other variables together determined attendances at conferences. The actual attendances at two example conferences in 1961 and 1967, are summarized in Table 10.3. Proximity with lower costs and greater convenience, made great differences for members when conferences were located in their own country or region. But whatever other long-run effects were, the effects simply on attendances at future conferences were small. The main reasons were lack of finance. The tendency for total attendance to be maintained at the high 1970-73 level was probably due to the North American site in 1979, the attractiveness of programmes, the special attractions of the 1982 and 1985 countries, and to grants outwith the accounts known to IAAE.

#### From the standpoint of donors of grants to attend conferences

The reasons for the big changes shown in Figure 10.2 are important. The purposes of the Founders largely determined the Dartington grants for 23 leading men in 1929 and 10 in 1930. These were "investments" by the Elmhirsts to get things started. The Carnegie grants for 12 in 1930 were also for leading men.[87] Currie noted however that, in addition, 12 grants were made by the UK Government's Agricultural Departments and 14 by various other bodies in Europe. So already donors, governments and other employers could recognize - largely because of Dartington salesmanship and influence - the benefits in (i) motivation of younger economists; (ii) increased awareness of policy problems; (iii) improvements in



research methods; (iv) establishment of information networks. For the other three pre-war conferences Dartington made grants for 12, 10 and 11 members, allocated somewhat more for (i) and (ii) but still also to help ensure, through leading men, firm establishment of the ICAE.

TABLE 10.3 NUMBER OF MEMBERS ATTENDING CONFERENCES

Total and from selected countries								
Year	Brazil	Kenya	India	North America	Europe	USSR	Australia, New Zealand	World total
1961	14	1	13	127	98	10	11	485
1964	10	1	11	124	305*	na	11	562
1967	9	1	6	102	86	4	219*	501
1970	na	na	na	133	414	103*	25	711
1973	291*	2	19	138	116	4	18	695
1976	12	129*	13	110	168	3	17	656
1979	15	5	17	409*	190	7	26	795

\*Conference located in country or region. na not available.

For the post-war "rehabilitation" conferences, the Dartington policy had to continue and it was extended using donations from the William C. Whitney Foundation (in memory of Dorothy Elmhirst's father) for grants for 11; and from the Ferguson Trust, for 20.

The first W.K. Kellogg Foundation donation was made in 1952. A principal purpose was to ensure, despite the dollar shortages of most members' countries, success of the conference in Michigan and a good introduction to achievements and problems in USA. A special purpose was to enable some younger economists from Latin America to appreciate the benefits of liaison, and participation in ICAE. Before the 1955 conference the "Finance Committee" in USA became more active [88] and donations were secured from the Kellogg, Rockefeller, Whitney and Asia Foundations, the Council on Economic and Cultural Affairs, and a number of smaller donors. For the 1958 conference in India the Ford Foundation and the US Social Science Research Council joined this list, the donations being made to the "Fund for the ICAE". The donors were increasingly concerned with aid for economic development in Latin America, India, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia and some other countries. ICAE conferences were seen as helpful in securing the above benefits (i), (ii) and (iii), and a somewhat higher status for Agricultural Economists accepted by senior government officials and politicians.

These purposes carried the recorded total of donations for conference attendance to a peak of US\$268 thousand for the Sydney conference in 1967. The major donors list remained much as in 1958 but with the additions of the Massey-Ferguson Company in 1961, the American Farm Economic Association, the American Bankers Association and the National Science Foundation in 1964, and the C.E. Merrill Trust and others in 1967.

Why did the total fall rapidly and continuously after 1967? Travel costs to Sydney were of course exceptionally high. But many deeper reasons can be given. Indeed

Elmhirst was in September 1967 moved to say "Foundations are rather like cats caught in a corner: they can jump out in almost any direction". The main reasons included the following:-

- (1) IAAE conferences were felt by the donors to be less important than during the 1950s because the unpreparedness in USA that Schultz understood in 1947 [18] seemed to have been substantially reduced by other international contacts and work.
- (2) The Foundations wished to give high priority to developing "the professional competence of young scientists from developing countries in a substantive way" and to strengthening "working interconnections in the international community of scientists". The "Green Revolution" and the experiences in training and extension of their own economists (eg. D. Ensminger, A.B. Lewis, A.H. Mosher) tended to suggest that those deeper policy (and philosophic) issues which IAAE could help to disclose, clarify and ultimately bring into the formulation of research and education programmes, should now have lower priority than specific training programmes and working parties. Therefore, devoting much of the Sydney conference to major strategic issues such as human population control and world trade should not, it was asserted, have priority.[89]
- (3) The IAAE was now sufficiently established to make itself financially much less dependant on donors (i.e. to rely more on the o and p sources in Table 10.1). And the gains from subsidies to locate conferences in more low-income countries began to appear to the US Foundations as less than they were in 1958 and 1961 when the Indian and Mexican locations were favoured. In so far as there was need of grants for particular young economists known to the Foundations such donations could be given direct.
- (4) The total demands on Foundations were now greater than ever relative to the total funds available. So commitments to IAAE should not be allowed to become perpetual.
- (5) Apart from information interchanges between W.I. Myers who influenced Rockefeller trustees and F.F. Hill who was a Vice-President of the Ford Foundation, the donors took decisions separately. A consortium had not been established in the 1960s to raise IAAE capabilities in policy analysis, research and training to such high levels that continuous international funding could follow as for the International Agricultural Research Institutes. As compared with the natural scientists the social scientists had again come late.

By 1985 only the W.K. Kellogg Foundation made a donation through the "Fund for ICAE" - US\$28,000, used for 20 travel grants to encourage younger economists to attend the conference, from Africa and the Caribbean and Central and South America.

### From the standpoint of "Hosts" to conferences

Hospitality and the printing of programmes for the First conference was reported [90] to have cost Dartington the equivalent in 1984-85 dollars of \$12,700. In addition there were heavy expenditures of staff time by Elmhirst, Currie, Maxton and others. The main benefits expected were in getting the ICAE started on sound and friendly foundations.

The costs to Cornell University and US donors for all kinds of hospitality and tours in 1930 are not known, but the benefits expected were again mainly those of the Founders of ICAE.

Similarly, in 1934; except that the Nazi Government also laid out substantial hospitality, in the hope of influencing some members to favour its monetary and agrarian policies.

In 1936 the UK Government had some expenses for receptions and tours and Dartington paid \$37,225 for "administration, equipment, reporting etc. [90] and \$730 for printing the programme. In 1938 similar expenses together with local tours cost Canadians, including some Government Departments, \$75,240. Already government officials and Ministers saw some benefits in having ICAE become aware of their problems and policies.

In post-war years the costs of being host increased because more services, often of more expensive types, were provided. In 1958 the Government of India laid out a generous total estimated at nearly \$183,250. The net costs to Kenya in 1976 and Canada in 1979 were, respectively \$206,580 and \$275,600.[91] Major items were publicity, printing and reprographic work; presentation of local and regional problems; interpretation and recording; reception, entertainment and banquets; hire of auditoriums; secretarial and office expenses. Canada also included a special service of post-graduate assistants at the conference. As always there were massive contributions of staff time and voluntary work, not charged by members or their employers.

