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100TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. R. 4277

To seek the eradication of the worst aspects of poverty in developing countries by the year 2000.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 29, 1988

Mr. LEVINE of California (for himself, Mr. MILLER of Washington, Mr. HALL of Ohio, Mr. GILMAN, Mr. JEFFORDS, Mr. MORELLA, Mr. CHANDLER, Mr. OWENS of Utah, Mr. OWENS of New York, Mr. DYMALLY, Mr. BERMAN, and Mr. PERDUE) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

A BILL

To seek the eradication of the worst aspects of poverty in developing countries by the year 2000.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.*

3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

4 This Act may be cited as the "Global Poverty Reduc-
5 tion Act".

6 SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

7 The Congress finds that—

2

1 (1) all countries of the world, through the World
2 Health Assembly, have set for themselves the common
3 goal of health for all by the year 2000;

4 (2) President Reagan in 1987 announced an initi-
5 ative to help end hunger in sub-Saharan Africa by the
6 year 2000;

7 (3) the President of the World Bank in 1987
8 stated that, "In the large poor countries of Asia, we
9 wish to support government strategies to eliminate the
10 worst aspects of absolute poverty in Asia by the year
11 2000";

12 (4) the heads of state of the South Asian Associa-
13 tion for Regional Cooperation committed themselves to
14 the goal of universal immunization by the year 1990
15 and the goals of universal primary education, adequate
16 maternal and child nutrition, safe drinking water, and
17 adequate shelter for all by the year 2000;

18 (5) section 101 of the Foreign Assistance Act of
19 1961 states that "Congress . . . renews its commit-
20 ment to assist people in developing countries to elimi-
21 nate hunger, poverty, illness, and ignorance";

22 (6) the Government of India has established the
23 goal of eliminating absolute poverty in India by the
24 year 2000;

1 (7) the United Nations General Assembly, among
2 its goals for the Third Development Decade, has
3 agreed on the goal of an infant mortality rate of 50 or
4 below by the year 2000;

5 (8) the establishment of performance indicators,
6 particularly social indicators such as the under-five-
7 mortality-rate (U5MR), offers the prospect of a much
8 wider understanding of the ultimate objectives of devel-
9 opment and assistance and the ability to target devel-
10 opment assistance strategically;

11 (9) the United Nations Children's Fund considers
12 the under-five-mortality-rate as the primary indicator
13 of a less developed country's progress in providing for
14 the health of its children and reflective of the overall
15 health quality of the country;

16 (10) the literacy of women is universally acknowl-
17 edged as among the most important factors for improv-
18 ing the health and survival of women and their chil-
19 dren; and

20 (11) the report of the United Nations World Com-
21 mission on Environment and Development (entitled
22 "Our Common Future") states that, "Poverty is a
23 major cause and effect of global environmental prob-
24 lems" and that "many present development trends
25 leave increasing numbers of people poor and vulnera-

1 ble, while at the same time degrading the environ-
2 ment".

3 **SEC. 2. UNITED STATES EFFORTS TO ERADICATE WORST AS-**
4 **PECTS OF ABSOLUTE POVERTY.**

5 Chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of
6 1961 is amended by adding at the end the following:

7 **"SEC. 129. ERADICATING WORST ASPECTS OF ABSOLUTE POV-**
8 **ERTY.**

9 **"(a) DEVELOPMENT OF PLAN.—**The President shall
10 develop a plan to ensure that United States development as-
11 sistance contributes measurably to eradicating the worst as-
12 pects of absolute poverty by the year 2000.

13 **"(b) CONSULTATION.—**In developing the plan required
14 by subsection (a), the President shall consult with the host
15 country governments, international organizations, and United
16 States and indigenous nongovernmental organizations which
17 represent the poor in developing countries. To assist in devel-
18 oping this plan, the President shall hold hearings in appropri-
19 ate locations in the United States, and shall call for hearings
20 in appropriate locations in other countries, especially devel-
21 oping countries, to ascertain the views of experts in the field
22 and other concerned individuals, most particularly the in-
23 tended beneficiaries of assistance.

24 **"(c) SPECIFIC MEASURABLE GOALS.—**

1 “(1) **IN GENERAL.**—The plan developed pursuant
2 to subsection (a) shall include specific measurable goals
3 and target dates for reaching them. These goals shall
4 all be goals whose attainment would contribute to
5 direct improvements in the living standards of the
6 poorest 40 percent of the population. These goals shall
7 be poverty-oriented and specifically directed toward in-
8 creasing opportunities for the poor. These goals shall
9 include the goals specified in paragraph (2) and such
10 other goals based on social, environmental, and eco-
11 nomic indicators as the President determines to be cru-
12 cial to measurably eliminating the worst aspects of ab-
13 solute poverty by the year 2000.

14 “(2) **SPECIFIED GOALS.**—Among the goals in-
15 cluded in the plan developed pursuant to subsection (a)
16 shall be the following:

17 “(A) **UNDER-FIVE-MORTALITY-RATE.**—For
18 a country whose under-five-mortality-rate was
19 below 140 in 1980, reducing that rate by 50 per-
20 cent by the year 2000. For a country whose
21 under-five-mortality-rate was 140 or greater in
22 1980, reducing that rate to 70 by the year 2000
23 (which is roughly equivalent to the infant mortali-
24 ty goal of 50 set by the United Nations General
25 Assembly.)

1 “(B) **FEMALE LITERACY RATE.**—Attaining
2 a female literacy rate of 80 percent by the year
3 2000.

