A NEW YORK TIMES BESTSELLER

JEFFREY D. SACHS

The End of Poverty

Economic Possibilities for Our Time

FOREWORD BY BONO

"Book and man are brilliant, passionate, optimistic and impatient...Outstanding."

—THE ECONOMIST





Seventeen WHY WE SHOULD DO IT Eighteen OUR GENERATION'S CHALLENGE Fourteen A GLOBAL COMPACT TO Thirteen MAKING THE INVESTMENTS Sixteen MYTHS AND MAGIC BULLETS Fifteen CAN THE RICH AFFORD TO Twelve ON-THE-GROUND SOLUTIONS Eleven THE MILLENNIUM, 9/11, AND Nine INDIA'S MARKET REFORMS: Ten THE VOICELESS DYING: THE TRIUMPH OF HOPE OVER FEAR AFRICA AND DISEASE HELP THE POOR? END POVERTY NEEDED TO END POVERTY FOR ENDING POVERTY THE UNITED NATIONS Index Notes Further Reading Works Cited 210 170 244 226 188 376 347 329 309 288 266 385 372 369

Acknowledgments

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I naturally begin with my family, wife Sonia, daughters Lisa and Hannah, and son Adam. This has been a family effort, through two decades of redefining "vacation" as listening to Dad give another lecture in a sweltering room in a village in East Africa. Sonia has been my guide, inspiration, teacher of differential diagnosis, and partner and coauthor in development studies. My kids, I'm proud to say, have seen all corners of the developing world and have taken up the challenge of global development themselves. Their wonderment at what we see together is my inspiration to fight for the future for them. In all of this family effort, the wisdom of my father-in-law, Walter Ehrlich, the good sense of my mother, Joan Sachs, and the avid interest of my sister, Andrea Sachs, all played a tremendous role in keeping us on the right track. So too has the enduring moral compass of my late father, Theodore Sachs, who devoted his great lawyerly gifts and energies to the struggle for social justice.

For twenty years I have been blessed to be welcome in all parts of the world and to have colleagues who joined me in understanding the local conditions and challenges and in fitting those challenges into the broader global canvas. My earliest colleagues in Bolivia were Daniel Cohen and Felipe Larraín, lifelong companions in intellectual forays. David Lipton left the IMF to join me in work in Latin America and Eastern Europe and then went on to a scintillating role in international political economy during the Clinton administration. Wing Woo has tutored me on Asia for a quarter century and has been my guide, coauthor, and coadviser in many valuable efforts. Nirupam Bajpai has been

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steadfast and accurate as a keen observer, scholar, coauthor, and adviser on all aspects of India's remarkable reforms during the past decade.

and pay special tribute to three reformers who struggled bravely against two decades, but also inspired me with his leadership and honored me the odds: Yegor Gaidar, Boris Fedorov, and Grigory Yavlinsky. country. In Russia, I want to thank my advisory partner Anders Aslund with the chance to contribute to Slovenia's birth as an independent only taught me about the tangled politics of the Balkans during the past Cross of the Order of Merit. President Janez Drnovsek of Slovenia not awarding us one of Poland's highest civilian awards, the Commanders remain in his debt for the honor he bestowed upon Lipton and me in I admire Poland's long-serving president, Alexander Kwasniewski, and the brave and brilliant leader of Poland's reforms, made us all look good esty and love of country in achieving broader political successes. In Bronislaw Geremek, and of course Lech Walesa. Leszek Balcerowicz, Solidarity's remarkable leaders, including Adam Michnik, Jacek Kuron, Poland, Larry Lindenberg played the pivotal role in introducing me to practical politics of successful economic reforms and the value of honlater president, Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada. Both taught me about the the late President Victor Paz Estenssoro and his top economic aide and earliest adventure was in Bolivia, under the remarkable leadership of successful governments. I've been extremely fortunate to do that. My The best way to become a successful economic adviser is to advise

My work in Africa has been blessed by help and guidance from a large number of colleagues and African leaders. I am especially grateful to Calestous Juma, Dyna Arhin-Tenkorang, Wen Kilama, Charles Mann, and Anne Conroy. My ardent hopes for Africa are fueled by the powerful and visionary leadership that I have seen in abundance throughout the continent, in contrast to the typical uninformed American view about Africa's governance. In particular I would like to thank Africa's new generation of democratic leaders who are pointing the way, including former President Alberto Chissano of Mozambique, President Mwai Kibaki of Kenya, President John Agyekum Kufuor of Ghana, President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, former Vice President Justin Malewezi of Malawi, President Festus Mogae of Botswana, President Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal, and Prime Minister Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia.