In Kenya the Government cash subsidy was \$112,500; other donors to Kenya met the remainder of total costs. In Canada the Dominion and Alberta Governments donated \$230,000, the International and Development Research Centre, \$25,625; the Western Wheat Pools, Massey- Ferguson, Air Canada and Cook Travel and others, the remainder.[91]

The short- and long-term benefits that host countries expected from conferences obviously became substantial. They ranged from the gains in professional motivation, breadth-of-view, and competence that the Founders had in mind to having national experiences, problems and purposes well presented to an expert audience, drawn from all over the world. And, from increased sales of transport services and conference accommodation to longer-run development of tourism. As already mentioned, by 1985, the size of conferences, but also perhaps the changing structure of host's expectations, altered the invitations forthcoming from hosts.[92]

### The "central" accounts

Until 1955 Dartington carried almost all the costs of the executive travel to build up membership and establish ICAE, of conference programme formulation, of the Secretary-Treasurer's functions and of editing, publishing and distributing the Proceedings and (after 1939) the International Journal of Agrarian Affairs. During the long 1938-47 period sales of publications, including pre-war stocks, together with

members' subscriptions did exceed publication costs (Table 10.4) and by June 1952 there was a "net worth" in Currie's "ICAE" and "Agrarian Research Publication" accounts totalling \$21.9 thousand. But \$4.4 thousand represented stocks of Proceedings volumes and two Journal issues and \$3.6 thousand was liable to be used for contingencies of the 1952 conference. During the 1952-55 period the executive travel of Elmhirst was for the first time included in Currie's accounts but it was largely refunded by the Elmhirst Trust whose principal trustees were Dorothy and Leonard Elmhirst. The costs of the "programme secretary" and editor were still carried on the accounts of the Oxford Institute of Agrarian Affairs (which the Elmhirst Trust also financed) and Secretary-Treasurer costs, largely by Currie's Agricultural Economic Research Department financed by the Dartington Trustees. Even so, total recorded ICAE expenses were during 1952-55 some \$8.7 thousand higher than receipts from members, sales, and recorded donations.

TABLE 10.4 RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES,  
ICAE/IAAE(a) 1929-85

Years (and Conferences)	Receipts Members; Sales(b)	Donors	Other (c)	Expenses Editorial, Office (d)	Travel (e)	Publications	Receipts minus Expenses
	thousand US\$ of 1984-86 value per conference period						
1929-34 (1, 2)	13.0	D	...	D	D	23.6	...
1934-38 (3, 4)	26.2	D	...	D	D	24.4	...
1938-47 (5)	39.0	D	...	D	D	19.9	...
1949-52 (7)	17.1	9.5	*	1.6D	8.1	15.3	1.6
1952-55 (8)	27.6	31.10	na	8.8D	38.3	20.2	-8.7+
1964-67 (12)	83.5	52.6	29.3	28.7	39.5	63.0	34.2
1975-77 (16)	71.2	20.8	45.9	22.8	46.8	31.2	37.1
1978-80 (17)	113.3	0	48.0	24.0	31.6	55.0	50.7
1981-83 (18)	63.9	0	70.4	14.0	51.2	50.5	18.6
1984-86 (19)	102.7	0.3	55.3	12.7	32.7	30.9	82.0

- D Many expenses paid for by Dartington, for Elmhirst, Currie and Maxton, their work and travel.  
 \* Less than 0.05 na Not available  
 (a) Excluding donors' grants to subsidize conference attendances but including expenses of the "Fund for the ICAE", and expenses of subsidy allocation.  
 (b) Membership subscriptions, conference registration fees, sales of Proceedings and Int. Jnl. Ag. Aff.  
 (c) Mainly interest on savings.  
 (d) Including postage costs, so far as charged.  
 (e) Mainly executive travel, but including some for special contributors to conferences.

During the 1960s and early 1970s substantial donations were received - mainly from the Kellogg and Rockefeller Foundations, the Agricultural Development Council and the Council on Education and Cultural Affairs, all of USA. The total was far smaller than the total donations directed to subsidising attendances at conferences.[93] After 1970 the total fell rapidly to zero by 1978. Apart from the 1955-58 period of donor finance for a part-time salaried Secretary-Treasurer, Case, the Association continued to rely on volunteer Executive officers and Editors and on securing offices for them free or at very low cost from the Farm Foundation, Dartington and Oxford.

Elmhirst strove hard, helped by Westermarck and others, to secure more donations so that, IAAE services stemming from Oxford could be improved - particularly through more issues of the Journal; travel to low-income countries of experienced men such as Sherman Johnson, Currie and Dixey; regional seminars, workshops and conferences. The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation responded three times. But by 1966 it was concluded that unless a consortium was formed by several major foundations, then IAAE's central services, and the Institute with its limited and terminable Elmgrant subsidy [94] could not be firmly established for a really adequate scope of work and fully and continuously financed. In the early 1960s the idea of such a consortium was discussed by Elmhirst with Hill and with Sherman Johnson [95] but the Ford and other Foundations had higher priorities. Elmhirst was moved to write "... agricultural economists have always had to carry their begging bowl around in the rear of the (natural) scientists, who were always able to offer magic cures without so often having to count the true cost of their magic".[96]

In 1969 Elmhirst wanted Rolfe to call attention in his History to "voluntary effort and on a shoe string ...".[97] Indeed Elmhirst felt that the cash that was available to the Association itself to initiate and sustain the central "drive" was never more than "a shoe string" as compared with the net-work of members built up. Certainly it was small relative to the whole composite of costs of conferences and publications (Table 10.1), and minute relative to the economic flows and the social affairs that members should ultimately influence.

From 1975 to 1986 the money for central services did become somewhat more adequate despite the downward trend of total membership, and reduced donations. The raising of membership and conference registration fees helped but a major increase in income came from interest on temporary bank deposits, savings and reserves (Table 10.4). In contrast with the "Fund for the ICAE", the IAAE had surpluses of money receipts over expenditures so that substantial balances were built up (Table 10.4). The total balance at the end of 1986 was some \$255 thousand. The reasons were several. The flows of both receipts and expenses were irregular, and different in their timing. Receipts could not be reliably predicted because membership renewals, new memberships, attendances at particular conferences, and sales of publications were all uncertain. Rates of interest on balances were uncertain. Costs of executive travel were subject to increases in emergencies (e.g. in securing visas for conference attendance). And how much travel by contributors to conferences would be financed without use of "central funds" was a continual uncertainty. The previous underspendings of these funds were indeed small relative to the total costs of attendance at conferences. Publication costs were rising because more papers were available. They needed to be contained and Hunt had planned how this could be done. Anyway, moves to secure really good uses for more funds - in writing and publishing more, in workshops and regional seminars, in

Branch development in low-income countries - could not be made when Executive committee members, Editor, Council members and Country Representatives had many other competing and more compelling demands on their time. And not least important, reserves should, the executive officers felt, be built up against possible major changes in costs for work and facilities and major downturns in receipts, or for later use in new work.

# PART V THE EPILOGUE

".... a stimulus to science and to friendship - two things badly needed in this sick world". G F Warren.[1]

"There is perhaps no organization which is more fitted to foster the interests of humanity than our own (ICAE), because we are united by science, the systematic exploration of truth. .... The single scholars do not only depend on one another, because their works are complementary, but (also) the more we obtain a profounder recognition of the decisive causes of economic development, the more the conviction grows that the well being of a single nation is dependent on that of all the others". M. Sering.[2]

"Friendship assumes nobility as it is founded on something vital - mutual interest in intellectual ideas, common aims and pursuits, with the impact of personalities upon one another". Dorothy Elmhirst.[3]

".... be good enough to convey .... my wishes for lots of down-to-earth discussions at the grass roots with plenty of visions for the future ...." L.K. Elmhirst.[4]

# 11 Epilogue

In seeking from the past, understandings and guides for the future, we may well ask: Were the values and goals of the founders shown to be trustworthy? What were the positive results - the goals scored? The negative results and the omissions - the goals missed?[5] The constraints?