4 “(C) **ABSOLUTE POVERTY LEVEL.**—For a
5 country having 40 percent or less of its population
6 below the absolute poverty level in 1985, reduc-
7 ing that percentage by 50 percent by the year
8 2000. For a country having greater than 40 per-
9 cent of the population below the absolute poverty
10 level, reducing that percentage to no more than
11 20 percent by the year 2000.

12 “(d) **ECOLOGICAL SUSTAINABILITY.**—Development
13 activities carried out under the plan developed pursuant to
14 subsection (a) shall be activities which are consistent with
15 maintaining and restoring the renewable natural resource
16 base. Primary emphasis should be on small-scale, affordable,
17 resource-conserving, low-risk local projects, using appropri-
18 ate technologies (including traditional agricultural methods)
19 suited to local environmental, resource, and climatic condi-
20 tions, and featuring close consultation with and involvement
21 of local people at all stages of project design and imple-
22 mentation.

23 “(e) **PUBLICATION OF PLAN.**—The President shall
24 submit the plan developed pursuant to subsection (a) to the

1 Congress not later than July 1, 1989, or six months after the
2 date of enactment of this section, whichever is later.

3 "(f) IMPLEMENTATION OF PLAN.—During the period
4 beginning October 1, 1989, and ending December 31, 2000,
5 all United States development assistance shall have as its
6 purpose the attainment of the goals specified in subsection
7 (c)(2) and any additional goals specified in the plan developed
8 pursuant to subsection (a), notwithstanding any other provi-
9 sion of this chapter or title III of chapter 2.

10 "(g) CONSULTATION WITH INTENDED BENEFICI-
11 ARIES.—Development activities carried out under the plan
12 developed pursuant to subsection (a) shall be designed in con-
13 sultation with the intended beneficiaries.

14 "(h) ANNUAL REPORTS.—Not later than February 1
15 each year, the President shall submit a report to the Con-
16 gress detailing progress toward achieving the goals estab-
17 lished in the plan developed pursuant to subsection (a). The
18 report should specify, for each activity carried out pursuant
19 to the plan, how that activity is expected to help reach one or
20 more of the goals established pursuant to subsection (c).

21 "(i) GAO REVIEW.—The Comptroller General shall
22 review and comment on each report issued pursuant to sub-
23 section (h).

24 "(j) DEFINITIONS.—As used in this section—

1 "(1) the term 'absolute poverty level' means the
2 income level below which a minimum nutritionally ade-
3 quate diet, plus essential nonfood requirements, are not
4 affordable;

5 "(2) the term 'female literacy rate' means the per-
6 centage of females aged 15 and over who can read and
7 write;

8 "(3) the term 'under-five-mortality-rate' means
9 the annual number of deaths of children under 5 years
10 of age per 1,000 live births; and

11 "(4) the term 'United States development assist-
12 ance' means any assistance provided under this chapter
13 or under under title III of chapter 2."

14 SEC. 4. INTERNATIONAL PLAN TO ELIMINATE WORST AS-
15 PECTS OF ABSOLUTE POVERTY.

16 The President shall host an international development
17 conference for heads of governments of development assist-
18 ance donor and recipient countries, to be convened no later
19 than October 16, 1989 (World Food Day). The conference
20 shall have as its purpose the conclusion of an international
21 agreement on eliminating the worst aspects of absolute pov-
22 erty by the year 2000. This agreement should specify which
23 indicators and targets would constitute achievement of that
24 goal. In order to develop such an agreement, the conference
25 should be preceded by meetings among representatives of
1 donor and recipient governments, international organizations,
2 and nongovernmental organizations from both industrialized
3 and developing countries which work directly with the poor,
4 and other interested parties.

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20523

THE ADMINISTRATOR

August 1, 1988

The Honorable John Miller
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Congressman Miller:

Thank you for your letter of June 8, 1988, with regard to the Global Poverty Reduction Act. I regret taking this long to respond, but the complexity of the bill made it very difficult for me to give you a quick response.

After discussion of the proposed bill within the Agency as well as with people in the professional development community, it is our sense that the operational sections of the bill are too unclear and so ambitious as to require a more extensive look. It is our hope that the authorizing committees will be able to give this bill a thorough review during the next year, perhaps in the context of revising the Foreign Assistance Act, so that the advantages and disadvantages of this approach can be completely aired. The subject of global poverty, which is central to the Agency's current mandate, is too important to be treated in an atmosphere of haste.

I appreciate your interest in the work of the Agency, and want to work with you in any way to make our efforts more effective.

Sincerely,



Alan Woods

Mike Dukakis for President

105 Chauncy St., Boston, MA 02111
(617) 451-2480

August 3, 1988.

Sam Harris
Executive Director, RESULTS
245 Second St., NE
Washington DC 20002

Dear Mr. Harris,

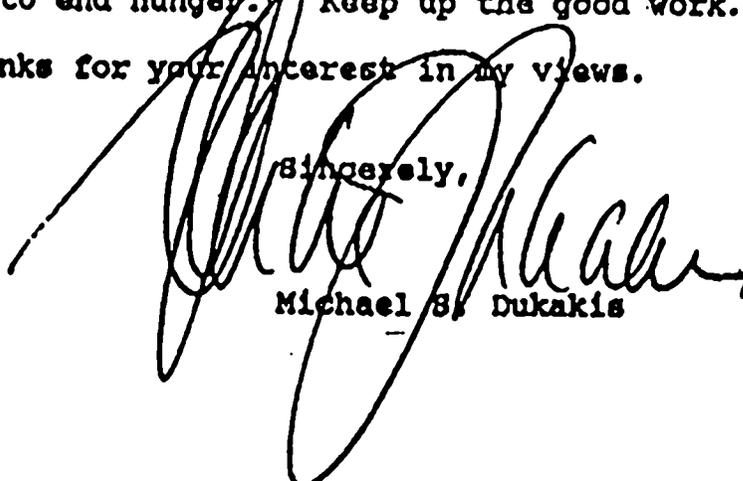
Thank you for your interest in my position on the Global Poverty Reduction Act.

