

World Hunger Can Be Ended

BY JAMES V. RIKER AND ELENA MCCOLLIM

It is unacceptable that even one person in the world go hungry, no matter within which border that person lives. Borders don't exist when there is hunger. And we are all morally diminished as citizens of this planet if that happens during our lifetime. We have sufficient resources, and we have the intelligence and technology to create abundance. We need to have the will to share it equitably.¹

Christine Vladimiroff, prioress of the Benedictine Sisters of Erie, chair of Bread for the World's board of directors, and co-chair of the U.S. Food Security Advisory Committee.



World hunger can be ended. We have already made significant progress. Thirty years ago there were 959,000,000 undernourished people in the developing world. Today there are 791,400,000 people in spite of a 2 billion rise in population (see Figure 1.1).²

It is feasible to reduce the number of undernourished people worldwide 50 percent by 2015. The cost would be an additional \$4 billion per year, of which \$1 billion would come from the United States.

This global effort requires policy changes and private initiatives to help hungry people earn a living and have a voice in public life. Once the 2015 target is achieved, we can build on this momentum to bring hunger to an end perhaps by 2030.

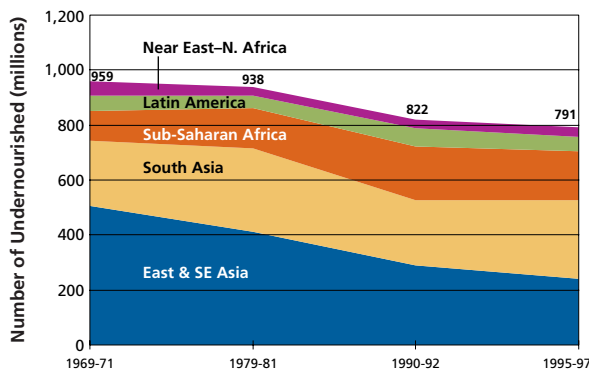
Although the specific strategies differ by region, country and community, the goal is universal – assuring that every person has access to enough safe, nutritious and culturally acceptable food to sustain an active and healthy life (see Table 1.1). The chief strategies are: improve livelihoods, invest in health and education and empower poor people to participate in decisions that affect their lives.

A Program to End Hunger: Hunger 2000 presents a politically feasible and economically affordable plan for overcoming widespread under-nutrition worldwide in the early 21st century.



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Figure 1.1: Number of Undernourished People, Developing World, 1969-1997



Source: FAO estimates, October 1999.

Table 1.1: Key Hunger Terms

Key Terms	Definition
Hunger	A condition in which people do not get enough food to provide the nutrients (carbohydrates, fats, proteins, vitamins, minerals and water) for active and healthy lives.
Malnutrition	A condition resulting from inadequate consumption (undernutrition) or excessive consumption (overnutrition) of a nutrient that can impair physical and mental health, and cause or be the consequence of infectious diseases.
Undernutrition	A condition resulting from inadequate consumption of calories, protein and nutrients to meet the basic physical requirements for an active and healthy life.
Food Insecurity	A condition resulting from inadequate consumption and access to sufficient nutritious food to sustain an active and healthy life.
Food Security	Assured access for every person to enough nutritious food to sustain an active and healthy life. It includes: food availability (adequate food supply); food access (people can get it) and appropriate food utilization (their bodies can absorb essential nutrients).

Hunger in the Developing World

Undernourishment has declined steeply in East and Southeast Asia over the past 25 years (see Figure 1.2). The Asian and Pacific region, however, still accounts for nearly two-thirds of all undernourished people in the developing world.³ Throughout Asia, an estimated 525 million undernourished people still struggle to meet their basic nutritional needs and are, as a result, vulnerable to disease and untimely death.

Food security in the developing world varies by region according to levels of food availability, access and utilization. People in the Near East, North Africa and Latin America have the most

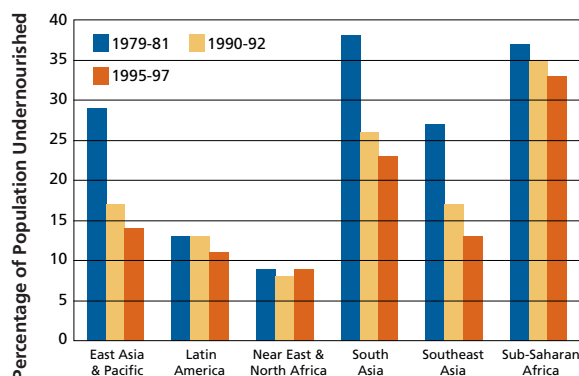
food security, and people in South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa the least (see Table 1.2).

The absolutely worst conditions continue to be in Africa. One out of every three people in Sub-Saharan Africa is undernourished. High government debt burdens, inadequate funding for health and education, pervasive poverty, poor agricultural productivity on fragile lands, weak government institutions and the AIDS pandemic all are causes.

The largest number of people who suffer nutritional deficiencies live in South Asia, where poverty, discrimination against women, unsafe water and poor sanitation contribute to poor health. Over 50 percent of children under the age of 5 are stunted (i.e., low height based on age) and/or underweight (i.e., low weight based on age) due to insufficient food consumption and poor health conditions.⁴

The Asian financial crisis of 1998 and 1999 suddenly increased the number of people in absolute poverty (incomes below one dollar per day) from 1.3 billion to 1.5 billion people.

Figure 1.2: Percentage of Population Undernourished, Developing World, 1979-1997



Source: FAO, October 1999.