## Values

The high value placed on the combination of "science and friendship" was valid throughout all the phases reviewed here. The "common language and common understanding" that Ladd sought was indeed desirable in 1929. In the 1930s the causes of the Great Depression and the resulting national problems and policies cried out for objective study. The rehabilitation period was full of "confusions and conflicts" that for their solutions required knowledge and reason. The enormous problems of the Development Decades were new to many ICAE/IAAE members and they required everywhere great increases in science and purposeful multi-disciplinary work. And so too indeed, in many ways, did the later 1970s and 1980s with the effects of the population explosion, the failures or part failures of many policies for economic growth, aggravated equity issues, and turbulence in economies, national and international.

And throughout, in an ever shrinking world, "friendship" was a good guide, stimulant and aid. Without it the foundation of the Association would not have been as early as 1929; the debates of the 1930s so frank; the rehabilitation after 1945, so full; the great expansion, 1949 to 1973, geographically and in subject coverage so rapid; the papers produced, 1973 to 1985, so many and varied; the fraternity, so world-wide; the information - network, so useful.

Seen against developments in Economics, the IAAE leaders always resisted valuing "development of the discipline" too highly against its uses in improving welfare. Rather they valued the problems in securing such improvement as helpful in defining the purposes of the development of theory and of research methods.

They resisted to some extent the tendencies of the 1950s and 1960s to avoid any incorporation in economic analyses of values not directly measurable in money terms. They made real efforts to have "lots of down-to-earth discussions" as well as to broaden horizons and enhance "plenty of visions for the future".[4]

Seen against developments in Social Psychology too, the ICAE/IAAE was wise to retain the science-friendship combination as paramount. In Medicine the view "that professionals should .... dare to adopt their important alternative role of teachers" of their clients is only now beginning to achieve reasonably wide acceptance. In Moral Philosophy "cultivation of human concern for society's rejects" is now again attempting to centre professionalism upon the idea of "Einfühlung", in full accord with the basic philosophy on which ICAE/IAAE was built.[6]

Elmhirst was wise when, as early as 1936 at the Fourth conference, he said: "As specialists it is our privilege to regard the world as fundamentally one". "For that reason every personal contact we make here is .... a very worth-while investment ....".[7] And wise again in 1958, at the Tenth conference: "Our conviction is that, in the balancing of rural with urban culture, and in the study of rural economies, there shall be no secrets, that as social scientists we shall keep in proper perspective both social and economic problems, and that we shall share all the findings .... from the whole world for the benefit of its people everywhere".[8]

Sherman Johnson in 1967 at the Thirteenth conference summed up much at the end of his "synoptic view": ".... economists in all countries will need to dedicate themselves to active service in the war on hunger, poverty, ignorance, and despair".[9]

President Britton on the 50th anniversary in 1979 said: "... we have a rare opportunity to give to and obtain from one another a better personal orientation; .... we can lift our range of vision to see world-scale problems and place our national and local pre- occupations in proper relation to them .... (and) we can increase our awareness of work in other countries than our own on the problems that interest us ....".[10]

President Glenn Johnson in 1985 reviewed past leadership and the "Scope of Agricultural Economics", and for the future wisely concluded again:- ".... agricultural development is a multi-disciplinary subject requiring knowledge of agricultural technology, rural institutions and rural people; it is more than merely applied economics".[11]

### Different and changing goals (priorities)

To make the science-friendship combination effective in the actual development and work of ICAE/ IAAE raised, inevitably, many problems, as we have seen in reviewing the Foundation (Part II), the Conferences (Part III), Publications and Organization and Management (Part IV).

Conceptions of what the detailed priorities (goals) should be differed quite widely amongst the founders, the succeeding officers, Council members and Country Correspondents. And the preferred methods and forms of organization differed. The differences tended to be aggravated by many frustrations and uncertainties over finance and also by changes in the environment of the Association. Both the pattern of policy problems and the information and capabilities for their solution changed. After 1945 the activities and statistical and other publications of UN agencies, the ILO, other international bodies, the EEC and other regional powers transformed much of the environment. The Association itself contributed directly to one major

change - the establishment of the Commonwealth Bureau of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology. The establishment and development of more national and regional associations (e.g. the European Association of Agricultural Economists) also changed IAAE's environment, as did the establishment of Tropical Agricultural Research Institutes and the Institute for Food and Agricultural Policy in Washington, D.C.

For these reasons detailed choices of priorities and of methods were made continually. Indeed the formulation and detailing of conference programmes, and the management and finance of the Association seemed to require much art as well as science.

### The Achievements

The evidence of substantial achievements are in the cargoes of the conferences (Part III). They remain for all to see and use .... "Material invaluable for teachers and students. The thinking and writing of men with outstanding minds, who never would take time off from their teaching and supervising to write books, can sometimes be found in the Conference Proceedings and nowhere else".[12]

The International Journal of Agrarian Affairs, the establishment and servicing of WAERSA and related CAB publications, and the start of the new international journal, Agricultural Economics, were also positive results. Behind these were the encouragement and help that ICAE/IAAE provided for the establishment of national and regional associations in Scandinavia, Italy, France, Spain, India, Africa, SE Asia and elsewhere. Other results, sadly limited in number, were successful regional conferences and seminars sponsored jointly with other organizations. Also, the notable joint IAAE-FAO-UNFA conference in December 1975. (See also [17] concerning the Beijing conference in November 1987).

More difficult to assess properly was the build-up of hundreds of information-networks by individual members as a result of attendance at conferences, membership, and membership address lists. That these networks were fostered by conferences with their controversies and discussions, and by pre- and post-conference tours, there can be no doubt because of the science-friendship base.

Still less tangible, yet real and productive over many years of many and various benefits, were the inspirations and stimulants that members received at conferences, and which readers of publications could secure in part. Of increasing importance in a shrinking, harsh, inequitable, turbulent world was the stimulation to become aware of economic and social inter-dependencies across national boundaries, to "Einfühlung", and to "common aims and pursuits".[3]

The less tangible results were amongst those valued by governments and other organizations that financed attendances at conferences. But such organizations made no public statements of their assessments. All the Association's Presidents in their Addresses to conferences highlighted positive results, and so too did those who presented synoptic reviews near the ends of conferences. Throughout the years many other assessments were provided by individual members and a selection of these, although necessarily brief, is interesting historically.

30 Mar. 1932. S. Higginbottam (Principal, Allahabad Agricultural Institute) reviewing the Proceedings of the Second Conference and his own experiences of it: "The value of such a conference at such a time is hard to over-estimate". "(It) brought out very clearly the need for something more than national policies for

agriculture". "To read this book and catch its spirit is to go to one's task refreshed and renewed".

10 Aug. 1934. H.A. Wallace (then Secretary of the USDA, later Vice-President of the USA). (At the Third conference)"there ought to be a chance to go much further .... into the field of agricultural statesmanship ...." ".... it certainly would be wise for people such as will be at this conference to talk informally about what might be called The Rules of the Game in permissible inter-national planning. These rules have to do chiefly, of course, with tariffs, quotas and money, but above everything with those imponderables which have to do with the prejudices and fears of different nations".

19 Sept. 1934. H.C. Taylor (then delegate of the USA at the International Institute of Agriculture, Rome) on the Third conference: "It was a very great occasion. Many of the spontaneous things .... added very greatly to the enterprise. It .... went deeply into the great problems of international relations ....".

