

Beyond Famine Relief: The Continuing Crisis In Development¹

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Not since the African famine of the 1970s, has the world witnessed so much human suffering. Fueled by a combination of natural disasters, crop failures, world-wide economic recession, inflation, and regional political instability, the African famine of 1983-1985 affected some 700 million persons in some 20 nations, at least 150 million of which were threatened with starvation. By the end of 1985, more than 7 million of these persons had already perished and countless millions more suffered permanent disabling conditions as a result of exposure to chronic hunger and malnutrition. Further, an estimated 10 million persons were displaced from their homes in search of food, water, and pasture lands.¹ Only the great Russian famines of 1918-1922 and 1932-1934, in which an estimated 5 to 10 million persons died from starvation, compares in magnitude to the suffering experienced by the nations of the Sahel and Sub-Sahara Africa.² And still the suffering continues.

In this paper, I will focus on what I consider to be the most viable solutions to the underlying causes of world hunger if, over the long-term, development specialists are to succeed in eliminating hunger and malnutrition by the year 2000. More specifically, this paper will briefly detail the extent of the current world hunger situation. It will also identify the combination of persistent social, economic, and political factors that have impeded progress in achieving global food security. In the final section of this paper a 'social agenda for humanity' is put forward as a response to the continuing crisis. Implementation of the agenda will require unparalleled levels of international cooperation in solving the dilemmas of world hunger; failure to resolve these dilemmas, it is argued, undermines the security of not only the food deficit nations of the South but that of the economically advanced nations of the North as well.

¹ *International Journal of Contemporary Sociology* 24(3/4):27-41, 1987.

THE EXTENT OF THE CURRENT PROBLEM

The extent of world hunger and malnutrition is staggering. The authors of *Ending World Hunger* estimate that, as of 1985:

- more than one billion people are chronically hungry;
- every year 13 to 18 million people die as a result of hunger and starvation; and
- every 24 hours, 35,000 human beings die as a result of hunger and starvation--24 every minute, 18 of whom are children under five years of age.

By comparison, they continue:

- more people have died from hunger in the past two years than were killed in World War I and World War II combined;
- the number of people who die every few days of hunger and starvation is equivalent to the number who killed instantly by the Hiroshima bomb; and
- the worst earthquake in modern history--in China in 1976--killed 242,000 people. Hunger kills that many people every seven days.³

The Hunger Project, along with other internationally respected world food monitoring organizations, predict that the number of hunger-related deaths will continue to rise until the end of the century.⁴ Each of these groups has advocated for a combination of international emergency and long-term assistance to food deficit nations. All agree that only a combination of carefully considered approaches can succeed in significantly reducing the causes of starvation and malnutrition on a global scale.

THE WARNING SIGNS

Unlike the African famine of 1973, the famine of 1983-1985 was expected. Indeed, news of the impending disaster was conveyed regularly through scholarly journals and reports,⁵ government reports,⁶ conferences and commissions sponsored by major international organizations,⁷ and in the popular media.⁸ The alarm sounded so loud in 1973 that the United Nations organized the first World Food Conference. The twelve days of meetings of this Conference were held in Rome, in November 1974. They were attended by more than 1000 delegates representing 133 nations and dozens of international organizations. The debate that ensued was spirited and high-minded and

resulted in the passage of a broad range of resolutions and pledges, all with the goal of eliminating hunger throughout the world by the year 1985.⁹

As early as 1976, however the World Bank concluded that the prognosis for achieving the production targets outlined by the World Food Conference were not likely to be achieved.¹⁰ By 1979, the World Food Conference's Deputy Director-General, Sartaj Aziz of Pakistan, was so discouraged by the lack of international progress on the world hunger problem that he predicted widespread famine in Africa by the end of 1980.¹¹ Unfortunately, these food shortage predictions proved to be all too accurate. The warning-alarms, despite their predicted devastating consequences, had been ignored by world leaders with the power to prevent the most serious consequences of the disaster.