Countries in Transition

Many countries of the former Soviet Union, Central Asia and Eastern Europe undergoing the transition from centrally-planned to market-based economies have experienced economic hardship and rising levels of undernutrition during the 1990s – 22 million undernourished

Table 1.2: Food Security by Developing World Region

Developing World Region	Food Availability		Food Access		Food Utilization	
	Calories per day per person ^(a)		Percent of population undernourished ^(b)		Percent of children under 5 underweight ^(c)	
East and Southeast Asia	Moderate	2,669	Moderate	14	Low	21
Latin America	High	2,798	Moderate	11	Moderate	10
Near East and North Africa	Very High	2,990	Moderate	9	Moderate	17
South Asia	Moderate	2,448	Low	23	Very Low	51
Sub-Saharan Africa	Low	2,182	Very Low	33	Low	33

Sources: (a) FAO, "FAOSTAT Database," Rome: FAO; (b, c) FAO, The State of Food Insecurity in the World, 1999, Rome: FAO, 1999, Tables 1-2. Calorie availability data from 1997, undernourished from 1995-1997 and underweight from 1987-1998.

people in Russia and other Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), and 4 million in Eastern Europe. The percentage of children under age 5 who suffer from moderate and severe underweight, wasting and stunting has also increased (see Table 1.3). Poverty has skyrocketed to 29 percent in Uzbekistan, 50 percent in Kazakhstan, and 76 percent in Krygystan.⁵

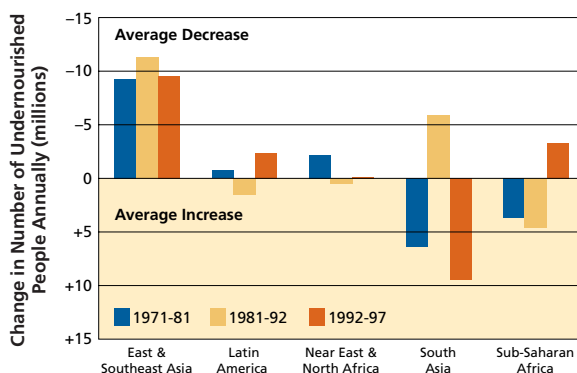
The region needs broad-based economic growth through improved agricultural practices, investment in health and nutrition and better education for women. Economic and social progress also depends on developing democratic institutions.

Strategies That Work

East and Southeast Asian countries' sound economic policies and social progress have reduced hunger. Many of these governments invested heavily in health, education and nutrition. Green Revolution agricultural technologies improved food production, nutrition and economic prosperity throughout much of the region.

From 1981 to 1992, the countries of East and Southeast Asia reduced the number of undernourished people at the average rate of 12.4 million people per year (see Figure 1.3), with approximately 34,000 people per day moving out of hunger. Yet, these remarkable gains were made vulnerable by authoritarian government,

Figure 1.3: Change in the Number of Undernourished People Annually, Developing World, 1971-1997



Source: Bread for the World Institute estimate, 1999.

Table 1.3: Children under 5 in Countries in Transition Who Suffer from Moderate and Severe Underweight, Wasting and Stunting

	Percent Underweight	Percent Wasting	Percent Stunting
Eastern Europe			
Azerbaijan	10	3	22
Croatia	1	1	1
Czech Republic	1	2	2
Hungary	2	2	3
Romania	6	3	8
Serbia (former Yugoslavia)	2	2	7
CIS Countries			
Kazakhstan	8	3	16
Russian Federation	3	4	13
Tajikistan	n.a.	n.a.	30
Uzbekistan	19	12	31

Sources: UNICEF, *The State of the World's Children 1999*, New York: UNICEF, December 1998, 99-101. All data is from 1990-1997.

The Politics of Food Security in Kosovo

BY DON WALTER

In March 1998, Serb forces, under the direction of Slobodan Milosevic, began a year-long, scorched earth campaign, systematically destroying food-making, gleaning and storage capacity in Kosovo. The goal was to starve ethnic Kosovar Albanians into submission or force them to leave. Snipers fired on farmers planting and harvesting their crops. Storage facilities were destroyed and humanitarian food aid workers were harassed, detained and even killed. Since mid-1998, the Serbian military had severely "restricted the importation of basic items into Kosovo, including wheat, rice, cooking oil, sugar, salt, meat, milk, livestock, heating fuel and gasoline. . . . [And] killed livestock, dropping their carcasses into wells to contaminate the water."¹

By June 1999, these acts, coupled with outright violence and killing, created more than 850,000 refugees, most of whom had fled to neighboring Albania, Montenegro and Macedonia.² Once the peace accords were signed, 740,000 refugees returned to Kosovo by the end of July. While the dislocation lasted only a few months, the after-shocks will be felt years to come.

Even in peacetime, Kosovo does not produce enough to feed its people. Hindered by a cold climate with a short growing season and rocky landscape, only a limited amount can be grown. Before the conflict started, Kosovo was importing 200,000 metric tons of wheat annually.³ Little was harvested in 1998. The U.N. estimates that only about 173,000 of 494,000 acres of arable land were planted in Kosovo during 1998-1999.⁴ Wheat harvests for 1999 are a paltry 113,000 tons, compared to the normal pre-war level of about 300,000 tons.⁵ Kosovo's farmers have limited means to produce food because the Serbian military confiscated or destroyed large numbers of farming tools and machinery in the province.

The farming sector was not the sole target of Serb aggression. A European Union study of 1,383 villages found damage to 120,000 homes, with 78,000 severely damaged or destroyed.⁶ This means that 300,000 to 400,000 people do not have habitable dwellings. Serbian scorched earth policies and NATO bombing destroyed hundreds of

bridges, roads, train tracks, TV and radio stations, power plants, hospitals and businesses. Land mines, unexploded ordnance and booby traps present even more problems.

The peace accords reached in June 1999 allowed refugees to return. Repatriating nearly 1 million displaced people and establishing a minimal level of food security in Kosovo will demand an enormous amount of energy, resources and time. "What is clear is that this is going to be one of the most overwhelming challenges we've ever faced," said Paula Ghedini, a spokesperson for the U.N. High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR).⁷

The United Nations World Food Programme estimates that relief and reconstruction efforts will be necessary in the region for at least the next three years. The cost of maintaining peace and rebuilding is estimated between \$2-3 billion annually.⁸ On June 9, 1999 the U.N. appealed to the international community for an additional \$473 million in emergency aid for Kosovo, bringing the total to more than \$740 million.⁹ Despite promises, international aid from donor nations has been slow to arrive.

The situation in Kosovo is indeed bleak. Did it have to reach this point? In March 1998, the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (FAO) issued Special Alert No. 281, warning of the dangers of violence in the region, highlighting the possible food security implications. Violence in the area, according to the report, could impair or destroy the agricultural and food-processing industries in the province causing long-term problems. "Any further disruption in agriculture, given the high underlying unemployment and dependency on agriculture, will aggravate the already difficult food supply situation in the province. . . . There is urgent need for appropriate contingency planning."¹⁰ Likewise, the World Food Programme warned of an impending crisis in June 1998. Despite these warnings the international community did not immediately act.