20 Sept. 1934. R.R. Enfield (in charge of Economics, Ministry of Agriculture, London) in letter to Elmhirst "I do hope you felt that your efforts were rewarded, as I certainly think they were".

5 Oct. 1936. A.L. Deering (Dean, College of Agriculture, Maine, USA), on the Fourth conference and tours: "This was one of the happiest experiences I have ever enjoyed". "(It did) much to create goodwill among the leaders of economic thought ....".

18 Dec. 1946. M.R. Benedict (Professor, University of California, USA) in letter to Elmhirst: ".... the (ICAE) should serve as a forum for quite frank and penetrating discussion of .... very important matters now facing the various national and international agencies dealing with agricultural problems". ".... the (ICAE) can discuss some of these matters in ways that may not be feasible for .... official representatives .... in their work with FAO".

15 Oct. 1947. F.F. Hill (then Head, Dept. of Agricultural Economics at Cornell University, later a Vice-President of the Ford Foundation) in letter to Elmhirst on the Sixth conference: ".... a grand success. I got a great deal out of it and I have heard a number of other people say the same thing".

5 May. 1949. Max Rolfes (Professor, University of Giessen, Germany. "In many dark hours it has been a comfort and a consolation to look back on past meetings and to look forward to future gatherings. I have no truer friends than the (ICAE) veterans!".

24 Sept. 1949. Denis Bergmann (Director INRA- Economie, Paris) on the Seventh conference: ".... a great experience for me. One has a tendency when one works pretty much on one's own to lose contact with the broader problems. (The conference) puts you right back in the centre of the problems and .... so many personalities". ".... most helpful in providing plenty of food for thought".

23 Sept. 1955. T.W. Schultz (Dept. of Economics, Chicago University, and later Nobel Prize winner) in letter to Elmhirst on the Ninth conference at Helsinki: ".... how exceedingly worthwhile. .... You and your colleagues deserve much credit".

3 July. 1957. W.I. Myers in letter to Currie. "For many years I have realised the debt (ICAE) owes to you and (Elmhirst) for your intelligent and effective leadership in making it a useful and vigorous international organization. Now, .... when we are beginning to plan for financing future operations. I am even more deeply impressed by our obligations to you ....".

13 Oct. 1958. S.R. Sen (Economic and Statistical Adviser, Ministry of Agriculture, India) to Elmhirst after the Tenth conference: "I had the opportunity of meeting so many interesting friends that it had a very stimulating effect indeed". "All of (my

staff) sensed the emotional as well as intellectual feeling which .... all delegates had expressed in their relations to each one of them".

16 Dec. 1958. H. de Farcy S.J. (L'Action Populaire Institut Social, Vanves, France), in letter to Elmhirst following Tenth conference in India: "A côté de l'intérêt -économique .... ce fut l'occasion d'entrer en contact avec une humanité á la fois magnifique et misérable .... Sous les phrases volontairement très sobres de vos discours, vous avez en effet, plus d'une fois, trahi votre attachement pour ce pays, sa philosophie, et ses hommes, et je ne puis vous dire à quel point cela m'a touché".

8 Sept. 1961. K. Brandt (Professor, Food Research Institute, Stanford, Cal., USA) to Elmhirst after the Eleventh conference in Mexico: "You may be very proud and satisfied with having had the inspiration in the 1920's to found this enterprise of international communication, association and understanding". "How deeply I appreciate your great contribution."

In Personal Contributions in "On the History of the IAAE" (see Note 28 of Part II). Westermarck wrote: "My trip (to the 1967 conference) was the longest I ... ever made and it was also the richest in impressions and observations" .... with "an exceptionally interesting excursion while we were in Malaysia (to) a newly established community of settlers".

October 1967. Ackerman in Report to Donors. "Many of the agricultural economists, particularly in the less developed countries, have stated repeatedly that the opportunity to attend and participate .... has been a prime factor in improving the research and extension work, .... in securing faculty respect, and in giving status to the profession in their respective colleges".

15 Jan. 1967. S. Schmidt (Professor in Cracow) in letter to Elmhirst: "It was a good conference at Sydney, without any question and gave a lot of people a chance to meet and to know each other, but 500 is really too many and we can no longer sing songs the way we used to do".

1976. at the Sixteenth conference (in Papers and Reports p 414) ".... research in aspects of organization was .... seen to be needed" (For example, how can the diversity of organizations dealing with rural development, some very powerful within their field .... co-ordinate effectively). A plea was ...."that the large volume of critically valuable data in World Bank files .... be made available for research".

12 Sept. 1979. Dorothy Miller reporting to the Seventeenth conference, from the Graduate Student Discussion Group (see Members Bulletin (1981) No.3, p.14-15): ".... we feel that our participation in the general IAAE program has offered us an exceptional education". "It is our hope that (IAAE) will see fit to always include graduate students in their programs".

1 Sept. 1982. Glenn Johnson at the end of the Eighteenth conference: "I recall with great pleasure the opportunity I had to spend sixteen or seventeen days with a whole new community of scholars in Finland at my first IAAE meeting (1955). The friends and congenial relationships I developed there are still some of the most valued I have ....". (Proceedings p. 592).

After the Nineteenth conference, a Professor of Economic Policy, in Latin America in a letter to Hildreth: "There (were) valuable recommendations .... (which could) be an important contribution to increase food supply and improve farmers' and peasants' wellbeing and security .... As professor .... I am already using some valuable ideas and information picked up at the conference. If only one of such .... could be applied, (the travel grant for attendance) could be one of the highest return investments, to the benefit of peasants, farmers and consumers of my country".

11 Nov. 1986. S.R. Sen in letter to Raeburn: "Tours and farm visits .... proved very productive in many ways". "Many new ideas (were) inbibed .... (in) .... the corridors and coffee shops (as well as in) the meeting rooms .... by people who count in the present or may count in the future in national and international affairs." "The mass of information that .... spouses (collected) during their cultural outings .... usually (proved) most valuable to all, especially after their return home".

#### The negative results and omissions

The ICAE/IAAE failed in some of its endeavours, and did not undertake some tasks that were pertinent to its aims. Elmhirst was always keen to learn from what he called "negative" results. Still-births and deaths as well as survivals can contribute to an understanding of evolution.

**Membership.** - Although IAAE can now claim to be world-wide, there are some parts of the world where there are no members or very few. Table 11.1 summarizes the 1984-86 membership in countries as grouped by the World Bank, and emphasizes the shortfalls. Of course governments and universities very largely determined how many agricultural economists there were in particular countries, but from the early touring of Elmhirst, Currie and Maxton onwards the Association did aim to influence decisions about membership.

The failure to maintain much of the big increases in members induced by siting conferences in particular countries was noted in Chapter 7; and the comparatively rapid turnover of membership, in Chapter 3 (See also Note 13 to Part V). The tendency for total membership to decline after 1973 may also be significant (Figure 1.1 and Table 7.6). No adequate information is available on the total numbers of all those in the world who could gain from being members of IAAE, but a useful comparison can be made of (i) changes in IAAE membership and (ii) memberships of some major national and regional associations (Table 11.2). This suggests that many of those who could not attend distant conferences did not maintain their IAAE memberships: total attendance at IAAE conferences was continued at a high level (Figure 1.1) and sales of IAAE publications were increased. Some potential new members of IAAE did not join, but joined their national or regional association.