The world is held together, however precariously, by the vision, leadership, and struggle of its leaders who are committed to a world of justice, equality, and rule of law. The greatest of these is UN Secretary-

General Kofi Annan, whose quiet resolve has helped to keep the world from falling over the precipice in recent years. Another great leader is Gro Harlem Brundtland, who gave me the honor to serve the World Health Organization during her tenure as WHO director general. The WHO Commission on Macroeconomics and Health helped to show the way toward scaling up basic investments for the poor. My fellow commissioners are incomparable leaders in their respective fields, including Manmohan Singh, India's current prime minister; Richard Feachem, director of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB, and Malaria; Supachai Panitchkadie, the director general of the World Trade Organization; and Harold Varmus, director of Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center.

The UN agencies are filled with talented and dedicated leaders, and I have been honored to work closely with them in recent years: Mark Malloch Brown, administrator of UNDP, who has championed the UN Millennium Project from the start; Joseph Chamie, director of the UN Population Division; Zephirin Diabre, deputy administrator of UNDP and my guide to the economies of the African Sahel; former IMF managing director and current president of Germany, Horst Kohler, who during his stint at the IMF pressed the case for more global justice in resource allocation; Anna Tibaijuka, the remarkable Tanzanian-born leader of UN Habitat; Klaus Topfer, the relentlessly talented head of the UN Environmental Program; and Jim Wolfensohn, the brave and energetic leader of the World Bank. I am also grateful for the marvelous collegiality of World Bank Chief Economists Nick Stern and François Bourguignon, and IMF Chief Economist Raghuram Rajan.

Many of the specific ideas on how to end global poverty have emerged from the work of the UN Millennium Project, which I am honored to direct and from which I have drawn amply in this book. This project would have slid off the rails from the start without the unerring, beyond-the-call-of-duy leadership of John McArthur, my day-to-day colleague in the effort. John and I, in turn, have depended upon a spectacular secretariat, including Chandrika Bahadur, Stan Bernstein, Yassine Fall, Eric Kashambuzi, Margaret Kruk, Guido Schmidt-Traub, Erin Trowbridge, and round-the-clock assistants Alberto Cho, Michael Faye, Michael Krouse, Luis Javier Montero, Rohit Wanchoo, and Alice Wiemers.

The leaders of the UN Millennium Project Task Forces, and allied scientists and policy experts, are my teachers and guides through the interconnected fields of agronomy, water management, climate, energy systems, disease control, and other areas of central concern for poverty

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reduction and long-term development. Happily, many of these marvelous world-class scientists are my colleagues at the Earth Institute at Columbia University. I am happy to give special thanks to Columbia colleagues Deborah Balk, Wallace Broecker, Bob Chen, Lynn Freedman, James Hansen, Klaus Lackner, Upmanu Lall, Roberto Lenton, Marc Levy, Don Melnick, Vijay Modi, John Mutter, Cheryl Palm, Allan Rosenfield, Josh Ruxin, Pedro Sanchez, Peter Schlosser, Joseph Stiglitz, Awash Teklehaimonot, Ron Waldman, Paul Wilson, and Stephen Zebiak, who have played such a key role in expanding my understanding of the challenges of sustainable development. Columbia University's inspiring president, Lee Bollinger, has strongly backed the Earth Institute in this and its other endeavors, and for that I am grateful. I also thank all of the task force coordinators and task force members for making the UN Millennium Project the extraordinary effort that it has been.