The most important lesson learned from the Kosovo crisis is that the international community needs to pay more attention to food security early-warning systems. Unfortunately, what happened



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in Kosovo is happening in other parts of the world virtually unnoticed by the international community. In Africa, refugee crises exist in the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Sudan. In Angola, a country torn by civil war for the last 30 years, 1.7 million are homeless and 200 people die each day of malnutrition-related diseases. Catherine Bertini, executive director of the U.N. World Food Programme, says: "It is vitally important that this tragedy receive the same priority that the members of this [U.N.] Council so recently gave to making the progress in Kosovo."¹¹

Despite difficult circumstances, international relief agencies have effectively responded to the complex political and humanitarian crisis in Kosovo. The World Food Programme and other agencies have provided essential food aid to over 1.3 million people, constituting 80 percent of Kosovo's population.¹² Their timely actions have ensured that peoples' critical food, health and security needs were addressed and that the process of peace-building can take root.

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¹ Bill Frelick, "Genocide by Mass Starvation," *Los Angeles Times*, April 25, 1999.

² United Nations High Commission for Refugees, June 1999.

³ FAO/GIEWS, *Special Alert No. 291*, April 9, 1999, at: www.fao.org/giews/.

⁴ *New York Times*, June 9, 1999.

⁵ FAO/GIEWS, *Special Report*, July 28, 1999 and August 30, 1999, at: www.fao.org/giews/.

⁶ Steven Erlanger, "Kosovo Now Losing war Against Winter," *New York Times*, August 8, 1999, 1, 4.

⁷ *New York Times*, June 9, 1999.

⁸ Kurt Schork, "U.N. Broods on Danger, Difficulty of Kosovo Return," *Reuters*, June 9, 1999.

⁹ *New York Times*, June 9, 1999.

¹⁰ FAO/GIEWS, *Special Alert No. 281*, March 17, 1998, at: www.fao.org/giews/.

¹¹ Evelyn Leopold, "U.N. Council Told to Pressure Angolans into Peace," *Reuters*, August 23, 1999.

¹² FAO/GIEWS, *Special Report*, August 30, 1999, at: www.fao.org/giews/.



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Women farmers winnowing wheat in Myanmar.

The outcome of the war on hunger, by the year 2000 and beyond, will be determined not by forces beyond human control, but by decisions and actions well within the capability of nations and people working individually and together.

– REPORT OF THE PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION
ON WORLD HUNGER, 1980.

cronyism and corruption, which contributed to Asia's financial crisis in 1997-1998. The crisis pushed an estimated 200 million additional people into poverty, temporarily reversing a decade's worth of progress against hunger. In Indonesia and elsewhere food riots and popular protests for political reforms underscore the need for transparent, participatory government institutions.

An effective strategy to reduce hunger needs to be tailored to each country's specific circumstances. It needs to draw on the efforts and insights of civil society agencies, international organizations, and private business – not just government alone.⁶ Effective community mobilization is crucial to ensure that household food security initiatives benefit poor and hungry people. Strategies will evolve over time, depending on what works best in practice. But the following section outlines a general approach that is drawn from the experience of many countries in recent decades.

Strategies to End Hunger

Three sets of strategies are crucial to ending hunger in the developing world. Each of these is discussed in greater detail in the chapters that follow.

Livelihood strategies assure people access to an adequate income and other resources to meet basic nutritional needs. Broad-based economic growth creates jobs, improves incomes and builds assets for poor and hungry people.

However, sound economic growth and sustainable development will not occur in the poorest countries unless their debt burden is reduced. Debt cancellation that channels savings into reducing hunger and poverty in the 41 poorest countries will make a much needed contribution to improving the lives of over 700 million people in the developing world. The debt burden faced by many poor countries severely limits the resources available to pursue sound development that enhances the livelihood opportunities for poor and hungry people (see pp. 57-62).

The private sector is central to livelihood strategies. Most income-earning opportunities are and will continue to be in the private sector. Developing country governments can help by adopting policies that promote broad-based economic growth. These include investment in rural development and microenterprise, and in some cases land reform, as well as sound macroeconomic management and policies that provide the right signals for productive economic growth.

Social investment strategies, such as education and health care, help people provide for their own basic needs and contribute to the larger society. Developed countries and international agencies should provide poverty-focused and results-oriented aid that supports social investment and promotes income-earning opportunities. Poverty-focused aid can transform people's ability to ensure their food security in normal times. Developing countries can improve women's education and legal status, and invest in nutrition, education, sanitation, and child survival and health care programs.

Empowerment strategies strengthen poor and hungry peoples' ability to influence decisions that affect their lives. Developed countries and international agencies can reform the international economic institutions – the World Bank, the



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A mural in South Africa urges voter participation.

International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization – to be more democratic, and to take the needs of poor people seriously. Making global institutions more transparent, accountable and participatory will help foster democratic governance at the national and local levels.

Developing countries can promote civic participation of hungry and poor people, especially women, and build effective governance and social institutions. “The global challenge remains how, in the next five years, to build up a critical constituency in each developing country which would actively champion the...cause of eliminating hunger among at least half of its victims.”⁷

Previous efforts to overcome major diseases worldwide have had remarkable success. Governments, international agencies and a cadre of health-care workers and volunteers worked together to eradicate smallpox, which was killing tens and hundreds of millions of people. Smallpox was banished in 1980 and polio is expected to be by 2005.⁸ While a heavy element in these campaigns was a technical solution – vaccines – they also required political commitment, action by the private sector and by grassroots individuals and organizations around the globe. So, too, will ending hunger.

I hope we will start the new millennium with a new resolve: to give every person in the world – through trade and technology, through investments in education and health care – the chance to be part of a widely shared prosperity, in which peoples’ potential can be developed more fully.... For me it is a personal priority of the highest order.

– PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON⁹

The Cost of Ending Hunger

At the 1996 World Food Summit, the nations of the world agreed to the goal of cutting undernutrition in half by the year 2015. The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) estimates that an additional \$6 billion per year to current official development assistance (ODA) would be required to meet the 1996 World Food Summit goal.¹⁰ The FAO estimate assumed a strategy that would depend very heavily on agriculture and food aid.