**Making friends.** - The successes that resulted in big attendances made the siting of conferences more difficult (Chapter 7). For this reason, and because of the rapid growth in numbers of papers presented and numbers of would-be discussants, it became ever more difficult to sustain the traditions so well established in 1929-1958 of "full, frank, and friendly" discussions and the fostering of many personal understandings and friendships. There were, as indicated, still major achievements in these directions, yet older members, and some younger, recognized the failures. By 1973 Elmhirst was concerned that even in Discussion Groups a new member, often alone from a low-income country, would not easily contribute his experiences and problems and make friends: also, that many from other countries would "stand around too much in national groups" and not use well the wider opportunities that were still available but increasingly required effort.

**Regional conferences, work-shops, seminars and training.** - The Association was never able to sponsor and help service these on the scale that many members and

potential members wanted. The limitations were primarily financial. The travels of Elmhirst, Sherman Johnson, Westermarck, Sen, Dixey, Ackerman and others, and the funds provided by the Kellogg and Calouste Gulbenkian Foundations, which latter made possible the first European regional conference, were indeed productive, but the Association never had the assurance of sufficient finance for travel and other costs, nor for the managerial inputs that would have been required for full mobilization of its great professional capabilities.

TABLE 11.1 MEMBERSHIP OF IAAE IN ECONOMIES AS GROUPED BY THE WORLD BANK

World Bank Group	Population		Labour in Agriculture b.	GNP from Agriculture b.	IAAE Members b.
	Total b.	Rural b.			
			per cent of total		
Low income	51	66	74	32	9
Middle income					
- Lower	14	16	15	16	8
- Upper	11	7	6	16	8
High income					
oil exporters	+	+	+	1	+
Industrial market	16	6	2	35	71
Total	92	95	97	100	96
E.European(c)	8	5	3	n.a.	4
Total	100	100	100	n.a.	100

- Average for 1981-83 and 1984-86 periods.
- Derived from World Bank (1985) *World Development Report*. Data relate mainly to 1983 and, because of definitions and for other reasons, are approximations.
- Including USSR.

TABLE 11.2 MEMBERSHIP OF SOME MAJOR NATIONAL OR REGIONAL ASSOCIATIONS OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMISTS, AND OF IAAE

Years	Selected Years					
	American Ag.Econ. Assoc.	Ag.Economics Society UK	Australian Ag.Econ. Society	Indian Society Ag.Econ.	European Association of Ag.Ec'sts	IAAE
			total numbers			
1979-82	4,420	707	1,244	1,008	486	1,765
			index: 1979-82 = 100			
1953-54	42	58	n.a.	41	0	35
1963-64	80	82	27(a)	74	0	80
1970-73	85	112	95	72	0	108
1979	98	104	104	94	101	104
1982	102	96	96	106	99	96
1985	102	96	104	118	166	87

(a) 1960



The boundaries between appropriate ICAE/IAAE functions and those of other organizations could not of course be precisely drawn and would anyway vary in different socio-economic circumstances. But the fact that they were never well discussed indicates that, virtually from 1930 onwards, financial and managerial constraints appeared very restrictive.

Two resulting losses are particularly noteworthy, First; in many countries where the status of agricultural economics was still low, those few who were trained, often in N. America or Europe, faced many obstacles when they tried to apply their new knowledge and skills. Their Governments and universities did not know how best to invest them. No national association was available as guide, philosopher and friend. Proposals for further travel abroad to attend academic Conferences were rejected. Although returned MSc's and PhD's in other specialities also felt isolated, Governments did not bring them together in seminars of a staff-college type. Some visiting UN and other missions might help but not much personally because they would probably be too few, too rushed, too temporary, and on subjects too wide or too narrow. All this in addition to the usual generation gaps.

Second; while main conferences every three years did induce considerable Einfühlung between North and South, East and West, rich and poor, regional work of the right types could induce still more. This was shown by the work of D. Ensminger, A.B. Lewis, A. Mosher and others who were intimately engaged for years in regional work, largely training, in Asia, financed by Ford and Rockefeller Foundations.

Holistic thinking. - The Association always listened attentively to pleas in favour of multi-disciplinary work, and against any barriers between different sections of the wide subject-field of Agricultural Economics itself. From 1934 onwards many speakers from outside this field were invited to present major papers. Yet actual co-operation was very strictly limited with sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, natural scientists and others. The IAAE/FAO/UNFPA seminar in 1975 on Food and Population was an isolated example and its success was limited. And within Agricultural Economics, Britton in 1979 and Glenn Johnson in 1985 emphasized that IAAE had still long roads to travel to secure sufficiently holistic analyses. Maxton could have said: "Long ago, I told you so" - but he probably would not.

Limited responsibilities: Increased needs for Reviews and purposeful Syntheses. - Although ICAE/IAAE always had "furthering the application of the results of economic investigations in the improvement of economic and social conditions" as one of its main aims, it never sought or accepted any direct responsibilities in relation to actual applications. It drew heavily on the experiences of many of its members who had such responsibilities on farms, in government organizations and elsewhere. One reason for the boundary was that Maxton and other founders valued complete intellectual freedom at conferences very highly and were averse to any possibility of official or other interferences of any kind. Other reasons were the many difficulties of effectively managing a multi-national effort to deal with complex responsibilities normally carried by national organizations. Thus, for example, when President Arap Moi of Kenya in welcoming the Sixteenth conference in 1976 sought "a clear analysis of alternatives and the consequences of each alternative of action" he might well have been dismayed not to get it.[14]

One historical consequence of complete lack of direct responsibilities for any policies other than its own was that the Association tended to discuss problem areas

in ways more encyclopaedic than systematic - disjointedly rather than with full regard to their inter-relations, in one direction, with central "confusions and conflicts" and various strategic alternatives, and in the other direction with relevant, detailed hypotheses and their testing.[15] This general tendency made it possible too often to sidestep away from many valuation questions and multi-disciplinary needs. It also led to some wastage and some repetitiveness, so reducing the pace of cumulative build-up of knowledge and skills. The study in Chapter 6 of deep rural poverty and of birth and death rates illustrates this important tendency.

Another important result was that attempts to bring the main conclusions of each conference quickly and effectively to the attention of policy makers remained difficult and generally unsuccessful.

Two corrective measures, adopted by some other professional organizations, seem not to have been considered as feasible:- (i) Arranging of special conferences and work-shops to consider particular problem areas in greater depth than was usually possible at the main conferences; (ii) Commissioning of reviews of past research and publications related to major policy areas or subject-fields, for the purpose of serving in policy and programme formulation processes, the reviewers to be members or panels of members. Again the reasons were mainly financial and related managerial constraints.

Direct responsibilities in the end require perception, precision and perseverance. Where there are no such responsibilities special measures seem to be necessary to ensure that an academic society becomes and remains fully effective in "furthering .... application of results ....", and indeed in advancing knowledge and facilitating communication to this end.[16]

Organization, Management and Finance. - Throughout ICAE/IAAE history, constitutional arrangements provided ample scope for evolution of Association policy and management, and in practice there was much useful evolution. Even so, the difficulties in having to rely so heavily everywhere on volunteers as Country Correspondents (Representatives), on a large and scattered Council (to which the Correspondents had no direct relations), on a small group of Executives, also essentially volunteers, on the courtesy of Dartington, Oxford, the Farm Foundation and other organisations for office and other facilities, and on the interest and generosity of a succession of host countries - all these difficulties led to uncertainties and constraints.