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It is a cliché to say that this book would not have been possible but for ... and sometimes such clichés are all too true. Margarethe Laurenzi, skilled writer and editorial assistant from the very start of this project, provided incomparable support, expert suggestions, and editorial feedback that kept us on track and on time. Gordon McCord is an invaluable special assistant regarding all aspects of my work at the Earth Institute and the UN Millennium Project, including detailed work on all parts of this book. Gordon is also without doubt an upcoming global leader of his generation in the challenges of sustainable development. Winthrop Ruml joined the team from Harvard in mid-2004 and has been a key member of the project since arriving at the Earth Institute. Martha Synnott managed my office during the two decades of the events described in this book, until 2003. Ji Mi Choi offered invaluable

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Andrew Wylie, literary agent nonpareil, helped me to conceive of this book—its structure and logic as a way to broaden the world's understanding of our generation's opportunity to end extreme poverty. Scott Moyers, my editor at The Penguin Press, provided the steady, clear, professional guidance and support to see the project through to fruition, including the enormous skilled teamwork at Penguin Press to make such a masterful production effort I'm grateful to both.

Foreword

Two men asleep beside each other on a long journey into Africa, literally and thankfully above the thunderclouds. One is fairly clean shaven, papers strewn around him. Matte black suit, eyes slightly hollowed from no sleep, thoughts too big even for his big head. The other is a more bohemian mess. Unshaven, unkempt, he can't just have been up for days, his boyish face says years. An advertisement for why air miles can be bad for your health. When he wakes, an air hostess asks for his autograph. Confused and amused, he points to the geek in the black suit lying among the papers. That's me. Let me introduce myself. My name is Bono and I am the rock star student. The man with me is Jeffrey D. Sachs, the great economist, and for a few years now my professor. In time, his autograph will be worth a lot more than mine.

Let me tell you how we started this journey. It goes back to before Jeff Sachs had become director of the Earth Institute at Columbia University. Before he moved to New York to become UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan's special adviser. It goes back to when Jeff gave me the third degree from the Kennedy School of International Development at Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts. My great friend Bobby Shriver had advised me to meet him in order to know what I was talking about before I went up to Capitol Hill to lobby on behalf of Jubilee 2000 for the cancellation of the LDC's (least developed countries') debt to the rich countries of the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) as part of the millennium celebrations. I would enter the world of acronyms with a man who can make alphabet soup out of them. Soup you'd want to eat. Soup that would, if ingested properly, enable a lot more soup to be eaten by a lot more people.

Hunger, disease, the waste of lives that is extreme poverty are an affront to all of us. To Jeff it's a difficult but solvable equation. An equation that crosses human with financial capital, the strategic goals of the rich world with a new kind of planning in the poor world.

I'm a singer with an ear for a melody. Great ideas have a lot in common with a great melody. A certain clarity, inevitability, memorability... you can't get them out of your head, they nag at you.... The ideas in this book are not exactly sing-a-long but they have a hook you won't forget the end of poverty. It's a challenge that's hard to ignore.

Jeff is hard to ignore. At speaking events I've had to walk on after this man (it's like the Monkees going on after the Beatles). His voice is louder than any electric guitar, heavier than heavy metal. His passion is operatic, he's physically very present, animated. There is wildness to the rhetoric but a rigor to the logic. God may have given him a voice with an amplifier built in, but it's the argument that carries the day.

He's not just animated; he's angry. Because he knows that a lot of the crisis in the developing world can be avoided. Staring at people queuing up to die three to a bed, two on top and one underneath, in a hospital just outside of Lilongwe, Malawi, and knowing this doesn't have to be so is too much for most of us. I am crushed. He is creative. He's an economist who can bring to life statistics that were, after all, lives in the first place. He can look up from the numbers and see faces through the spreadsheets, families like his own that stick together on treks to the far means: fifteen thousand Africans dying each and every day of preventable, treatable diseases—AIDS, malaria, TB—for lack of drugs that we take for granted.

This statistic alone makes a fool of the idea many of us hold on to very tightly: the idea of equality. What is happening in Africa mocks our pieties, doubts our concern, and questions our commitment to that whole concept. Because if we're honest, there's no way we could conclude that such mass death day after day would ever be allowed to happen anywhere else. Certainly not in North America, or Europe, or Japan. An entire continent bursting into flames? Deep down, if we really accept that their lives—African lives—are equal to ours, we would all be doing more to put the fire out. It's an uncomfortable truth.