THE CAUSES OF WORLD HUNGER

The underlying causes of the African famine are not mysterious; rather, the famine was the result of a combination of natural and manmade disasters, the latter factors having their origins in socio-political forces rather than strictly environmental ones. For discussion purposes, these causes are grouped into seven more or less discrete categories.

- **Bad Weather, Natural Disasters, Crop Failures And Human Assaults On The Integrity Of The Fragile African Ecosystem**

The absence of adequate levels of rainfall over a sustained period of time brought on the droughts of the 1980s by depriving farmers of the moisture and other natural elements needed to produce adequate amounts of food. Droughts have occurred intermittently in Sub-Saharan Africa since the early 1950s and have been the greatest obstacle to producing food in the region. Drought followed by heavy rains resulted in significant crop failures as well.

Less obvious as a cause of the famine is the rapid process of desertification that is occurring throughout Africa. Adedeji estimates that, in 1985 alone, more than 2.5 million hectares of savanna were lost to desertification, in wide areas of the Sahel, Namibia-Kalahari, and the Horn of Africa.¹² Desertification has been accelerated through poor cultivation practices, deforestation of the land for fuel consumption and timber export, overgrazing, and through the overuse of farmlands for unsuitable cultivation.

- **Continuing Population Pressures Within Developing Nations And, With Them, Increased Demands On Dwindling Food Reserves**

The populations of the world's LDCs--of which the famine affected nations of Africa are a part--increased more rapidly than did that of the other groups of nations (i.e., from 2.4 percent in 1970 to 2.6 percent in 1983). Stated differently, the number of years required to double the population size of LDCs was reduced to 26.7 years in 1983 compared with 28.9 years in 1970. Among economically advanced nations the population doubling time actually increased by 57.1 percent, from 63.0 years (1.1 percent) in 1970 to 99.0 years (0.7 percent) in 1983.¹³

Net population, increases within LDCs is a function of both increased fertility and increased life expectancy; the latter resulting from hard won victories in public health, education, and effective health care. From a social provision perspective, however, increases in population size during food shortages place an enormous additional burden on leaders of nations who are barely able to find the resources needed to care for fewer numbers of people.

- **Mismanaged And Inappropriately Administered Land Reforms And Agricultural Policy Developments**

Within the majority of food deficit nations, agricultural reforms failed to achieve their intended purposes. In the main, LDC agricultural policies of the 1970s favored the development of large agribusiness, often for the purpose of producing cash crops for sale on the international export market. Such policies worked to the disadvantage of small farmers and women farmers who do much of the farm work in the nations of the South.

Placing artificial controls on the prices at which farmers could sell their products while, at the same time, forcing them to pay market prices for the materials required to produce them (e.g., fertilizers, seed grain, livestock, and so forth) resulted in millions of smaller farmers abandoning their farms. The majority of these persons sought wage-based employment in urban areas--estimated to have occurred at about 6 percent per annum between 1980 and 1985.¹⁴ Not only did the numbers of food dependent persons living in the urban areas of food deficit nations increase as a result of these policies, but the supply of workers for agriculture declined sharply. Not surprisingly, then:

Annual average growth rates of agricultural production--Sub Saharan Africa's most predominant sector--decreased sharply from 2.7 percent during the 1960s to a mere 1.6 percent in the 1970s. But the deterioration is even more serious in food production which increased by only 1.5 percent per annum during the 1970s when Africa's population was growing at an average annual rate of 3 percent. As a result, the food self-sufficiency ratio dropped from 98 percent in the 1960s to 86 percent in 1980.

Between 1980 and 1984 agricultural performance further deteriorated. It was as low as 0.1 percent for the period with negative growth rates in 1983 and 1984.¹⁵

Clearly, those policies weaken traditional approaches to food production and work against the long-term interests of both individual farmers and their nations. In the food deficit nations of the South, these policies have produced a type of 'agricultural squeeze', the full impact of which has yet to be understood.