That the negative results were not greater says much about the basic strengths noted at the end of the Foundation Period (Chapter 3), and particularly about the dedication of the Executives throughout, including those responsible for detailed work as hosts. That evolution has accelerated in the 1980s provides some promise that it will continue and perhaps reduce the strains as well as improve professional productivity.

Even so the staffing and financial constraints should be widely recognized as major reasons for important negative results and omissions. These or their like will continue unless the constraints are removed. Even Elmhirst, Currie and Maxton could not, despite their great perseverance, devote to ICAE all the efforts that should, everything considered, have been provided. And Hunt came under such strains that, some would judge, his life was shortened. Many great goals remained unscored - for Warren's promotion of research and the development of young research workers; for Maxton's securing of deep and comprehensive discussion of strategic purposes and possibilities; for the Ford Foundation's spread of training; and for other valued developments.

## The institutional environment

The experiences of the Association raise important questions on the financial and other decisions about it taken by national governments, international organisations, universities and charitable foundations.

That the various benefits stemming from the Association were valued highly is evident from the provision of travel grants for attendance at conferences, of staff time of ICAE/IAAE executives (and their office facilities), of all the help as hosts to conferences, and also from purchases of publications. ECOSOC, FAO, UNESCO and UNCTAD granted the Association "consultative status". Major Foundations made substantial donations particularly for conference attendance in the 1960s when they valued highly the Association's work in stimulating and guiding increased interest in Agricultural Economics in Asia and Latin America (Figure 10.1).

Some support from the Foundations was for the establishment and strengthening of the ICAE/IAAE organization itself. But individual Governments and international organizations never contributed such support. And increasingly the Foundations concluded that it should be provided by others and not by themselves. There was failure to develop and follow through a proposal of the early 1960s that a consortium should provide a sound financial base on which to develop the Association's services. These were the reasons for the continuous anxiety of Elmhirst and other members of the executive. The financial base was not secure and as a result many services basic to long-run improvement of rural welfare could not be undertaken.

In recent years there were new signs of recognition in its institutional environment of the IAAE's capabilities and potentialities. Governments and universities in China and several other countries sought IAAE's collaboration in national and regional seminars and conferences.[17] The US Department of Agriculture provided finance as well as staff time so that the contributed papers of conferences could be published. And there was the continuing concern of the CAB organization, despite re-structuring, to maintain close connections, and IAAE representation on the Editorial Board for WAERSA and related publications and services. And the CAB continued to provide editorial help on IAAE's "Occasional Papers".

Yet a big question remains. Have Governments, UN and other international organizations, universities and Foundations allocated enough in basic support to IAAE, and been prepared enough to collaborate with IAAE, and buy from it services in research, training, and extension education? The hypothesis that additional IAAE activities would have yielded more benefits than did those activities of UN organizations and others, for which they could have been regarded as part substitutes, would require more information than this history could provide. But such a hypothesis is worthy of close and objective consideration for the future both by IAAE itself and by the organizations in its institutional environment.

And still wider questions are:- "Do the social and economic problems of rural people not now threaten so much that, to reduce them, effective investments of "science and friendship" should be greatly increased? Do the proven benefits and basic professional capabilities of IAAE not show that some of the additional investment should be managed by it?"

The historical background to these questions includes IAAE's increasing reliance during the 1970s and 1980s on payments by members themselves and by the organizations that employed them. Higher charges for attendance at conferences, together with many more places on the programmes of conferences for individuals, helped to raise payments. The big "investments" by Dartington and other donors that made possible the foundation, and the rapid growth of the 1950s and 1960s seemed to some observers significant only in the past. But healthy development of financial self-reliance on members themselves was inevitably far from complete. The costs related to the main conferences and the "central services" costs were of such natures that they could not be fully covered by members and potential members. Reliance on employing organizations was heavy. Yet, in the great variety of political and socio-economic conditions to be considered, many important members and potential members had employers who would not give IAAE sufficient priority. The Kellogg Foundation was still concerned to help, in Latin America and Africa. Very heavy reliance on the Farm Foundation, Oxford University and other employers of the volunteering officers was still necessary, and, for the longer-run future, could not be fully assured. Reliances on host countries to help finance conferences were also heavy; and future prospects, uncertain. Thus it was that, despite useful evolution towards self-reliance, IAAE was in a post-rapid-growth phase in which mobilization for full effectiveness in relation to its great and complex purposes was closely constrained. The "institutional environment" as a whole showed little awareness of the opportunities lost.

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"From our special correspondent

It is not our business to report the conference proceedings but the attendance at Sunday's meeting was so small that we feel compelled to give our readers the benefit of the valuable discussions which took place. Dr. Warren presented a paper on the common belief that Sunday is a day of rest. The Department of Farm Management has made a study of this question. Five million records dealing with 2,000 Sundays and 15,000 factors had been submitted to the tender mercies of the sausage machine. The results showed that, by the method of percentage determination, 95 per cent of the happiness felt on Sunday is due to working harder on that day than on other days. It was found in Cornell's own work that very much better correlations between factors were obtained when calculated between the hours of 1 am. and 7.30 am. Sundays than at any other time (Loud applause)

Dr H.C. Taylor: I must agree with Dr. Warren. My golf is best on Sunday mornn.

Bridges: That may be right by your book keeping but I'm sure that Sunday's meant for Sleeping."

[Notes. Actually the only scheduled session on Sunday 24 August was a visit to a reforestation site, and a picnic. But there had previously been discussions of policy on Sunday meetings. The sausage machine was a Hollerith Tabulator].

From the issue of 25 August, 1955:-

"The Bell Itself

The first cow bell was not I suspect a cow bell but a sheep bell. It came from an old shop in Amesbury, the nearest village to Stonehenge, the bronze age Druidic temple on Salisbury Plain, England. Here the Celts grazed their flocks on the chalky pastures high above the swamps and heavy forest where the Saxons later found the richest farmland.

In World War II it was found possible to fertilise and plough these "downs" which had not been cultivated for 3,000 years and then only in tiny welchets, or small strips. This bell had a quaint shape and harness of its own with leather neck harness and oak pegs. It is represented on the back of every volume of our official proceedings. It was presented to our first Vice-President Dr. G.F. Warren of Cornell and is now one of his family heirlooms.

Our present bell (acquired before the 1949 conference in Stresa) is a real cow bell from Chamonix in Switzerland."

L.K.E.

An issue at the Lyon conference in 1964 reported: "The large bell presented on Monday to the Association by Denis Bergmann on behalf of the French Committee is about a hundred years old. Despite its size it is a genuine Alpine cow bell ....".

