

# Food Scarcity, Rural Poverty, and Agricultural Development in Latin America: Issues and Evidence

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## Introduction

In his provocative 1993 book *Eco-Scares: The False Prophets of Ecological Apocalypse*, Ronald Bailey attacks those he calls the "apocalypse abusers," the scientists, politicians, activists and others who, he says, are frightening the public "with lurid scenarios of a devastated earth, overrun by starving hordes of humanity" (Bailey 1993:3). Bailey, an influential science writer, PBS producer, and contributor to *Forbes* and the *Wall Street Journal*, goes to great lengths to disparage Paul Ehrlich of Stanford University and Lester Brown of the Worldwatch Institute, both well known for maintaining that food scarcity is a serious and worsening problem, especially in the developing world (Ehrlich 1968, 1988; Ehrlich and Ehrlich 1990; Brown 1967, 1996; Brown, Flavin, and Postel 1991). Ehrlich predicted more than 30 years ago that the world was facing hunger on a massive scale unless food production and population size could be brought into balance, a position he has held to ever since (Ehrlich 1968; Ehrlich, Ehrlich, and Daily 1993). Brown has taken a similar stance, insisting that "food scarcity will be the defining issue of the new era now unfolding" (1996:19). Extrapolating from current trends, Brown has estimated that the annual shortage of grain in 11 of the largest developing countries—including African, Asian, and Latin American nations, with a total population equal to 2/3 of all humanity—will increase from 38 million tons in 1990 to a predicted deficit of 407 million tons in 2030 (Brown 1996:106-107). Shortages on such a scale are expected to have a number of negative consequences, including malnutrition, disease, social fragmentation, and violence (Renner 1996:35-51). Brown has called for emergency projects by national and international organizations to increase the production and distribution of food, coupled with wider access to birth-control programs in the developing world (Brown 1996:119-135).

Bailey, by contrast, denies that hunger is a worsening problem in the Third World or anywhere else. He says that

large-scale, catastrophic famines have so far failed to materialize, and that makes him deeply skeptical of the ominous forecasts issued by Brown, Ehrlich and their colleagues (Bailey 1993:41-54). In a chapter titled "The End of Hunger," Bailey argues that the Green Revolution methods of high-yielding strains, pesticides, large-scale irrigation, and mechanization have defeated hunger by "massively increasing food production, especially in the developing world" (Bailey 1993:55). Moreover, he notes that overpopulation will soon cure itself because birth rates in many developing nations are beginning to decrease, paralleling the fertility declines experienced in recent years by First World countries (Bailey 1993:60-61). Given the broad public exposure he enjoys, Bailey's arguments cannot be ignored. Moreover, he is not alone in his optimistic outlook: among those sharing his views are economist Julian Simon of the University of Maryland (1980, 1990), writer Ben Wattenburg of the American Enterprise Institute (1997), and the International Economics Department of the World Bank (Mitchell and Ingeco 1993). Other researchers, taking a more moderate position, recognize food scarcity as a continuing problem, but one not as serious as it was a few decades ago and now mostly confined to a portion of the developing world. For example, the respected International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) has recently predicted that Latin America and East Asia will benefit from a decline in food scarcity over the next decade, whereas Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia "will be the locus of hunger in the developing world" by 2010 (Pinstrup-Andersen, Pandya-Lorch, and Rosegrant 1997:9).

It seems clear that unanimity of opinion is lacking on the question of food scarcity. Is food scarcity a major dilemma in the developing world or is it a diminishing problem, perhaps only a myth kept alive by self-appointed alarmists? Has the Green Revolution really succeeded in eliminating hunger in much of the Third World? Is it true that Latin America is no longer seriously threatened by food scarcity? I suggest we take a hard look at the evidence, beginning with a case where the issues stand out in especially stark relief.

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