- **The Failure Of Food Deficit Nations To Establish Viable Agricultural Infrastructures**

The need for viable agricultural infrastructures in the majority of food deficit nations is reflected in the absence of adequate underground water collection, storage, and distribution networks. The need for such facilities is especially great within those nations that depend either exclusively or primarily on rainfall for crop irrigation. The need is also great in food deficit nations for national and regional transport systems, for permanent roads, and for food collection, storage, and distribution systems. The unavailability of these essential resources seriously impeded the efforts of international emergency assistance organizations which were unable to distribute food and medical supplies to millions of persons located in inaccessible famine areas. The need for more viable agricultural infrastructures is made even clearer by estimates that between 20 percent and 40 percent of all the food grown in developing countries is lost to rot, pests, mold, and other environmental stresses for want of adequate food transport and storage facilities.¹⁶

- **General World-wide Economic Recession Combined With Unparalleled Levels of Inflation, Trade Protectionism, And Nationalism Within Economically Advanced Nations**

Cash-poor African nations have felt acutely the impact of world-wide recessionary forces. These problems resulted in LDC's difficulties in importing urgently needed foodstuffs and added to their problems of exporting raw materials and semi-processed products. The global economic recession also resulted in escalation of the prices that LDCs, along with other nations, were forced to pay for essential agricultural products (e.g., petroleum-based fertilizers, seed grains; building materials, trucks, pipeline, farm equipment, and so on). In the main, neither Oil Exporting Nations nor other economically advanced nations had demonstrated a willingness to make available to food deficit nations adequate amounts of essential agricultural materials on either a contributed or substantially subsidized basis. Instead, LDCs borrowed additional money from foreign creditors and bargained for import/export credits at prices beyond their capacity to service these debts. Consequently, per capita income levels within food deficit nations

declined while levels of national indebtedness--mostly to nations of the North--increased. Both factors reduced the capacity of these countries to generate the resources needed to halt the food emergency developing within their borders. These forces also combined to bring about a greater widening of the already immense socio-economic gap between the world's richest and poorest nations.¹⁷

- **High Levels Of Political Instability Within Recently Independent Food Deficit Nations**

Over the past decade, civil war, intra-regional conflicts, and similar events resulted either in the destruction of millions of hectares of LDC's farmland, or brought about the abandonment of vast areas of farmland that otherwise could have been used for-food production. Similarly, LDC's diversion of scarce national resources and international economic assistance to military purposes, often with the implicit approval of the donor nations themselves, deprived local populations of resources that otherwise could have been used to implement programs of national food self-sufficiency. Every indication is that these trends are continuing as well. Should this prove to be the case, further increases in the percentage of national GNP committed to defense expenditures will undermine international efforts directed at helping food deficit nations achieve self-sufficiency.

- **Inappropriate Approaches To The Socio-economic Development Of The South on the Part of Economically Advanced Nations--Including On The Part Of Those International Development Assistance Banks And Organizations That Are Controlled By The North**

Space limitations do not permit a full elaboration of the complex interplay of North-South conflicts that contributed to the African famines of the 1980s. Readers are referred elsewhere for that discussion¹⁸ In general, though, the following North-initiated factors have worked against the long-term development interests of food deficit nations in the South: a) economic prescriptions that encouraged, indeed required, developing nations to adopt economic policies that have met with only qualified success even in the nations of the North (e.g., rapid industrialization, urbanization, the establishment of a wage-based labor force, the weakening of extended kinship relationships, the emergences of smaller, more socially vulnerable, nuclear family forms, the overuse of unsecured credit, and so on); b) excessive overdependence of developing nations on exportable cash crops and unfinished raw materials purchased in currencies that are controlled by the North and which do not reflect equity with respect to either labor expended or international purchase power; c) excessive overdependence of food deficit nations for imports of food and food products from the nations of the North; d) narrow ideological conflicts between Eastern and Western powers that pressure nations of the South into joining one or the

other side of the struggle when, in fact, the resources of both East and West are needed to achieve development in the South; and e) inadequate and time-limited forms of financial and technical assistance from the North that restrict the range of purchase or development choices that are open to recipient nations.