An independent study commissioned by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) concludes that less than half that amount, only \$2.6 billion per year, is required to meet the World Food Summit goal. The U.S. share would be \$685 million per year.¹¹ This study assumes that the resources would go into the types of projects that have had the biggest impact on reducing hunger in different regions. The single biggest investment would be in agriculture, but investments in basic health and education, safe water and governance can sometimes do more to reduce hunger. The study extrapolated its global cost estimate from the actual effects of USAID-funded projects.

The USAID study did not include the cost to the United States of debt reduction for the poorest countries, which would be about \$250 million annually for four years. Because of that omission and to steer clear of over-optimism, we conclude that the cost to the United States of cutting undernutrition in the developing world in half would be about \$1 billion a year. That is \$1 billion for focused and effective hunger-reducing investments. The global cost of halving undernutrition

The Critical Role of U.S. Leadership

BY REP. TONY P. HALL

Unprecedented cuts in U.S. foreign aid are weakening our ability to spread peace and democracy, and to fight hunger and poverty. In the 51 years since the successful Marshall Plan, there has been a wealth of good news from developing countries.

Worldwide, one person in five knows the pangs of persistent hunger today – compared with one in three 25 years ago. Since 1960, developing countries' citizens have added 20 years to their expected lifespan, increased their literacy rate by a third, cut their infant mortality by more than half and nearly doubled the number of children enrolled in grade school.

We know that hunger can be ended. In recent decades, the proportion of the world's population that is hungry has dropped by 50 percent and the absolute number has fallen by 17 percent. But an astounding 791 million people in the developing world – and an additional 31 million people in our own bountiful country – still face hunger as a regular fact of life. These numbers are especially appalling because we have the know-how and the resources to end this scourge.

What is lacking – and what the 1996 World Food Summit hoped to produce – is a renewed political commitment to put hunger at the top of the policy agenda. While the *U.S. Action Plan on Food Security* sets laudable goals, it is up against daunting trends due to declining foreign aid and waning leadership. It is going to take top-level political muscle to turn this tide and make the plan's vision a reality.

Our investment in development aid gets proven results, and our ability to design and implement effective projects has matured. Equally important, developing countries have created a climate where aid can have a long-term impact – policies such as opening trade, securing private property rights and adopting sound fiscal policies. These are essential for long-term success in fighting poverty, and in the poor countries where these practices are in effect, two dollars in private investment follows every dollar spent on aid.

Ironically, as a World Bank report recently said, “just as aid is poised to become its most effective, the volume of aid is declining and is at its lowest level ever.” And our lost opportunities are compounded by the signal America's foreign aid budget

cuts send to other nations. Where U.S. dollars once helped to leverage other nations' investments, those nations now are following our lead toward inappropriately low levels of development aid.

While the U.S. has seen increases in foreign aid in the past two years, they do not come close to restoring our leadership. And they are undercut – both morally and in real financial terms – by our continuing failure to pay our arrears in United Nations dues.

Nor have the increases been matched by a restoration of our food aid, which provides a foundation for our other development initiatives. Our Food for Peace program now feeds 40 million fewer people than just a decade ago. And our contributions to the World Food Programme also have plummeted, in effect cutting 48 million people off from emergency aid the United Nations is struggling to give famine victims and others in desperate need of food.

These declines in aid are not warranted by progress in developing nations, where needs remain acute. The world's poorest countries will need 80 percent more food within the next ten years than they have now. Today, 1.3 million people lack clean water and 1.5 million people have no housing whatsoever. As ever, children are hardest hit. Each year 500,000 children's deaths during childbirth could be prevented if their mothers were to take prenatal precautions that they now cannot afford or understand.

Our food aid and foreign aid help the poorest countries somewhat – but the greatest impact of our leadership and investment may be in leveraging the commitments of Europe, Japan and others who could do more to help.

The reason to help the poor is written in the faces of the many people I have seen in my visits to developing countries. But it is equally clear in the faces of Americans. We should not deceive ourselves into thinking that we can create a gated community for ourselves, one that keeps away the sickness and evil that poverty breeds. Instead, we should invest in proven strategies to fight disease, alleviate poverty and eradicate hunger.

First, if we are serious about reasserting our leadership in helping developing nations' progress, we have to do right by the organizations that



United Nations General Assembly.

prove their effectiveness every day in poor nations. These are organizations that pioneered some of the most successful approaches to easing suffering and increasing opportunity; organizations that make sure those approaches really work; organizations like the United Nations Development Programme, UNICEF, the World Food Programme and the International Fund for Agricultural Development.

By overwhelming margins, Americans care deeply about humanitarian work, peace and the United Nations. The evidence shows that Americans – by a 3-to-1 margin – say we should pay our dues and – by a 4-to-1 margin – say we should strengthen the United Nations. They are ill-served by Members of Congress who would have our nation – history’s most powerful and prosperous – shrink from the challenge of helping the world solve its problems.

Second, there are key areas where U.S. leadership can make a difference in fighting poverty and hunger. For example, it is time to respond further to the growing calls for debt relief. A sound debt relief initiative is needed that diverts payments on old debt to funds that could be invested in carefully targeted development initiatives.

Many churches and charities across our country are banding together to build support for relief to countries that are crippled by debt. Debt’s chains block countries from making investments that could help their people help themselves. In Sub-Saharan Africa, nations are making payments of \$12 billion each year on old debt – six times the amount it would take to school *all* African children.

Despite some impressive gains by some countries, sub-Saharan Africa is the only place in the world where malnutrition has gotten worse since 1970. One in three young children suffers from malnutrition. One child in five still dies before age five. And half of Africa’s children are not immunized against polio, tetanus and measles.

The United States took a significant step in the right direction in 1998 by passing and enacting into law the *Africa: Seeds of Hope Act* (now Public Law 105-385). This measure was designed to better focus existing aid programs that benefit rural producers who represent a majority of Africans, yet have the lowest incomes and suffer from the worst food shortages in the world.