I support this legislation. I believe strongly that the next President of the United States must help to shape a foreign policy that reflects the fundamental decency and values of the American people. As President, I'm going to do all I can to see that the children of this world have the chance to survive and grow; and to ensure that our foreign aid dollars are invested to help meet real needs. The goal of eliminating the worst aspects of poverty by the end of this century is a noble one, and the Global Poverty Reduction Act will help target our limited resources.

I would also like to commend you and your organization for the outstanding work you have done on behalf of the poorest of the poor. Whether the issue was U.S. support for IFAD, money for a Children's Survival Fund, or loans for the poor, RESULTS has played a key role in "generating the political will to end hunger." Keep up the good work.

Again, thanks for your interest in my views.

Sincerely,



Michael S. Dukakis

Results

Generating Political Will to End Hunger

Hold for release
August 8, 1988

For further information contact
Sam Harris (202) 543-9340

DUKAKIS ENDORSES GLOBAL POVERTY INITIATIVE

WASHINGTON, D.C., AUGUST 8, 1988 -- Last week, Democratic presidential candidate Michael Dukakis announced his support for the Global Poverty Reduction Act -- an initiative that would have U.S. foreign development assistance join a global effort to greatly reduce poverty in the Third World.

This legislation would require the next President to establish a plan which assures that U.S. development assistance contributes measurably to eliminating the worst aspects of global poverty by the year 2000. The bill would require the use of social indicators such as child death rates, female literacy rates, and reduction in poverty, rather than economic indicators such as per capita gross national product (GNP), to measure the progress of development.

Dukakis's endorsement comes at a time when bipartisan House and Senate support is growing for this legislation, which would force a major change in U.S. foreign development policy. Lead House sponsors are Reps. Mel Levine (D-CA) and John Miller (R-WA) and lead Senate sponsors are Sens. Tom Harkin (D-IA) and Rudy Boschwitz (R-MN).

Miller said, "This bill would establish standards by which we can measure the effectiveness in achieving these [humanitarian] goals. That's good news for the American taxpayer who foots the bill for these programs and good news for the world's poorest people who will benefit from this increased effectiveness."

- more -

DUKAKIS ENDORSES GLOBAL POVERTY INITIATIVE

Add 1

In a letter to RESULTS, a non-partisan, international anti-hunger lobby based in Washington, D.C., which is spearheading a coalition of groups supporting the legislation, Dukakis said:

"I believe strongly that the next President of the United States must help to shape a foreign policy that reflects the fundamental decency and values of the American people. As President, I'm going to do all I can to see that the children of this world have the chance to survive and grow; and to ensure that our foreign aid dollars are invested to help meet real needs. The goal of eliminating the worst aspects of poverty by the end of this century is a noble one, and the Global Poverty Reduction Act will help target our limited resources."

The legislation does not call for new spending, but mandates a redirection of our development assistance program which totalled \$2.7 billion in 1988. Sam Harris, director of RESULTS, said, "Dukakis's action brings a focus to the presidential campaign that is seldom there -- a focus on effective, long-term development. To most people, Third World hunger means famine. But famine accounts for only about 10 percent of the 15 million deaths each year. This initiative expands our vision to include the other 90 percent."

The traditional measurement for progress in Third World development has been the per capita GNP. Increasingly, however, such measurements have been called into question. At a recent conference sponsored by the Johnson Foundation, the University of Maryland-Baltimore County, and the *Christian Science Monitor* on goals for the year 2000, the conference report concluded that:

"The goal of raising per capita GNP has guided international development programs. Such programs have failed. The gap between rich and poor countries has grown. . . . Absolute poverty has increased.

DUKAKIS ENDORSES GLOBAL POVERTY INITIATIVE
Add 2

"Development efforts can be refocused to address human well-being more directly."

Rodrigo Botero, former finance minister of Columbia, Ford Foundation trustee, and Agenda 2000 participant, said, "Lowering the infant mortality rate means much more to the ordinary man and woman of a developing country than obtaining an X percentage growth in the GNP per capita."

The use of social indicators vs. economic indicators to measure the effectiveness of development apparently is part of a disagreement within the Reagan Administration, a disagreement which is hampering the endorsement of the initiative by Vice President Bush.

Requests eight weeks ago by Reps. Levine (D-CA) and Miller (R-WA) for the Administration's position resulted in an August 1 letter from Agency for International Development (AID) Administrator Alan Woods in which he complained that "the complexity of the bill made it very difficult for me to give you a quick response."

AID, which in fact had been studying the legislation since introduction four months ago, said that the bill requires "a more extensive look....It is our hope that the authorizing committees will be able to give this bill a thorough review during the next year,...[global poverty] is too important to be treated in an atmosphere of haste."

Harris said, "It's disappointing to wait eight weeks for a response that is basically no response. I hate to say it, but it just seems like a stall tactic and the public deserves better." The measure already has 158 House cosponsors and 19 Senate supporters.

The Global Poverty Reduction Act has been endorsed in more than 40 editorials and op-ed pieces including the following comment by the Tulsa World: "[The Global Poverty Reduction Act] offers the chance to make realistic gains on world poverty and hunger."

DUKAKIS ENDORSES GLOBAL POVERTY INITIATIVE
Add 3

And, maybe more importantly, it sets guidelines of accountability that could make sure the money goes where it is needed and for correct purposes."