The inequities in North-South relations have had, and continue to have, a profound impact on the fragile economic and political systems of developing nations, especially the food deficit nations of Africa.

THE NEED FOR GLOBAL ACTION NOW: A SOCIAL AGENDA FOR HUMANITY

Readers who are discouraged by the complexity of what appears to be an unsolvable international dilemma should use their discomfort to propel themselves into positive action. True, the global social, economic, and environmental problems that contribute to world hunger are many and they are complex; they are persistent and will not respond to short-term or poorly conceived remedies. This is precisely why famine relief and other time-limited approaches to the problem will not eliminate world hunger.

In addressing the problem of world hunger, the *North-South Commission on International Development Issues* emphasized the need for multifaceted solutions. The Commission concluded, however, that:

Mankind has never before had such ample technical and financial resources for coping with hunger and poverty. The immense task can be tackled once the necessary collective will is mobilized. What is necessary can be done, and must be done.¹⁹

Within the United States, the 1980 *Presidential Commission on World Hunger* arrived at the same conclusion:

Self decisions and actions well within the capability of nations and people working together were implemented, it would be possible to eliminate the worst aspects of hunger and malnutrition by the year 2000.²⁰

Support for the United States' assumption of a major role in helping to eliminate World hunger was stated in December 1985 Compact for African Development, issued jointly by the Council on Foreign Relations and the Overseas Development Council:

America has an opportunity to use publicly supported bilateral and multilateral programs, together with its universities, foundations, corporations, and private voluntary

organizations, to help Africa in a coherent, lasting way. We urge private groups to marshal their, own resources and to advocate a greater public response. We urge Congress and the Executive Branch to act with foresight to express our country's long-term interests in an Africa that can both survive short-term crises and assume its place as a full participant in the world economy.²¹

Similar sentiments have been echoed for their governments by scholars and political leaders the world over.²²

The following 10-point plan of global action is offered as an approach that must be taken if future international food catastrophes are to be averted:

- 1) Social reform in the context of international social development must begin with recognition that most fundamental problems confronting humanity--including the dual problems of poverty and hunger--are political, social, and moral in nature. They are not exclusively problems of resource supply or resource scarcity though, indeed, very real and very serious limitations do exist. The vast bulk of the evidence confirms that the planet already possesses the material and technological resources that are needed to permanently rid the world of hunger.
- 2) Global reforms in dealing with problems of world hunger will require acceptance of our shared responsibility to be our 'brother's keeper'. The world simply has become too interdependent for any of us to turn our back on the needs of our neighbors living in other areas of the world. To do so, bankrupts us morally; ultimately, the tragic deprivations experienced by others, in time, can be expected to spread to our homes as well.
- 3) Global food reforms will require a speedier and more complete implementation of the economic reforms contained in the various approaches that seek to establish a 'New International Economic Order'.²³ At a minimum, the initiatives that are adopted must emphasize:
 - a) global cooperation rather than competition;
 - b) global sharing rather than squandering;
 - c) more generous and better sustained international subsidies and programs of development assistance to the world's food deficit nations;

Ideally, implementation of these strategies will be carried out on a multilateral basis. The programs should also include an expanded system of internationally financed agricultural loans, grants, and technical assistance.

- 4) Global food reforms will require a significant shift from nationalistic attitudes to those that place increased emphasis on internationalism and global regionalism.
- 5) Necessarily, existing international food and agricultural institutions will need to be strengthened and new ones will need to be developed that focus on the underlying causes of hunger. Within the next decade, for example, more effective global institutions will be needed to:
 - a) promote global peace and cooperation, especially so that a global plan for food security can be developed and implemented;
 - b) promote, monitor, and control the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, including for food production purposes;
 - c) oversee international efforts at arms control and reduction so that a greater share of the world's resources can be committed to the survival of the human race rather than its destruction;
 - d) promote and protect internationally guaranteed human rights of individual citizens against oppressive governments;
 - e) manage the global economy, especially in relation to the flow of development and other resources between the world's rich and poor nations;
 - f) promote access on the part of all nations to food, and other resources that exist in the earth's seas and oceans and, in time, in space;
 - g) implement a coherent international food policy for feeding all of the world's hungry;
 - h) halt the high rates of population growth in food deficit nations; and
 - i) manage problems related to preservation and conservation of the world's physical environment, especially those elements that are essential to a stable food supply.