The *Africa: Seeds of Hope Act* is a small but important step in helping to unleash Africa’s vast potential to feed itself, to thrive and to prosper. Without a strong and vibrant agricultural sector, that will not happen. By focusing resources on farmers, the measure works to ensure the long-term political stability and economic growth of the world’s most famine-prone region. Congress should closely follow its implementation, but its next responsibilities include payment of arrears to the United Nations, passage of debt relief legislation and a reversal in the decline of our foreign aid budget.

This is an era of unprecedented opportunity for the United States, as the most powerful nation on earth, to eradicate hunger in our own great country, and help shape a more food secure future for all. This is a moral imperative closely tied to our deepest values, and it is also in our own economic and security interests. I urge the Administration and the Congress to give the fight against hunger the priority it should have as we enter the new millennium and the attention needed to make the dream of ending hunger a reality. I am confident that we can restore America’s leadership in aiding developing nations in ending hunger.

Representative TONY P. HALL (D-OH), the only member of Congress to attend the 1996 World Food Summit, serves on Bread for the World’s board of directors and is founder and co-chair of the Congressional Hunger Center. Web site: www.house.gov/tonyhall.



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Children are weighed and measured for undernutrition in Burkina Faso.

If we channeled just \$40 billion each year away from armies into anti-poverty programs, in 10 years all of the world's population would enjoy basic social services – education, health care and nutrition, potable water and sanitation. Another \$40 billion over 10 years would provide each person on this planet with an income level above the poverty line for their country.

– OSCAR ARIAS, RECIPIENT OF THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE¹³

by 2015, by our estimate, would be about \$4 billion a year.

The United States issued its Food Security Action Plan for reducing hunger worldwide in March 1999.¹² Many government agencies and a diverse array of agricultural, anti-hunger, university and business groups were able to agree on lines of action (not unlike those recommended in this report) that would dramatically reduce hunger. But despite the USAID consultant study, the U.S. government committed no additional money and launched no new initiatives.

The resources required to eradicate hunger and meet basic human needs, while significant, are affordable. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has estimated that providing primary health care, basic nutrition, education, clean water and sanitation for all people would cost an additional \$40 billion a year (see Table 1.4).

The Costs of Not Ending Hunger

The human misery that comes from hunger, disease and undernutrition goes beyond quantification. The World Bank has calculated that “the worldwide loss of productivity caused by four types of malnutrition – nutritional stunting and wasting, iodine deficiency disorders and deficiencies of iron and vitamin A – amounted to almost 46 million years of productive, disability-free life.”¹⁴ If each year of lost productivity were valued at just \$350, which is roughly the per capita income level at which families escape undernutrition, the lost productivity due to

hunger could be estimated at \$16 billion a year. In other words, a global investment of roughly \$4 billion a year to cut hunger in half could increase the productivity of people who now go hungry by \$16 billion a year.

Another World Bank study estimates that if micro-nutrient deficiencies cost South Asian countries the equivalent of over 5 percent of Gross National Product in productivity, then in 1995 Bangladesh and India alone lost \$18 billion in economic output.¹⁵ Yet a third World Bank study estimates that undernutrition in India alone costs

Table 1.4: Cost of Meeting Basic Human Needs for All

Priority	Additional Resources Required (U.S. \$ Billion per year)
Basic Education for All	\$ 6
Basic Health Care and Nutrition for All	\$ 13
Reproductive Health for Women	\$ 12
Clean Water Supply and Sanitation for All	\$ 9
Total	\$ 40 billion

Source: United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 1998*, New York: Oxford University Press, 37.

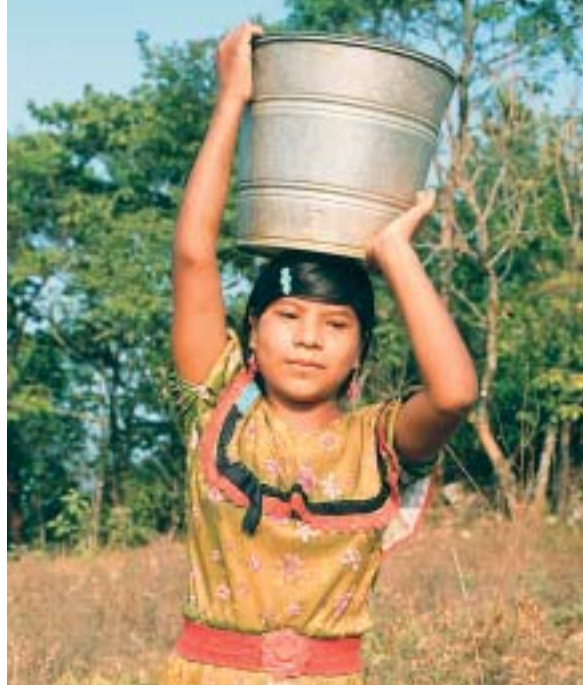
\$10 billion a year in lost productivity and illness.¹⁶ Clearly, the global cost of overcoming hunger is only a fraction of the cost of allowing hunger to persist.

Scenarios for Reducing Hunger

What program for reducing hunger worldwide is politically and economically feasible, over what period of time? At the World Food Summit of 1996, leaders from 186 countries officially agreed to the goal of cutting the number of undernourished people 50 percent by the year 2015. We believe that goal is still achievable if there is concerted and sustained action by all sectors of society in both the developed and developing world.

However, we will not achieve the Summit goal unless more is done by all. The U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO) concludes that the current level of effort by developed and developing countries is inadequate to meet the Summit's goal.¹⁷ Nearly 60,000 people a day need to be moved out of hunger to meet this goal. With an estimated 791 million people chronically undernourished in 1997, food security must become a higher priority for nations, businesses and individuals.