HR 4277 Global Poverty Reduction Act
S 2454 Global Poverty Reduction Act

HOUSE COSPONSORS

- 1 *Levine (D-CA)
- 2 *Miller, J (R-WA)
- 3 Ball, T (D-OH)
- 4 *Gillman (R-NY)
- 5 *Folghan (D-OH)
- 6 Jeffords (R-VT)
- 7 *Berman (D-CA)
- 8 Chandler (R-WA)
- 9 *Lantos (D-CA)
- 10 Morella (R-MD)
- 11 *Dymally (D-CA)
- 12 McHugh (D-NY)
- 13 Blagel (D-NY)
- 14 Fauntroy (D-DC)
- 15 Dellums (D-CA)
- 16 Loury (D-WA)
- 17 Swift (D-WA)
- 18 Roybal (D-CA)
- 19 Richardson (D-MN)
- 20 de Lugo (D-VI)
- 21 Lewis, John (D-CA)
- 22 *Barker (D-WA)
- 23 *Solari (D-NY)
- 24 *Wells (D-NY)
- 25 Torres (D-CA)
- 26 Owens, H (D-NY)
- 27 *Owens, V (D-UT)
- 28 Collins (D-IL)
- 29 Bates (D-CA)
- 30 Stapps (D-CO)
- 31 Munman (D-CA)
- 32 Beshert (R-NY)
- 33 Ratsul (D-CA)
- 34 Moorhead (R-CA)
- 35 *Cejdansen (D-CT)
- 36 Braun, G (D-CA)
- 37 Swindell (R-CA)
- 38 *Nico (D-FL)
- 39 Bicks (D-WA)
- 40 Akaka (D-HI)
- 41 Colglly (R-CA)
- 42 Lujan (R-NM)
- 43 Syner (D-OK)
- 44 Clifton (D-MS)
- 45 Pelosi (D-CA)
- 46 Edwards, O (D-CA)
- 47 Hochbruechner (D-NY)
- 48 Bannely (D-WA)
- 49 *Snow (R-NE)
- 50 Valentine (D-MC)
- 51 Clinger (R-PA)
- 52 Fazio (D-CA)
- 53 Moody (D-VI)
- 54 Shays (R-CT)
- 55 Rumsel (D-IL)
- 56 Perry (D-ME)
- 57 Hatcher (D-CA)
- 58 Mazzoli (D-KY)
- 59 Defazio (D-OR)
- 60 *Terricelli (D-NJ)
- 61 Boxer (D-CA)
- 62 McCloskey (D-IN)
- 63 Bellenson (D-CA)
- 64 Bosco (D-CA)
- 65 Schneider (R-RI)
- 66 Bustamante (D-TX)
- 67 Coelho (D-CA)
- 68 Fogliette (D-PA)
- 69 St Germain (D-RI)
- 70 Slattery (D-MS)
- 71 Lewis, Jerry (R-CA)
- 72 Cloy (D-MO)
- 73 Scheuer (D-NY)
- 74 Navrotes (D-MA)
- 75 Reyes (D-IL)
- 76 Rangel (D-NY)
- 77 *Attina (D-MA)
- 78 Jacobs (D-IN)
- 79 Pepper (D-FL)
- 80 Sanderbrenner (R-VI)
- 81 Kildee (D-MI)
- 82 *Crockett (D-MI)
- 83 Pickle (D-TX)
- 84 *Fuster (D-PR)
- 85 *Ackerman (D-NY)
- 86 Jentz (D-IN)
- 87 *Legomarsino (R-CA)
- 88 Garcia (D-NY)
- 89 Anderson (D-CA)
- 90 Boruki (D-PA)
- 91 Norton (R-NY)
- 92 Eese (D-MC)
- 93 Hookley (D-MA)
- 94 McMillan, J (R-MC)
- 95 Mineta (D-CA)
- 96 Oberstar (D-MN)
- 97 Espy (D-MS)
- 98 Boyer (D-MD)
- 99 Vento (D-MI)
- 100 Morrison (R-WA)
- 101 Levin (D-MI)
- 102 Lungren (R-CA)
- 103 Schroeder (D-CO)
- 104 Staggers (D-WV)
- 105 Walgren (D-PA)
- 106 Markey (D-MA)
- 107 Roe (D-NJ)
- 108 Schaefer (R-CO)
- 109 Frank (D-MA)
- 110 Kennelly (D-CT)
- 111 *Udall (D-AZ)
- 112 Johnson (D-SD)
- 113 Savage (D-IL)
- 114 Kastner (D-VI)
- 115 *Bernan (R-CA)
- 116 Kloczka (D-VI)
- 117 Kellor (D-PA)
- 118 Packard (R-CA)
- 119 Miller G (D-CA)
- 120 Franzel (R-MN)
- 121 Solki (R-MI)
- 122 Kennedy (D-MA)
- 123 Flippo (D-AL)
- 124 Sabo (D-MN)

SENATE
COSPONSORS

- 1 Martin (D-LA)
- 2 *Benschwis (R-MN)
- 3 Daschle (D-SD)
- 4 *Cranston (D-CA)
- 5 *Lugar (R-IN)
- 6 Wirth (D-CO)
- 7 Leahy (D-VT)
- 8 Durenberger (R-MN)
- 9 Enon (D-NE)
- 10 Metzenbaum (D-OH)
- 11 *Evans (R-WA)
- 12 Levin (D-MI)
- 13 *Kerry (D-MA)
- 14 *Adams (D-WA)
- 15 *Markovitz (R-AK)
- 16 Karnes (R-NE)
- 17 Rockefeller (D-WV)
- 18 Graham (D-FL)
- 19 D'Amato (R-NY)