Though the time may not yet be ready for all of these organizations to emerge in the immediate future, we should not fail to recognize the need for global institutions to manage problems that are essentially global in nature.

- 6) To be effective, a global food strategy must respect national sovereignty, and must promote the three objectives on which concerned people everywhere agree, i.e., war prevention, economic security, and social justice.
- 7) A new more dramatic approach to closing the ever-widening gap in development between the world's richest and poorest nations must be embarked upon. To be successful, such an approach must emphasize:

- a) people working for and on behalf of themselves and for one another within the context of their own history, traditions, and national objectives;
 - b) nations, but especially food deficit countries, must decide for themselves what their needs are and how the satisfaction of those needs should best be pursued;
 - c) the international community must perceive its role vis-a-vis food deficit nations to be that of a 'partner' in development, not as that of a decision-maker planner acting for or on behalf of what they perceive to be in the best interests of food deficit nations;
 - d) an invigorated strategy leading to international food reforms must emphasize the accomplishment of a broad range of varied, but interrelated, social and economic objectives. The simple reality is that, over the decade, many developing nations have slipped more deeply into poverty as a result of their efforts to emulate patterns of development found in economically advanced nations; and
 - e) regionalism among developing nations should be strongly encouraged as a basis for developing programs of mutual aid, self-help, and cooperation.
- 8) To eliminate the current food crisis serious consideration must be given to implementation of each of the following actions:
- a). *Immediate Actions:*
 - 1. the flow of international food, financial, technical assistance, and other essential supplies to food deficit nations must continue; so, too, must the flow of medical assistance, help with the resettlement of refugees, and help with other difficult physical, social, and economic problem being experienced by persons facing imminent starvation.
 - 2. methods for increasing food production in food deficit nations must be found. Consideration should be given to such methods as the cultivation of new lands; the use of less costly organic fertilizers; increasing the supply of water for agricultural use and improved food and water collection, distribution. and storage facilities.

b). *Actions for the Near Term:*

1. Food deficit nations need help in developing agricultural reforms that provide economic support-s to small farmers and to women farmers; groups that have been all but ignored in earlier development plans.
2. An increased emphasis s must be placed on:
 - vegetarianism-for North and South nations alike-rather than the consumption of meat; each pound of which in cattle requires 20 pounds of food grain to produce; and
 - a return to breast feeding rather than the use of expensive and widely misused commercially-packaged infant feeding schemes.
3. Critical attention must be given within food deficit nations to the development of effective water management policies and infrastructures that depend either exclusively or primarily on rainfall for crop irrigation. At a minimum, such policies must include:
 - the establishment of underground water storage facilities and irrigation networks; and
 - the creation of cross-national irrigation systems that make possible the transfer of critically needed water from water surplus nations to water deficit nations.
4. Emphasis must also be placed on the conservation of food that is already being produced in food deficit countries. Currently, between 20 percent and 40 percent of the total food production of developing nations is lost to pests, blight, and other forms of shrinkage because of inadequate food storage, transportation, and distribution systems.
5. The steady migration of rural workers into the cities must be either reversed or substantially slowed down so that the numbers of food dependent persons living in cities will be

reduced and those available to engage in food production will be increased.

c). *Actions for the Long Term:*

1. Long range multinational planning for insuring global food supplies must begin. Past efforts in these areas have faltered over political or economic issues, but the global stakes are such that the planning process must begin once again.
2. An international grain reserve designed to minimize the effects of local crop failures must be established. With it, the volume of per capita daily global food reserves must be increased.
3. Economically advanced nations need to cooperate with food deficit nations in establishing Agricultural Research Institutes within the borders of LDCs. The research agenda of these institutes, among other topics, should focus on:
 - the development of new varieties of grains and other foods that are resistant to drought, infestations, rodents, molds, and other environmental stresses;
 - the development of highly nutritious foodstuffs other than grains and starches that can be grown quickly within the limited growing seasons available to the and nations of the Sahel and Sub-Sahara Africa;
 - improved methods of cultivation, harvesting, storage, and food transportation; and
 - the development of more technologically appropriate farming equipment, implements, and irrigation methods.