Experts vary on whether undernutrition will increase or decrease in the early 21st century. A



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USAID study projects that the number of undernourished will increase to about 915 million people by 2015, unless systematic efforts are taken to combat undernutrition in the developing world.¹⁸ However, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), based on the current rate of progress, projects that the number of undernourished will be reduced to 638 million people by 2015, yet far short of the goal of 400 million people set at the 1996 World Food Summit.¹⁹ The International Food Policy

Table 1.5: Number of Undernourished People by Developing World Region, 1970 to Mid-1990s

Region	Number of Undernourished People, 1969-1971 (in millions)	Number of Undernourished People, 1995-1997 (in millions)	Percent Change, (+/-) 1969-1997
East and Southeast Asia	506	241.6	-52.2
Latin America	55	53.4	-2.9
Near East and North Africa	51	32.9	-35.5
South Asia	238	283.9	+19.3
Sub-Saharan Africa	108	179.6	+66.3
All Developing Regions	959	791.4	-17.5

Sources: (a) FAO, "Information Note on Estimation of the Number of Undernourished," Committee on World Food Security, Rome, 2-5 June 1998; (b) FAO, *The State of Food Insecurity in the World, 1999*, Rome: FAO, 1999, Table 1.

Research Institute's (IFPRI) most optimistic projection is that the number of countries facing food insecurity will decline from 27 to 16 by 2010 (see Table 1.6).²⁰ But IFPRI also projects that by 2020 one in four children under the age of five – as many as 135 million children – will be chronically undernourished in the developing world, compared to one in every three children in 1995.²¹ Child undernutrition is projected to decrease in all regions except Sub-Saharan Africa (see Table 1.7).²²

These estimates, while using different assumptions, are prepared in good faith and with

great rigor. *A Program to End Hunger: Hunger 2000* examines three scenarios for reducing hunger in half in the developing world (see Figure 1.4). Scenario 3 provides our reasonable extrapolation of what it would take to cut hunger in half if modest changes in funding and policies were enacted.

Scenario 1 projects the likely outcome of the status quo, which assumes no additional institutional effort or financial resources for reducing hunger worldwide than presently committed.

The USDA projects that an estimated 1,083 million people may be undernourished by 2008.²³

Table 1.6: Projections of Food Insecurity by Region in the Developing World, Mid-1990s to 2010

Region	Number of Countries Facing Food Insecurity (1990-1992)	Number of Countries Facing Food Insecurity (2010)
Asia	2	1
Latin America	3 (1 critical)	0
Sub-Saharan Africa	22 (6 critical)	15 (2 critical)
<i>Total</i>	27	16

Source: Per Pinstrip-Andersen, "Changing Approaches to Development Aid," *Global Governance*, 4(4), October-December 1998, 386.

Table 1.7: Projections of the Number and Percent of Undernourished Children by World Region, from 1995 to 2025

Country and World Region	Number of Undernourished Children, in 1,000s (1995)		Number of Undernourished Children (2020)		Number of Undernourished Children (2025)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
China	18,030	17.40	9,965	10.86	5,573	6.46
Latin America	4,929	9.10	2,123	3.92	499	0.93
Near East and North Africa	5,634	13.20	4,239	8.89	2,235	4.70
South Asia	82,044	50.89	64,053	41.25	51,011	33.18
South East Asia	18,653	34.05	14,486	27.74	11,732	22.46
Sub-Saharan Africa	31,054	32.77	40,063	29.78	37,573	27.68
<i>Total for the Developing World</i>	<i>160,344</i>	<i>31.36</i>	<i>134,929</i>	<i>25.19</i>	<i>108,623</i>	<i>20.52</i>

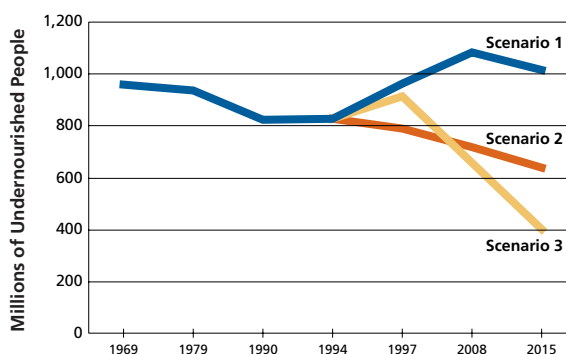
Source: IMPACT Model Results, July 1999 version, personal communication, Mark W. Rosegrant, IFPRI.

As many as 1 billion people may be undernourished by the year 2025, unless accelerated efforts and additional resources are made to improve people's livelihoods, health and nutrition in the developing world.²⁴

Scenario 2 projects the number of undernourished in the developing world will be 638 million people by 2015.²⁵ It is based on estimates by FAO that extrapolate the present rate of reducing the number of undernourished by an average of 8 million people a year. Bolder action and additional resources are required to meet the World Food Summit target. FAO concludes that the rate of reduction should average at least 20 million people a year in the developing world until 2015.

Scenario 3 is based on a study commissioned by USAID that projects as much as a 60 percent reduction in the number of undernourished people (an estimated 512 million people) by 2015 (See Table 1.8).²⁶ This accelerated level of effort in all five developing regions is technically feasible, and would require an additional \$60 billion in resources over 15 years, or \$4 billion per year.

Figure 1.4: Three Scenarios for Reducing Hunger



Sources: USDA, FAO, USAID.

It would move over 93,000 undernourished people out of hunger per day over this period. This level of effort represents an effective and affordable scenario that spells out the specific actions necessary to achieve the World Food Summit goal in the shortest time period and to build the momentum to end undernutrition before 2030.

Table 1.8: Scenario 3 – Estimated Impact of Actions on Reducing the Number of Undernourished People (in millions)

Type of Action	East and Southeast Asia	South Asia	Sub-Saharan Africa	Latin America	Rest of the World	Total Number of People	Total Cost (millions)
Political Stability	4	1	14	0	4	24	\$ 513
Democratization	3	3	2	0	1	9	\$ 1,710
Economic Openness and Reduced Food Tariffs	16	21	7	0	6	52	\$ 1,997
Rural Roads	0	0	7	0	0	7	\$ 1,172
Agricultural Research	0	137	27	0	0	162	\$ 18,664
Safe Water	0	8	0	0	0	8	\$ 1,885
Women's Education	10	121	21	0	0	151	\$ 8,505
Targeted Income-Increasing Aid (Food Aid)	18	25	4	0	0	47	\$ 8,889
<i>Total Reduction in Number of Undernourished People</i>	<i>51</i>	<i>316</i>	<i>80</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>512</i>	
<i>Total Cost (millions)</i>	<i>\$4,041</i>	<i>\$27,826</i>	<i>\$10,886</i>	<i>\$186</i>	<i>\$396</i>		<i>\$ 43,335</i>

Source: J. Dirck Stryker and Jeffrey C. Metzler, *Meeting the Food Summit Target: The United States Contribution – Global Strategy*, Agricultural Policy Analysis Project, Phase III, Research Report No. 1039, Prepared for the Office of Economic Growth and Agricultural Development, Global Bureau, U.S. Agency for International Development, Cambridge, MA: Associates for International Resources and Development, September 1998, 22.