11 D / T R

*** Indicates Foreign Affairs/Relations Committee members.

- 125 Pursell (R-MI)
- 126 Borgan (D-MD)
- 127 Hyden (D-OR)
- 128 Martinez (D-CA)
- 129 Hawkins (D-CA)
- 130 Toms (D-NY)
- 131 Schumer (D-NY)
- 132 Coyne (D-PA)
- 133 Barden (D-CA)
- 134 Shaw (R-FL)
- 135 Grefer (R-CA)
- 136 Schutte (R-MI)
- 137 Stark (D-CA)
- 138 Weldon (R-PA)
- 139 Conte (R-MA)
- 140 Shumway (R-CA)
- 141 Henry (R-MI)
- 142 Spratt (D-SC)
- 143 *Smith, L (D-FL)
- 144 Buchner (R-MD)
- 145 Steen (R-MN)
- 146 Gundersen (R-VI)
- 147 Johnson, H (R-CT)
- 148 Slaughter (R-NY)
- 149 Panetta (D-CA)
- 150 Davis, J (R-IL)
- 151 Durbin (R-IL)
- 152 *Wack (R-FL)
- 153 *Burton (R-IN)
- 154 *Walpe (D-MI)
- 155 McCloy (D-FL)
- 156 Brennan (D-ME)
- 157 Inhofe (R-OK)
- 158 Thomas (R-CA)

113 D / 45 R

PVO SUPPORTERS

- 1 CARE
- 2 Save the Children
- 3 US Committee for Unicef
- 4 World Vision
- 5 Humanita Central Committee
- 6 RESULTS
- 7 Global Meter
- 8 National Wildlife Federation
- 9 Helen Keller Int'l
- 10 US Committee for Refugees
- 11 Frickle Up Program
- 12 Population Communication

- 13 Partners of the Americas
- 14 Heller Project Int'l
- 15 Operation California
- 16 FACT
- 17 Inst for Alternative Agriculture
- 18 Planning Assistance
- 19 Paul Carlson Med Program
- 20 Concern/America
- 21 Mercy Corps International
- 22 Action International
- 23 FINCA
- 24 Trees for Life
- 25 End Hunger Network

10

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510
July 13, 1988

SUPPORT THE GLOBAL POVERTY REDUCTION ACT OF 1988 -- S. 2454

Dear Colleague:

On May 27, we introduced S. 2454, the Global Poverty Reduction Act. The legislation now has 16 Senate cosponsors including seven members of the Foreign Relations Committee. An identical bill introduced in the House on March 29 has 135 cosponsors.

The legislation directs the next President to establish a plan whereby U.S. development assistance would contribute measurably to eradicating the worst aspects of absolute poverty by the year 2000. The bill specifies three measurable goals and directs the President to establish additional poverty-oriented goals using social, environmental and economic indicators.

The three targets of S. 2454 are:

(a) An Under-Five Mortality Rate of 70 by the year 2000. The under-five mortality rate (U5MR) is the annual number of deaths of children under 5 per 1,000 live births.

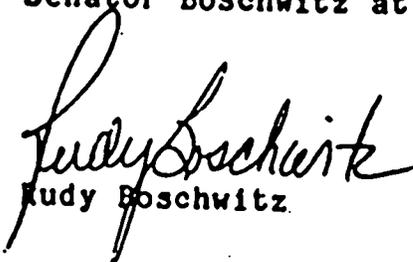
(b) A Female Literacy rate of 80% by the year 2000. The female literacy rate is the percentage of females aged 15 and over who can read and write.

(c) An Absolute Poverty Level of not more than 20% of the population living below absolute poverty by the year 2000. The absolute poverty level is that income level below which a minimum nutritionally adequate diet plus essential non-food requirements are not affordable.

The Global Poverty Reduction Act is supported by 24 private and voluntary organizations including CARE, Save the Children, U.S. Committee for UNICEF, Vision, National Wildlife Federation, and RESULTS.

To cosponsor the legislation, or to obtain further information, please call Ed Long with Senator Harkin at 4-3254 or Brad Gordon with Senator Boschwitz at 4-5641.

Sincerely,


Rudy Boschwitz


Tom Harkin

STATE OFFICES:

307 FEDERAL BLDG.
BOX H
COUNCIL BLUFFS, IA 51802
(712) 326-6633

210 WALNUT ST.
ROOM 733 FEDERAL BLDG.
DES MOINES, IA 50309
(515) 284-4674

BOX 4488
LINDALE MALL
CEDAR RAPIDS, IA 52407
(319) 242-4330

131 E. 4TH ST.
3148 FEDERAL BLDG.
DAVENPORT, IA 52801
(319) 392-2222

Leading the Charge Against Hunger

Eighteen days after the Global Poverty Reduction Act was introduced in the House on March 29, 18 newspapers had run editorials backing it. "The bill merits strong support," wrote the Everett, Wash., Herald on April 6. On the same day, the Portland Oregonian said the bill's "great value" was in "focusing attention on achievable objectives by the year 2000 in combating poverty." On April 5, The Salt Lake Tribune said the bill "can help ensure that scarce development-assistance dollars are well spent." On April 7, the Palo Alto, Calif., Times-Tribune urged support for "this critical legislation."

If all this has an orchestrated sound, the baton leading the editorial writers was Results. It is a Washington-based lobby that advances hunger and poverty-relief legislation by nudging and, if necessary, arm-twisting editorial writers into action. The collective force of the editorials is then applied to Congress.