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#### Chapter 6

14. Proceedings Eighteenth conference, pages 524-25
15. See Sources and Notes - Part II number 4
16. Proceedings, page 184
17. Proceedings, pages 372-383
18. Proceedings, page 377
19. Proceedings, page 119
20. See under Chapter 2 above. The Leading Personalities - L.K. Elmhirst
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22. Proceedings, page 25
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24. Proceedings, page 25
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52. Proceedings, page 273
53. Proceedings, page 277
54. Proceedings, pages 488-489
55. Proceedings, page 12
56. IAAE Members Bulletin No.1, pp.69-70
57. A report with 6 country and 27 other studies from the seminar was published as: Ensminger, D. (Editor) (1977) Food enough or Starvation for Millions. New Dehli, Tata McGrawHill
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69. Chapter 2. Note 29

#### Part IV Organization, finance and management

1. The father-in law of Moses. Exodus, Chapter 18
2. Dean Acheson, Secretary of State, US
3. Roman proverb

#### Chapter 7

4. See Chapter 3 and Proceedings of Second Conference, p 1052-1054
5. H.C. Taylor's letter to Elmhirst 25 June, 1935. The finance necessary for a sound foundation was not available.
6. S.L. Louwes had prepared a paper for the Third conference. He later was close to being appointed the first Director-General of the FAO.
7. Proceedings of Fifth conference p 19
8. Sering's letter to Elmhirst 6 May, 1935
9. Elmhirst's letter to Sering 27 Mar, 1936
10. Proceedings of Fourth conference p 15-16
11. Minutes of Council 25 Aug, 1938
12. It was quite widely understood, but not recorded, that K. Meyer aimed at securing Nazi control of the German group and displacing Sering as Vice-President.
13. Warren did not wish to be a Vice-President and was against status seeking being allowed to interfere with real work. Elmhirst wrote in the 1960s that Vice-Presidents were created to help Sering in Germany. It seems probable that in 1930 they were created to help Elmhirst and to give status to ICAE in both USA and Germany, but by 1938 Sering was still elected a Vice-President (Honorary) because of Nazi pressures on him.
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21. Elmhirst's letter to Booth, 25 May, 1946
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24. Maxton's letter to A.W. Ashby, late Nov, 1946
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31. Maxton's letter to Currie, 12 Aug, 1950
32. Elmhirst's letter to Hill, 25 Jan, 1950
33. Ashby's letter to Elmhirst, 30 Aug, 1950
34. Elmhirst's letter to Ashby, 9 Nov, 1950
35. Detailed proposals for the programme continued to be received from them up to May 1952
36. Coke's letter to Elmhirst, 8 May, 1952
37. Elmhirst's letter to Coke, 13 May, 1952
38. Elmhirst's letter to Young, 30 July, 1952
39. The obvious expectation was that the Secretary-Treasurer would before long be located in USA. Elmhirst and Currie hoped Ackerman could accept this post.
40. Elmhirst's letter to Case, 18 Aug, 1954

41. Here again there was room for confusion. The functions of the CIAE finance committee had been allocated to the Special Committee. What Elmhirst meant was probably the Finance Committee of Council members from USA.
42. Dixey, R.N. (Ed) (1964) International Explorations of Agricultural Economics, Ames, Iowa State University Press
43. See Chapter 9
44. Chapter 5: Note 3
45. The Human Factor in Agricultural Management - Proceedings of the First IAAE Inter-european Seminar IAAE and Polich Academy of Sciences. Supplement to Int. J. Agric. Affairs V. 4. July 1969
46. See Chapter 9
47. K.E. Hunt: Statement to IAAE Council 1970
48. Notes on most of those listed in the 1958-73 column of Table 7.4 are in the following publications:- Int. Jnl. Agrarian Affairs Vol.5. No.4. July 1968. J.R. Currie.
  - IAAE Members Bulletin
  - (1977) No. 1. J. Ackerman, J.R. Raeburn, E. Thomas, H.C. Trelogan
  - (1978) No. 2. K.E. Hunt
  - (1981) No. 4. N. Westermarck
  - (1985) No. 6. S.R. Sen
  - (1986) No. 7. K. Campbell
49. Hunt's letter to Elmhirst 27 June, 1972
50. Westermarck's letter to Ackerman 1 July, 1972
51. Campbell's written comments to Ackerman prior to March 1972
52. Elmhirst's letter to Ackerman 26 June, 1973
53. The new 1973 constitution was set out in the "Papers and Reports" (Proceedings) of the Fifteenth Conference, pages 527 to 531; the initial constitution, in Proceedings of the Second (1930) conference; the 1938 amended constitution, in Proceedings of the Firth to Tenth conferences; the 1961 amended constitution, in Proceedings of the Eleventh to Thirteenth conferences. For an interpretation from the standpoint of an individual country, and for evolutionary changes, see Britton, D.K. and Giles, A.K. (1981) "The IAAE: its Evolution and Activities" Jnl. Agric. Econ. 32 No. 2 pages 203-209
54. Campbell's letter to Hildreth, 24 Sept, 1973. Campbell could accept the Vice-Presidency only on "the understanding that other members of the executive recognise the disadvantages of (his) location, and would be willing to share some of the responsibilities ...."
55. Minutes of Executive Committee meetings 23 May and 24, 1983
56. Minutes of Executive Committee meeting July, 1980
57. See Chapter 9
58. See Chapter 6: "The Sixteenth conference"
59. The Fund for ICAE was however continued so that future donations from US foundations might be obtained. The US Inland Revenue Service classified the Fund as a "philanthropic organization" whereas the IAAE was a "membership organization". See Figure 10.2 and related text.
60. See end of Chapter 3

## Chapter 8

61. See Chapter 1 - Purposes
62. Survey by Raeburn after the 1964 conference, of the opinions of Country Correspondents, presented to Executive Officers Jan 1965, also showed wide differences in preferences.
63. From Dartington archives
64. Warren in a letter to Elmhirst of 2 Feb, 1936 wrote:-  
 "I think it is desirable to have many sectional meetings. In this way many names can be put on the program". For the Third conference Maxton suggested 8 Groups "to give detailed consideration to the technical aspects of 8 generic subjects such as "Farm Management," "Population and Geography," "Rural Sociology". Ladd wanted only 4, but recognized that more breaking-up would become inevitable as ICAE grew.
65. See Also Chapter 7: The 1950s, Before the 1952 conference.
66. See Note 62. above
67. Denis Bergmann at the Council meeting in 1961 in Mexico suggested that there should be some papers "between the very broad aspects and the very narrow"
68. See Chapters 5 and 6
69. See Table 4.2 and Figure 4.1
70. IAA Members Information Bulletin Jan 1986 p.7.

## Chapter 9

71. See Chapter 2, The leading personalities, George F. Warren. And Part II, note 29
72. For notes on Maxton and First and Second conference programmes and editorial work, see Chapter 3.
73. See Chapter 3. The Proposal and First Conference.
74. See also Chapter 8, The Fourth and Fifth conference periods, 1935-1938, Proposals for a Journal.
75. See Chapter 10, Table 10.4, and Chapter 7, The 1950s, Before the 1952 conference.
76. Letter to Elmhirst from Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon, 20 Oct, 1959.
77. Westermarck N. (1966). Presidential Address in Proceedings of the 12th conference.
78. Jones, J.O. (1958) Agricultural Economics in Yugoslavia, University of Oxford, Inst. of Agrarian Affairs.
79. The Committee of Management of the Institute of Agrarian Affairs in 1962 was chaired by A. Bridges as representing the University Vice-Chancellor (see Chapter 3, Some other personalities). Elmhirst and Currie represented the Dartington Trustees; J.R. Hicks and J. Jewkes, Economics; C. Clark, Agric. Economics; E.F. Jackson, Statistics; M.J. Laurie, Forestry; G E Blackman, Agriculture; and Miss P. Ady, Social Studies. The Chairman gave valuable support and guidance to the Director and Institute.
80. Jones, J.O. (1965) Introduction, WAERSA Vol.7, No. 1, Commonwealth Agricultural Bureaux, Farnham Royal.
81. Jones, J.O. (1969) "Information and Communication: the Services of the Commonwealth Bureau of Agricultural Economics in Jnl. Agric. Econ. Vol XX, No. 1, January, 1969.