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Ending Hunger and Other Global Goals

The world food crisis of the early 1970s prompted experts and politicians together to address the challenge of ending hunger. Over the past twenty-five years, numerous international agency, government and nongovernmental representatives have issued official declarations and strategies for reducing and ending hunger in the United States and worldwide. At the World Food Conference of 1974, U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger proclaimed that in 10 years no child should go to bed hungry.²⁷ Twenty-two years later at the 1996 World Food Summit, leaders from 186 nations officially committed themselves to reduce hunger in half by 2015. The statements and plans summarized in Table 1.9, in various ways, confirm that we possess the knowledge and resources to overcome the scourge of hunger. Despite these laudable efforts, none of these initiatives to date has garnered the necessary political leadership, broad-based constituency and financial resources to close the door on hunger. Now is the time for concerted global action.

In the 1990s, the nations of the world have met in a series of United Nations summits on global problems and agreed on common goals and action plans. These U.N. meetings have focused

on important social and environmental concerns. The meetings signal growing recognition by governments worldwide that reforms are necessary in order to humanize the global economy.

Some of the global goals that have been adopted are shown in Table 1.10. These goals are clearly interrelated. Reducing child undernutrition or giving all children a chance to go to school are interlinked with reducing extreme poverty. A major conclusion of the Rio Summit on Environment and Development is that environmental protection depends on sustainable development among the world's poorest countries. Similarly, a major conclusion of the Cairo conference on Population and Development was that improving the skills and status of women (e.g., schooling for girls, and legal rights for women) is *the* most powerful way to reduce rapid population growth.

The international assistance agencies of the developed countries have together recognized the mutual interdependence among these global goals and are committed to focusing their aid programs to achieve them. The World Bank has formally adopted as its new mission statement “a world without poverty.” At the 1999 annual meeting of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), the Managing Director of the IMF passed out a summary of these global goals to all the finance ministers and central bank directors of member governments from the developed and developing world, urging them to meet these targets.

Educating girls is a powerful tool for fighting hunger and poverty.



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Table 1.9: A Chronology of Major Statements for Ending Hunger

Year	Event or Forum	Main Goal and Objectives for Ending Hunger
1974	World Food Conference (Rome, Italy)	Called on all governments to accept the goal that in 10 years' time, no child would go to bed hungry, no family would fear for its next day's bread, and no human being's future and capacities would be stunted by malnutrition.
1979	World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development, FAO (Rome, Italy)	Encouraged governments to pursue agrarian reform and rural development activities in partnership with nongovernmental and farmers' organizations to improve agricultural food production.
1980	Report of the Presidential Commission on World Hunger (Washington, DC)	Recommended that the United States make the elimination of hunger the primary focus of its relationships with developing countries, beginning with the decade of the 1980s.
1989	The Bellagio Declaration: Overcoming Hunger in the 1990s (Bellagio, Italy)	Called for ending half the world's hunger before the year 2000, by: (1) Eliminating deaths from famine; (2) Ending hunger in half of the poorest households; (3) Cutting malnutrition in half for mothers and small children; and (4) Eradicating iodine and vitamin A deficiencies.
1990	The Medford Declaration to End Hunger in the United States (Medford, Massachusetts)	Called for virtually eliminating domestic hunger by 1995: (1) Use existing channels (i.e., public programs and voluntary food providers) to see that food is available to the hungry on an adequate and consistent basis; and (2) Promote adequate purchasing power and economic self-reliance of American households to achieve the goal of a hunger-free United States.
1992	World Declaration on Nutrition, International Conference on Nutrition, WHO/FAO (Rome, Italy)	Recognized that there is enough food for all people and that inequitable access is the main cause of hunger and malnutrition. Called for reducing severe and moderate malnutrition of children under 5 years old to half of 1990 levels.
1993	Conference on Overcoming Global Hunger, World Bank (Washington, DC) ¹	Recognized that defeating hunger requires the active participation and collaboration of national governments, international organizations, bilateral agencies, NGOs, community-based organizations and poor people's empowerment.

continues on next page

Table 1.9: A Chronology of Major Statements for Ending Hunger (continued)

Year	Event or Forum	Main Goal and Objectives for Ending Hunger
1994	The Salaya Statement on Ending Hunger (Salaya, Thailand)	Reaffirmed that ending hunger is a credible and achievable goal. (1) Increased funding needs to be redirected to addressing the needs of poor people, especially rural and urban households at risk of food insecurity; (2) Continued progress...can be achieved by improved communication, community organization and collaboration with local governments. Specific actions include empowering poor communities, education for women and providing safety nets for vulnerable populations.
1995	Conference on Hunger and Poverty, International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) (Brussels, Belgium)	Recognized the important role of civil society, particularly grassroots organizations, in addressing the underlying causes of poverty and hunger. Created the Popular Coalition to Eradicate Hunger and Poverty to promote poor peoples' empowerment and access to productive resources; establish knowledge networks on lessons learned in the field; increase public awareness about effective policies to reduce hunger; and advance agrarian reform.
1995	2020 Vision Conference, International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) (Washington, DC)	Developed a shared vision and strategy for action on how to meet future world food needs by 2020 while reducing poverty and protecting the environment. IFPRI is actively monitoring global trends and regional strategies for reducing food insecurity.
1996	Rome Declaration on World Food Security, World Food Summit (Rome, Italy)	Set the goal of reducing the number of malnourished people to half their present level no later than 2015. Priority is given to promoting food security and poverty eradication for present and future generations.
1999	U.S. Action Plan on Food Security (Washington, DC)	Highlighted policies that could dramatically reduce hunger in the U.S. and worldwide, but committed no new funds and promised no new initiatives to meet the World Food Summit goal of cutting hunger in half by 2015.