The nudgers and twisters are more than 300 volunteers in 100 groups in 44 states. Some have worked abroad in antihunger programs, including the Peace Corps. Many are convinced that the United States' delivery of food to the Third World through such programs as Food for Peace is weak or mismanaged. Others are committed to the idea of applying citizen pressure on Congress through the local editorial page. "Pound for pound," says Rep. Tony Hall (D-Ohio) of the House Select Committee on Hunger, "Results is the most effective lobby in Washington."

Although those are words fit for a blurb on a brochure—and that's where they can be found—the hype is not without content. Last year, Results decided to back the Micro-Enterprise Loans for the Poor Act, a foreign aid bill meant to help impoverished Third World entrepreneurs seen as too poor for conventional loans. The

Reagan administration opposed the bill. More than 100 editorials, from ones in the large dailies—The New York Times, The Boston Globe, The Miami Herald—to the small—the Bloomington, Ind., Herald-Telephone—were based on information from Results volunteers.

The editorials appeared between November 1986 and December 1987. Legislation, funded for \$50 million and disbursed by an Agency for International Development that originally said no, was passed in December 1987. One of its main sponsors, Rep. Edward Feighan (D-Ohio), said that the act "would not be law today if it weren't for Results."

That victory was part of a roll. The year before, Results involved itself in the Children's Survival Fund, legislation that included money for an international immunization program to help prevent the deaths of 3.5 million children each year from six curable diseases. The Reagan budget request was \$25 million. The House agreed to \$50 million. After Results marshaled 90 editorials, with 30 of them appearing in the 30 days when appropriations committees were in final debate, the bill was enacted with a \$75 million allotment.

In 1985, 46 newspapers, supplied with information by Results volunteers, rallied behind the International Fund for Agricultural Development. The program, a small United Nations agency, works with poor Third World farmers and the landless poor. Its future was imperiled because of a dispute between the Reagan administration and OPEC governments on whether Western contributions should be higher. Editorials began running in February of 1985, continuing through March, April and into July.

At that point, Sam Harris, the director of Results, received a

phone call from a State Department official: "I was told," Harris recalls, "that Results can stop the editorials. The Reagan administration had decided to drop its opposition to the funding formula for the program."

Harris, 41, a former Miami and Los Angeles high school teacher, was pulled into this work when speaking to students on world hunger. "Many saw the issue as too large for them to make a difference," he recalls. In 1980 Harris began organizing friends to write letters to Congress on the issue. For several years, not much happened, except an accumulation of "thank you (or your interest)" replies from Washington.

More force was needed. Harris realized that a member of Congress who might not take much notice of a dozen constituent letters would heed editorials read throughout the district. Results, currently working on a \$300,000 budget based mostly on non-tax-deductible individual contributions, began sending information on pending hunger legislation to volunteers and coaching them on how to approach and persuade editorial writers.

An anonymous newspaper junkie has said that editorials are important because people who read them think other people are reading them. How to inspire writers to write remains an unperfected art. Some demand the deference afforded pashas, a few need a two-by-four to the conscience and others just want the manila envelope and skip the damned follow-up calls.

Results volunteers—professional amateurs—appear to have figured it out. There's not a rich lobby in Washington that wouldn't trade its limos for the group's achievement: more than 300 editorials in three years and a 3-0 record. Nor is there a lobby that has nobler causes: feeding the hungry and self-sufficiency for the poor.

Sunday, September 27, 1987

Helping the poor from the bottom up

By Alan W. Bock

Pundits are supposed to revel in skepticism and cynicism, and a world steeped in stupidity and statism generally offers ample opportunity to fulfill my part of that implicit obligation. Every so often, however, one runs across evidence that people actually have the capacity to learn from experience, to combine idealism with realism in a creative way. If this becomes a trend, we professional curmudgeons may have to become shoe salesmen.

What occasioned this glimmer of grudging optimism was a visit earlier this week from two nice ladies from an outfit called RESULTS. This grassroots-cum-lobbying outfit is mightily concerned with world hunger, and determined to root it out in this century. How easy it would be to unleash torrents of cynicism — nice idea but terrifically naive, you know the drill — but for the persistence, intelligence, and creative analysis they bring to the goal.

I have received occasional visits from Shirley Williams and other RESULTS representatives for several years now. My first impulse was to dismiss them as starry-eyed dreamers, but instead of misty idealism, they always came with a concrete plan with a track record of success in helping the poorest of the world's poor. One time it might be low-cost immunizations, another time low-cost Vitamin A to prevent blindness, another time very small loans to help Third World cottage industries become self-sufficient. Every time they had a specific way to get specific help to specific people, usually by diverting foreign aid money already obligated for useless programs into something useful.

Now if it were up to me, I would eliminate all government foreign aid programs tomorrow. The criticism of people like British economist P.T. Bauer — that foreign aid encourages inefficient central planning, white-elephant projects, and long-term dependency — seem conclusive and devastating. Foreign aid was conceived in misplaced guilt and implemented in incompetence and corruption. Some of the most successful stories of Third World economic growth — most notably Taiwan and South Korea — occurred after U.S. aid was cut off.

Implacable as I may be, however, I'm realist enough to concede that

foreign aid is likely to continue; indeed, it has increased under Reagan. And since I really would like to see hungry people feed themselves and poor people become self-sufficient, I've been persuaded to endorse the diversion of foreign aid money to existing projects (many administered by experienced private voluntary organizations) that offer a hope of helping really poor people. I'm not convinced our foreign aid bureaucracy won't find a way to mess these programs up, too, but why not give it a try.