82. The Editorial Board of WAERSA in 1965 was Chaired by the IAAE President, Westermarck, and included Vice-President Raeburn and 12 members (Campbell, M Cépède, von Dietze, E.W. Hofstee, Hunt, Sherman Johnston, D.G. Karve, I. Kuoshinov, T.P. Loosjes, T. Misawa, E. Thomas, and Trelogan). F.E. Mohrdardt as President of the IAALD was also a member, together with S. von Frauendorfer. There was a smaller Standing Committee that included Sir T. Scrivenor of the CAB.
83. "Agricultural Economics" letter from the Chairman of the University Grants Committee to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, May 1970, 84.
84. The following list shows the main topics chosen for the 30 issues (5 volumes) of the International Journal of Agrarian Affairs
- Vol.I No. 1. The Problem of Surplus Agricultural Population, October 1939.  
No. 2. The Changes of Eight Years in Agricultural Economics, October 1947.  
No. 3. International Wheat Agreements, September 1949.  
No. 4. The Consolidation of Farmers in Six Countries of Western Europe, May 1952. No. 5. Land Settlement: The Making of New Farms, September 1953. No.6. Economic Aspects of Mechanisation on Medium Sized Farms, June 1954.
- Vol.II No. 1. Redistribution of Farm Land in Seven Countries, January 1955.  
No. 2. (with supplement) Agriculture and Forestry: Competition or Coexistence, June 1955.  
No. 3. Capital and Credit in Agriculture: Denmark, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom, July 1957.  
No. 4. (with supplement) Capital and Credit in Agriculture: Australia, W. Germany, Greece, Italy, Japan, Yugoslavia, Netherlands, January 1958.  
No. 5. The Economics of Data Supply and Control: Norway, Portugal, USA, Lebanon, June 1959.  
No. 6. The Economics of Water Supply and Control: Jordan, Iran, Peru, Poland, May 1960.
- Vol.III No. 1. The Economics of Water Supply and Control: Canada, Egypt, Denmark, January 1961.  
No. 2. The Role of Agriculture in Economic Development, April 1961.  
No. 3. Contemporary Problems in the Economics of Agriculture, September 1962.  
No. 4. The Economics of Water Supply and Control: Greece, Italy, January 1963.  
No. 5. Agriculture and the European Common Market (I), June 1963.  
No. 6. Agriculture and the European Common Market (II), August 1963.
- Vol.IV No. 1. The Economics of Water Supply and Control: Pakistan, India, October 1963.  
No. 2. Agriculture and the European Common Market (III), April 1964.  
No. 3. Disparities in Pace and Form of Rural Development, May 1964.

- No. 2. Agriculture and the European Common Market (III), April 1964.  
No. 3. Disparities in Pace and Form of Rural Development, May 1964.  
No.4. 1. Prospects for Indian Tea Exports. 2. Agricultural Economics in some African Countries, June 1964.  
No. 5. Agriculture and the European Common Market (IV), April 1965.  
No. 6. Contemporary problems in Agricultural Economics, August 1965
- Vol.V No. 1. Some Studies in Indian Agricultural Economics, December 1966.  
No. 2. The Economist and Farm People in a Rapidly Changing World, May 1967.  
No.3. Reports on Discussion Groups; Sydney Conference, July 1967.  
No. 4. Aspects of Farmers Business Botswana, July 1968.  
No. 5. Training in Agricultural Economics, April 1970.  
No. 6. Contemporary Issues, March 1973.
85. Glenn Johnson in his Presidential Address in 1985 outlined the plans for the new Journal which owed much to his leadership (see Chapter 5); but he did not recall to what extent the International Journal of Agrarian Affairs had in fact previously been the Association's "own Journal".

#### Chapter 10

86. See Figure 1.1 and Chapter 7, Achievements  
87. See Chapter 3, The Second Conference, Difficulties  
88. See Chapter 7, Before and at the 1955 conference  
89. Letter to Ackerman from the Ford Foundation office, 11 Dec, 1967  
90. From data sent by Currie to Myers 28 June, 1957  
91. Host country reports to Hildreth  
92. See Chapter 7 The mid-1970s to the mid-1980s; Difficulties, Partial Successes and Failures; Relations with Host countries; Social Cohesion  
93. Compare Table 10.4, Donors with Figure 10.2  
94. The Elmgrant subsidies were for 5-year periods, and finally ended in 1971. For the last five periods they had been approximately, in US dollars of 1984-86 value, 39, 43, 18, 17 and 19 thousand a year.  
95. Dartington archives  
96. Elmhirst's letter of 20 May, 1966 to James Thornton, Dartington archives  
97. See Chapter 1. Note 1

#### Part V Epilogue

1. Warren, at the end of the Third Conference. See end of Part II
2. Sering in letter of 29 Nov, 1933 to Elmhirst
3. Dorothy Elmhirst at opening of Willard Straight Hall, November 1925
4. Elmhirst in message to the Fifteenth Conference, 1973.



## Chapter 11

5. Elmhirst often referred to the positive and negative results of experiments and trials and, almost always an optimist prepared to persevere, he valued the negative highly as guides in further endeavour.
6. May W.F. (1985) "Adversarialism in America and the Professions"; and Campbell A.V. (1985) "Professionalism - a Theological Perspective". Both in The End of Professionalism? Occ. Paper No. 6, Edinburgh University Dept. of Practical Theology. On Einfühlung Dr Campbell refers to Max Scheler's The Nature of Sympathy. See also Weiner M.J. (1971) Between Two Worlds The Political Thought of Graham Wallas. Oxford, Clarendon Press. (Particularly pp 211-216)
7. Proceedings of the Fourth conference, p 18
8. Proceedings of the Tenth conference p, 19
9. Proceedings of the Thirteenth conference, p 455
10. Proceedings of the Seventeenth conference, p 11
11. Proceedings of the Nineteenth conference, p 23
12. Elmhirst in Preface to Max Rolfe's summary history (see above Part III, Chapter 5, Note 3)
13. See Chapter 3, Weaknesses. The percentages of 1981-83 members who were new were:- USA, 21; Canada, 4; W.Germany, 16. The percentages of 1978-80 members who dropped out by 1981-83 were:- USA, 46; Canada, 38; W.Germany, 29
14. Papers and Reports, Sixteenth conference, p 593
15. See Sources and Notes, Part II, Chapter 2; 4. Also see Chapter 6, Some conclusions
16. See Sources and Notes, Part IV, Chapter 7; 53, on objectives. It is noteworthy that co-operative research projects within ICAE/IAAE membership (such as were proposed by Sering in 1934 and Weinschenck in 1973) did not proceed.
17. The conference in November 1987 in Beijing was outside the time span of this History but is especially noteworthy. Invitations to participate in the 1979 conference at Banff, Canada were sent to mainland China and accepted, with most useful results. President Dams, Vice President Ohkawa, and Secretary Hildreth were then invited to China. Seminars were held. But a conference could not be arranged until 1987, following discussions of President Johnson and President-Elect Petit with Yan Rui Zhen and Luo Han-zian at the Malaga, Spain, conference in 1985, and a visit by Johnson and President-Elect Longworth to Beijing in 1986. The conference was judged very successful, and Proceedings with 51 papers are to be issued. C.C. Chang attended, with personal memories of ICAE activities as far back as 1933 (see also his description of Warren, in Chapter 2).

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## Notes

1. Individual items are indicated by the pages on which they start. A range of pages indicates more than one start.
2. A subject may be considered in items that are referred to by different key words. For example, "Sizes of Farms" may be considered in items indicated under "Agricultural Policies", "Communities and Settlements", "Employments", "Land Policy", or elsewhere, as well as under "Farm Organization and Management".
3. For general guidance on the Conferences, see Chapter 4.