The research agenda of these institutes should also devote attention to studies of the transferability potential of the agricultural methods that succeeded in helping 41 developing nations become food self-sufficient since 1960.²⁴ Through the use of agricultural extension workers, these institutes should serve as centers of technical assistance to local farmers.

- 9) To be effective on a global level, national agricultural and dietary reforms must take place within the context of a larger, more fully integrated, plan of world social development. To achieve its objectives, this 'global social development' strategy must:
- a) encompass development planning for all nations, not just those of the South;
 - b) differentiate between the specialized development needs and development objectives of individual nations and agriculturally similar nations;
 - c) specify specific objectives that can be completed within designated time periods;
 - d) include a mechanism for on-going review and revision of planning efforts;
 - e) include a mechanism for continuous reporting to the world community concerning progress in achieving world food security objectives; and contain the mechanisms necessary to generate the financial and human resources needed to finance development worldwide.
- 10) Finally, the new strategy for global food reform must:
- a) foster maximum self-reliance within each nation for planning and implementing its own program of national development;
 - b) foster mutual participation and cooperation among all the world's nations to a co-equal partnership focused on improving the adequacy of social provisions for people everywhere;
 - c) advance, creative and flexible solutions to matters of sub-national, national, regional, and global social development; and
 - d) emphasize working for the benefit of all of humanity, while advocating and advancing the right of each nation to develop its own approach to social development that does not do harm to others.

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE

The prospects for achieving social transformations that will make possible an acceptable standard of living for people everywhere in the world, while not without frustrations, are nonetheless within our collective grasp. Certainly, the global situation is not now so out of control that it will not respond to intelligent corrective actions undertaken by citizens and governments working together. The 'social agenda for

humanity' just outlined, however, requires that each of us recognize the desperate situation in which millions of people live. Only when we demonstrate a willingness to act, can we be certain of achieving the transformations that are needed to realize justice and peace throughout the world. And only then can the World Food Conference's 'Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger and Malnutrition' be implemented:

Every man, woman, and child has the inalienable right to be free from hunger and malnutrition in order to develop fully and maintain their physical and mental faculties Accordingly, the eradication of hunger is a common objective of all the countries of the international community, especially of the developed countries and others in a position to help.²⁵

To achieve such an ambitious goal, we must commit ourselves to the task. The time is now, the course is a just one; and the means for its accomplishment are within our reach.

NOTES

1. Some estimates have placed the number of affected persons closer to one billion, nearly one-fourth of the earth's total population in 1985. For a discussion of the world-wide nature of hunger and malnutrition, see *The Hunger Project, Ending Hunger. An Idea Whose Time Has Come*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1985, 2-17; Adebayo Adedeji, "Hunger and Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa," unpublished paper presented at the 1985 International Development Conference; United Nations, World Food Council, *Food Strategies: Overcoming Hunger Country by Country*. New York: United Nations, Publication No. DESI. E76.
2. Paul Ehrlich, et al., *Ecoscience: Population, Resources, and Environment*. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman & Company, 1977, 187.
3. *The Hunger Project*, op. cit., 4.
4. For a discussion of alternatives to this scenario, see Medard Gabel, Ho-Ping: *Food for Everyone*. New York: Doubleday, 1979; Lester R. Brown, *Building a Sustainable Society*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co. for the Worldwatch Institute, 1981; C. Peter Timmer, et, al., *Food Policy Analysis*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.
5. Scheveningen Report, "Towards a New International Development Strategy: The Scheveningen Report," *Development Dialogue*, 1, 1980, 56-67; Dennis Meadows, *The People: A Policy Review*. New York: Universe Books, 1972; Alan Berg, *Malnourished People: A Policy Review*. Washington: The World Bank, 1981.