The RESULTS project last week was a letter to Barber Conable, president of the World Bank, whose board of governors will be meeting with International Monetary Fund honchos this next week. This letter, signed by 190 U.S. congressmen and senators, 235 British members of Parliament and assorted other dignitaries, urges the World Bank to devote more of its resources to programs with a track record of alleviating grinding poverty.

Now I think the best thing Conable could do would be to disband his organization, sow salt on the land where once its buildings stood, and retire to whatever beautiful part of upstate New York he came from in honor, having earned the applause and respect of the most discerning of his countrymen. I'm realist enough to suspect that won't happen, however; Conable has neither the power nor the inclination. So how about diverting some of the World Bank's stolen resources into something more useful?

The letter from the dignitaries to the World Bank proposes more emphasis on providing financial resources to women. In Africa, for example, women produce as much as 80 percent of the food supply, hold families together, and (as Conable himself said in an earlier speech) "build the foundation of stable growing communities."

Many of the tiny loans from the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh and other micro-enterprise funding mechanisms in developing countries have gone to women, building self-sufficiency and self-respect — and achieving incredibly high payback percentages. The World Bank has begun to recognize the potential of women in economic development, but it to date has largely ignored women in practice, preferring to deal with governments and large enterprises, which are still mostly the

domain of men in most of the world.

The bank already plans to increase lending for health care. The letter urges concentration on primary health care — low cost projects like immunization, dispensing Vitamin A, oral rehydration therapy that can save thousands of lives now lost to preventable starvation and disease. It further urges the bank to take the very poor into account when it is urging policy changes on governments facing deep debt crises.

What we see here is a concentration on practical, double goals and a certain liberation from cant and ideological posturing. People who are serious about reducing or eliminating hunger aren't wasting much time anymore with population control or bashing capitalism.

As another sign of the times, the first Africa Prize for Leadership, presented by the Hunger Project, was recently awarded jointly to Pres. Abou Diouf of Senegal and Prof. Thomas R. Odhiambo, founder of the African Academy of Sciences. The \$100,000 prize is given for contributing to "the sustainable end of hunger"; it encourages Africans to take responsibility for solving their own problems and is funded entirely with private, voluntary contributions. Bravo!

World Bank economists and a growing number of others in the "development community" are recognizing and saying that reliance on market-oriented growth rather than central planning and grandiose projects may be the key to eliminating hunger and poverty. People are studying what has worked and what hasn't in the Third World. Communications technology and travel are accelerating the pace at which we can learn and apply these lessons. There's an increasing awareness that development models must be adapted to local conditions and customs so that growth can come from the bottom up rather than being imposed (usually unsuccessfully) from the top down.

Is there a learning curve on international development issues? Well, progress is slow and halting; bureaucracies and old habits are still entrenched. But just enough constructive activity is happening to suggest at least temporary suspension of cynicism. Did I say that? Yes, I did.

Bock is the Register's senior columnist.

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A Poor Way to Reduce Global Want

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By MELANIE S. TAMMEN

Simplistic, bumper-sticker proposals for addressing the problems faced by developing countries are gaining support in Congress in the form of the Global Poverty Reduction bill. The problem with things that sound too good to be true is that they usually are.

The legislation would direct all U.S. development assistance toward achieving three goals by the year 2000: a 50% reduction in mortality rates for children under five, a female literacy rate of at least 80%, and a cut in absolute poverty to no more than 20% of each developing country's population. These goals are certainly laudable. But they can be neither attained nor sustained without economic growth—something on which the legislation is silent.

By proposing to limit U.S. development aid to activities that directly focus on the three goals, the legislation would gut continuing efforts by the Agency for International Development and other U.S. agencies to foster policy reform and economic progress in a wide range of countries. It would turn U.S. foreign aid into a global welfare system.

A bipartisan coalition of 174 co-sponsors in the House and 24 in the Senate has been taken in by the bill's motherhood-and-apple-pie alms. Michael Dukakis recently added his endorsement; George Bush hasn't ventured an opinion yet. The debate is now over-ripe for a dose of sobriety and good sense.

Rather than passing a bill that is no more than a well-meaning statement of intent that addresses three symptoms of economic stagnation, Congress should tackle

the causes of poverty by making economic growth through free-market policies the primary goal of U.S. foreign aid. The evidence shows that it is countries with high growth rates that are best able to meet their people's basic human needs and eliminate poverty:

- South Korea now enrolls more than 90% of its children in high school. From 1965 to 1986, while the nation achieved an average annual economic growth rate of 6.7%, it also cut infant mortality by 60%.

- Rwanda, with virtually no economic growth during the period, saw nearly no reduction in infant deaths.

- Japan's infant death rate before World War II was as high as India's today. Japan's rate is now 7% of India's and among the lowest in the world.

- Tanzania, once touted as a socialist success story, has been forced to close schools and clinics in recent years for lack of funds. State domination of agriculture has halved production since 1970.

- China's agricultural liberalization during the 1980s has increased food production by 35% and doubled rural incomes. China can now feed itself.

Indeed, when countries adopt sound economic strategies and begin to grow, the symptoms of underdevelopment on which the legislation focuses start to disappear. The targets the Global Poverty Reduction bill sets for developing countries are reached as soon as economic growth raises average per-capita income to roughly \$2,000 a year.

Ignoring such evidence of the need for growth, the bill's targets are naive to the core. For example, they would have all

countries achieve in just over a decade the dramatic decrease in infant mortality South Korea produced over 20 years.

Proponents of the legislation insist that it won't increase costs. But while in the current fiscal year the U.S. spent \$2.7 billion on development assistance and food aid, officials of the Agency for International Development estimate that meeting the bill's lofty targets would require tens—possibly hundreds—of billions of dollars annually.