Source: Adapted from James V. Riker and Paul Nelson, "Political Strategies to End Hunger," In: *The Changing Politics of Hunger: Hunger 1999*, James V. Riker, ed., Silver Spring, MD: Bread for the World Institute, 1998, 91.

¹ Hans P. Binswanger and Pierre Landell-Mills, *The World Bank's Strategy for Reducing Poverty and Hunger: A Report to the Development Community*, Environmentally Sustainable Development Studies and Monograph Series No. 4, Washington, DC: World Bank, March 1995, 1.

Table 1.10: Global Goals

Forum	Goal	Timetable for Meeting the Goal
1990 World Summit for Children, New York	Reduce child malnutrition by 50 percent.	2000
	Achieve universal access to primary education.	2000
1992 World Summit on Environment and Development, Rio de Janeiro	Implement a national strategy for sustainable development in each country by 2005 in order to reverse the loss of key environmental resources at both the global and national levels.	2015
1994 World Summit on Population and Development, Cairo	Reduce the death rate for children under five in each developing country by two-thirds the 1990 level.	2015
	Reduce the rate of maternal mortality by three-fourths the 1990 level.	2015
	Assure access for all individuals of appropriate ages to reproductive health services through the primary health care system.	2015
1995 World Summit for Social Development, Copenhagen	Eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education.	2005
	Achieve universal primary education enrollment in all countries.	2015
	Reduce the proportion of people living in extreme poverty in developing countries by at least 50 percent.	2015
1996 World Food Summit, Rome	Reduce the number of undernourished people to half the 1996 level.	2015
World Health Organization, Geneva ¹	Reduce the prevalence of stunted children to less than 20 percent.	2020

¹ WHO, *Health for All in the 21st Century*, Geneva: WHO, EB101/88, 1998.

It only takes a modest level of funding from the world's nations to reduce hunger dramatically. For that reason – and because the pain and loss related to hunger are so intolerable – we argue that progress against hunger should be a leading goal – perhaps the leading goal – for international social progress. A recent poll finds that 4 out of 5 Americans say that poverty and hunger are the most important problems in the world today.²⁸ But we understand that progress against hunger and poverty, environmental degradation, unsustainable population growth, violence and tyranny are all interconnected and symbiotic.

The following general principles could advance progress against hunger and other social problems:

- *Synergy – Build effective partnerships that harness the collective energies flowing from a variety of actors at all levels to multiply the effects of actions against hunger.*

Ultimately, any success in ending hunger requires joint action by all sectors – government, the private sector, and civil society organizations (CSOs) such as non-profits and religious congregations – not just unilateral action.

An emphasis on synergy breaks with approaches that rely predominantly on zero-sum solutions and the distribution of existing resources rather than the creation of new ones. The more participants, the greater the support. Synergy leads to partnerships and collaboration around shared interests.

- *Peace and Stability – Ensure a peaceful and stable international order, global economy and global food system that enhances the security of poor and hungry people.*

War and conflict threaten people's security and livelihoods, too often leading to severe food crises: "In 1996 alone, armed conflicts, mostly civil wars, put at least 80 million people at risk of hunger and malnutrition."²⁹ Peace and stability are essential to reducing hunger and themselves depend on reducing hunger and poverty.³⁰ As former President Jimmy Carter argues, eradicating hunger is the first step to assuring peace:

"There can be no peace until people have enough to eat."³¹ The increasing volatility characterizing the global economy has also led to social and political instability, of which the turmoil in Asia caused by volatile financial markets is only a recent example.

- *Sustainability – Promote an ecologically sound, regenerative and resilient global food system.*

Adherence to this principle counters the fragility experienced when people and systems try to cope with environmental degradation. To take one example, the devastation caused by Hurricane Mitch in Central America was accentuated by unsound farming and forestry practices in fragile environments, exposing the precariousness of life for people in the affected countries.³² Civil society organizations in those countries are now responding by organizing reconstruction efforts along more sustainable and equitable lines.

- *Equity – Reduce inequality and promote equitable development and improved access to productive resources to enhance the livelihoods of hungry and poor people.*

Reducing inequality is desirable for moral reasons and for reasons of social stability. When people's access to assets, economic opportunity and social services is assured, individuals, families and societies experience a higher degree of well-being. There is a growing consensus that special attention should be focused on improving the livelihoods of poor people. As Michel Camdessus, Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), argues: "The extent of poverty still present at the end of a century of affluence is intolerable. It is time to respond."³³

- *Effective and Participatory Governance – Promote transparent and democratic practices, participation, and people's empowerment.*

Democratic practice, participation, and people's empowerment take many forms. "Both 'collaborative' (through civic cooperation) and 'adversarial' (through social criticism and political opposition) actions" have been necessary to bring about the progress that has already taken place, and both will be necessary to end hunger.³⁴



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Conclusions

Hunger remains a massive and grim reality in large parts of the world. But it is possible to eradicate hunger. Solutions include raising the earned incomes of hungry people, investing in human resources, and political empowerment. The cost would be modest, and progress against hunger would contribute to progress on other social problems. Global conferences and declarations have confirmed these conclusions.

In the following chapters, *A Program to End Hunger* examines the strategies and policies for ending hunger in the United States (Chapter 2), the role of developed countries and international agencies in supporting efforts worldwide (Chapter 3), and the vital role of the developing countries in ending hunger worldwide (Chapter 4). The critical missing dimension is to transform the politics of hunger to get the political commitment, leadership and resources from all sectors of society to act effectively (Chapter 5). Finally, Chapter 6 recommends ways that people – individually and collectively – can act in their roles as citizens, consumers, employers, workers, members of anti-hunger and faith-based organizations, and volunteers as part of a global movement seeking to create a world without hunger. The choice is yours!

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- *Efficiency – Give priority to policies and practices that use human, economic and natural resources productively and in a resource-conserving manner.*

The synergies described above optimize resource allocation by tapping hitherto ignored possibilities. They rely on getting not only incentives and signals right but also relationships among the public, private, and voluntary-sector actors addressing hunger and poverty. We expect that actions to support one principle will reinforce the others. At the same time, we recognize that in certain situations these principles may suggest very different solutions and there will be trade-offs. The optimal solution is to strike a balance in favor of politically viable actions that will ultimately improve and enhance the lives of hungry and poor people that are appropriate to their circumstances.