This book is about the alternative—taking the next step in the journey of equality. Equality is a very big idea, connected to freedom, but an idea that doesn't come for free. If we're serious, we have to be prepared to pay the price. Some people will say we can't afford to do it. . . . I disagree. I think we can't afford not to do it. In a world where distance no longer determines who your neighbor is, paying the price for equality is

stricken state of Afghanistan that they found succor and sanctuary. Africa 9/11 might have been wealthy Saudis, but it was in the collapsed, povertyready, it became too clear on September 11, 2001. The perpetrators of linked to the fates of the "have-nothing-at-alls." If we didn't know this alnot just heart, it's smart. The destinies of the "haves" are intrinsically is not the front line in the war against terror, but it soon could be

self against them? smarter—to make friends out of potential enemies than to defend your-State Colin Powell. And when a military man starts talking like that per-Who said that? Not me. Not some beatnik peace group. Secretary of haps we should listen. In tense, nervous times isn't it cheaper-and "The war against terror is bound up in the war against poverty."

parts of the world which has been so wrong for so long. can end a corrupt relationship between the powerful and the weaker tangle of bad trade, bad debt, and bad luck. The first generation that tion that can afford it. The first generation that can unknot the whole ease preventable by a twenty-cent inoculation. We are the first generacould be the first generation to outlaw the kind of extreme, stupid ments. It's a handbook on how we could finish out the job. On how we cutting poverty by half-a goal signed up to by all the world's governa critical path to accomplish the 2015 Millennium Development Goal of helpful here; it's dangerous. The plan Jeff lays out is not only his idea of poverty that sees a child die of hunger in a world of plenty, or of a dis-We wish things were different. But wishful thinking is not just un-

teachers, farmers, nurses, mechanics, children. This is Africa's crisis. and indifference murmuring softly in our ears? Fifteen thousand people our potential or will we sleep in the comfort of our affluence with apathy lives or dies—but will we be that generation? Will we in the West realize question of all. It falls outside regressions, theorems, field work and of the book's cogency, you won't find an answer to the most important clear. We converge from our different starting points . . . he from margency-that's our crisis That it's not on the nightly news, that we do not treat this as an emerdying needlessly every day from AIDS, TB, and malaria. Mothers, fathers, longer accepts that an accident of latitude determines whether a child lands fairly, squarely on our shoulders. We can be the generation that no kets, I from placards. Luckily we agree you need both. However, for all comes an adventure, something doable and achievable. His argument is In Jeff's hands, the millstone of opportunity around our necks be-

> the professor proposes here, we can choose to shift the paradigm. couldn't afford to do it. And we can't say our generation didn't have reason to do it. It's up to us. We can choose to shift the responsibility, or, as our generation didn't know how to do it. We can't say our generation are, who we've been, what we want to be remembered for. We can't say them. History will be our judge, but what's written is up to us. Who we we answered the key question. The evidence will be the world around Future generations flipping through these pages will know whether

BONO, 2004

year taught us never to sit back and rely on such commitments. Our politicians, in the final analysis, will follow our lead, not vice versa.

When the end of poverty arrives, as it can and should in our own

generation, it will be citizens in a million communities in rich and poor countries alike, rather than a handful of political leaders, who will have turned the tide. The fight for the end of poverty is a fight that all of us must join in our own way. This book, I hope, as it now appears in paperback, may play some role in our shared quest. We have exciting times ahead, and no time to lose.

Jeffrey D. Sachs New York City October 2005

Introduction

This book is about ending poverty in our time. It is not a forecast. I am not predicting what will happen, only explaining what can happen. Currently, more than eight million people around the world die each year because they are too poor to stay alive. Our generation can choose to end that extreme poverty by the year 2025.

Every morning our newspapers could report, "More than 20,000 people perished yesterday of extreme poverty." The stories would put the stark numbers in context—up to 8,000 children dead of malaria, 5,000 mothers and fathers dead of tuberculosis, 7,500 young adults dead of AIDS, and thousands more dead of diarrhea, respiratory infection, and other killer diseases that prey on bodies weakened by chronic hunger. The poor die in hospital wards that lack drugs, in villages that lack antimalarial bed nets, in houses that lack safe drinking water. They written. Most people are unaware of the daily struggles for survival, and of the vast numbers of impoverished people around the world who lose that struggle.