Whatever the cost, past experience shows that poverty cannot be eradicated simply by sending more money. The U.S. has provided nearly \$400 billion in aid to the developing world over the past four decades, with often meager results. Indeed, while Latin America's top 10 debtor governments borrowed \$44 billion abroad from 1983 to 1985, their economic policies drove their own citizens to transfer \$31 billion out of the region.

While social programs are a necessary component of assistance, the U.S. foreign-aid program should focus first and foremost on growth. Only when U.S. aid aggressively promotes responsible, pro-growth economic policies can America's relatively small amount of assistance bring exponential results. This is the only hope for developing countries to one day provide for themselves what Western aid workers now work so hard to provide.

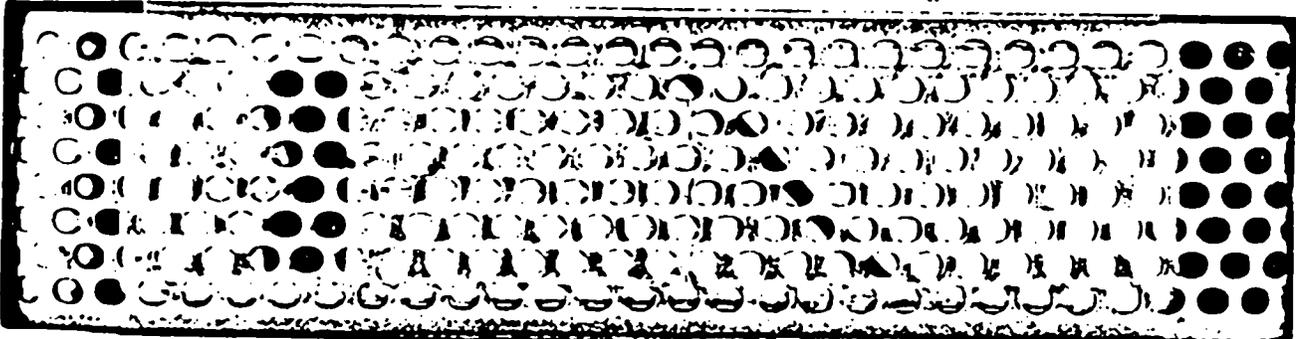
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RUSHWORTH M. KIDDER

US foreign aid goals focus on literacy and global poverty



Foreign aid is like motherhood and apple pie: It's hard to argue against it, especially given the appalling global statistics relating to poverty and hunger.

But just as there are lousy mothers and rotten apples, there are also inept foreign aid programs. Is United States aid - totaling \$14.4 billion in 1988 - doing what it ought to do? Is it really closing the gap between the industrial nations and the developing world?

The short answer is, "no."

From nearly every perspective, the rich nations are getting richer and the poor poorer. Not that there haven't been plenty of efforts to help: Money, both public and private, has been thrown in every which way.

Yet the skeletons of failed development projects hang in nearly every third-world nation's closet. And still the gap widens. How can so many billions have produced such indifferent results?

That, in effect, was the question asked this spring by a bipartisan coalition of 153 representatives and 18 senators who cosponsored the Global Poverty Reduction Act. If passed, it would instruct the president to "develop a plan to ensure that United States development assistance contributes measurably to eradicating the worst aspects of absolute poverty by the year 2000."

Elegant in its simplicity, the bill cuts through decades of confusion and focuses on the core of the problem. Its operative term, "measurably," is bol-

stered by specifics. By the year 2000, it says, the basic global goals (to which the president may add) are:

1. An under-5 mortality rate of no more than 70 deaths per 1,000 live births.
2. A female literacy rate of 80 percent.
3. Not more than 20 percent of a nation's population living in absolute poverty, defined as an income level so low that minimum nutrition and non-food requirements are not affordable.

The first and third goals - reducing poverty and saving lives - are obvious enough. The genius of the bill lies in the second goal.

Why should women learn to read? Because, of all the things you can measure, few are more certain to reduce child mortality than the mother's education. When child mortality is lowered, the pressure to produce large families drops. And that helps reduce excessive population growth, which so imperils the world's future.

Other goals, of course, could have been included. But this bill wisely hews to the middle ground. Critics on the negative-population-growth side will argue for including stringent birth-control measures. Critics on the export-led development side will insist that the best measure of success is a developing nation's ability to enhance its gross national product. But population control can become alarmingly authoritarian: The draconian one-child-per-couple policy pioneered by the Chinese is not a world model. Nor do average income levels tell very much about living standards. In Oman,

for example, where per capita GNP stood at a relatively comfortable \$6,730 in 1985, 1 out of every 6 children died before reaching age 5.

What are the bill's chances of passage? The US Agency for International Development says operational sections of the bill are unclear - an odd complaint, since the operational details are left to the president - and that its provisions should be integrated into a scheduled rewriting of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. Meanwhile, presidential candidate Michael Dukakis has endorsed it,

and a groundswell of Republicans on Capitol Hill is encouraging George Bush to do the same.

The fact that the bill has come this far, however, says something significant about changing US views of foreign assistance. The days of using US aid to line the pockets of foreign elites - or to buy markets abroad, or to reward

ideologues - would appear to be numbered. Fast approaching is the day when aid must help *all* of a nation's people, have a verifiable impact, and bring results in the foreseeable future.

Braiding together three of the strongest strands of the nation's character - idealism, pragmatism, and immediacy - the bill is an authentically American expression of global concern. As such, it deserves to become law.

Aid must help all a nation's people, have a verifiable impact, and bring results in the near future.

PERSPECTIVES

A Monday column