6. U.S. Presidential Commission on World Hunger, *Overcoming World Hunger: The Challenge Ahead*. Washington: GPO, 1980; U.S. General Accounting Office, *World Hunger and Malnutrition Continues: Slow Progress in Carrying Out World Food Conference Objectives-A Report to the U.S. Congress*. Washington: ~GPO, 1980.
7. Independent Commission on International Development Issues: North-South: A Program for Survival. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1980; M.B. Wallerstein, "Interdisciplinary Dialogue on World Hunger, A Summary of the Workshop on Goals, Processes~ and Indicators of Food and Nutrition Policy," *Food and Nutrition Bulletin*, 2, 3, 1980, 16-23.
8. As examples, see "Target: Hunger-A Crusade Against Famine," *Time*, December 17, 1970; Boyce Rensberger, "32 Nations Close to Starvation," *New York Times*, October 20, 1974, 4; Jonathan Power, "The Distant Goal of Ending Hunger," *International Herald Tribune*, May 3, 1979.
9. For a summary of the many proposals and international political issues that emerged from this conference, see United Nations, *Assessment of the World Food Situation: Present and Future*. New York: United Nations, 1975; Sartaj Aziz, ed. *Hunger, Politics, and Markets*. New York: New York University Press, 1975; International Food Policy Research Institute, *Food Needs of Developing Countries: Projections of Production and Consumption to 1990*. Washington: IFRI, 1977; Edwin Martin, *Conference Diplomacy, A Case Study: The World Food Conference, Rome, 1974*. Washington: Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, 1977.
10. Sandra Hadler, et al., *Developing Country Foodgrain Projections for 1985*. Washington: The World Bank, Staff Working Paper No. 247, 1976.
11. Power, *op. cit.*
12. Adedeji, *op. cit.*, 8.
13. Richard J. Estes, *Trends in Global Development*. New York: Praeger Publishers, in press; the formula for computing population 'doubling time' is the same as that used in Richard J. Estes, *The Social Progress of Nations*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1984, 132.
14. Adedeji, *op. cit.*, 6-7.
15. *Ibid.*, 5-6.
16. Martin M. McLaughlin, *World Hunger or Food Self-Reliance: A U.S. Policy Approach for the 1980s*. Washington: Overseas Development Council, Development Paper no. 33, 1982, 16; Adedeji, *op. cit.*, 8.
17. Estes, 1984, *op. cit.*, 123-30.
18. Independent Commission on International development Issues, *op. cit.*; Karl P. Sauvant and Jajo Hasenpflug, eds. *The New International Economic Order: Confrontation or Cooperation*

Between North and South? Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1977; Robert Casses, et al., eds. Rich Country Interests and Third World Development. London: Croom Helm for the Overseas Development Council, 1982; Society for International Development, Report of the North-South Food Roundtable on the Crisis in Africa. Rome: Society for International Development, 1985.

19. Independent Commission on International Development Issues, op. cit., 16.

20. U.S. Presidential Commission on World Hunger, op. cit., x.

21. Lawrence Eagleburger and Donald F. McHenry, Compact for African Development. Washington: Council on Foreign Relations and the Overseas Development Council, 1985, 22.

22. See Asbjorn Eide, et al., Food as a Human Right. Tokyo: The United Nations University, 1984; United Nations, Food and Agriculture Organization, Agriculture: Toward 2000. New York: United Nations, Report No. C 79/24, 1979.

23. See Sauvant and Hasenflug, op. cit.; Wassily Leontief, The Future of the World Economy: A United Nations' Study. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977; Jyoti S. Singh, A New International Economic Order: Toward a Fair Distribution of the World's Resources. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1977.

24. The Hunger Project, The Ending Hunger Briefing Workbook. San Francisco: The Hunger Project, 1984, 30.

25. United Nations, op. cit.