Since September 11, 2001, the United States has launched a war on terror, but it has neglected the deeper causes of global instability. The \$450 billion that the United States will spend this year on the military will never buy peace if it continues to spend around one thirtieth of that, just \$15 billion, to address the plight of the world's poorest of the poor, whose societies are destabilized by extreme poverty and thereby become havens of unrest, violence, and even global terrorism.

That \$15 billion represents a tiny percentage of U.S. income, just 15 cents on every \$100 of U.S. gross national product, or GNP. The share of U.S. GNP devoted to helping the poor has declined for decades, and is a tiny fraction of what the United States has repeatedly promised, and failed, to give. It is also much less than the United States should give, both to solve the crisis of extreme poverty and thereby to provide for U.S. national security. This book, then, is about making the right

choices—choices that can lead to a much safer world based on a true reverence and respect for human life.

I have spent the past twenty years working with heads of state, finance and health ministers, and villagers in dozens of countries in all parts of the world. I have visited and worked in more than a hundred countries with around 90 percent of the world's population. The cumulative experience of seeing the world from many vantage points has helped me to appreciate the real circumstances on our planet—the causes of poverty, the role of rich-country policies, and the possibilities for the future. Gaining a proper perspective on these issues has been my struggle and challenge for two decades. Nothing else in my intellectual life and political engagement has been as rewarding.

I have been fortunate to have observed, and contributed to, some real successes—the end of hyperinflations, the introduction of new stable national currencies, the cancellation of unpayable debts, the conversion of moribund communist economies to dynamic market-based economies, the start-up of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB, and Malaria, and modern drug treatment for impoverished HIV-infected people. I have increasingly understood the yawning gap between what the rich world claims to be doing to help the poor and what it is actually doing. I have also gradually come to understand through my scientific research and on-the-ground advisory work the awesome power in our generation's hands to end the massive suffering of the extreme poor, and thereby to make our lives safer in the process.

In the following pages, I will explain what I have witnessed and learned in societies as varied as Bolivia, Poland, Russia, China, India, and Kenya. You will see that all parts of the world have the chance to join an age of unprecedented prosperity building on global science, technology, and markets. But you will also see that certain parts of the world are caught in a downward spiral of impoverishment, hunger, and disease. It is no good to lecture the dying that they should have done better with their lot in life. Rather, it is our task to help them onto the ladder of development, at least to gain a foothold on the bottom rung, from which they can then proceed to climb on their own.

Am I an optimist? Optimism and pessimism are beside the point. The key is not to predict what will happen, but to help shape the future. This task is a collective one—for you as well as for me. Although introductory economics textbooks preach individualism and decentralized

markets, our safety and prosperity depend at least as much on collective decisions to fight disease, promote good science and widespread education, provide critical infrastructure, and act in unison to help the poorest of the poor. When the preconditions of basic infrastructure (roads, power, and ports) and human capital (health and education) are in place, markets are powerful engines of development. Without those ing them impoverished and suffering without respite. Collective action, structure, as well as foreign assistance when needed, underpins economic success.

Eighty-five years ago the great British economist John Maynard Keynes pondered the dire circumstances of the Great Depression. From the depths of despair around him, he wrote in 1930 of the Economic Possibilities end of poverty in Great Britain and other industrial countries in his grandsized the dramatic march of science and technology and the ability of pound interest, enough growth indeed to end the age-old "economic problem" of having enough to eat and enough income to meet other basic in today's rich countries, and is disappearing in most of the world's middle-income countries.

Today we can invoke the same logic to declare that extreme poverty can be ended not in the time of our grandchildren, but in our time. The wealth of the rich world, the power of today's vast storehouses of knowlfrom poverty all make the end of poverty a realistic possibility by the year 2025. Keynes wondered how the society of his grandchildren would for daily survival. This very question has become our own. Will we have end the suffering of those still trapped by poverty, and to forge a common bond of humanity, security, and shared purpose across cultures and regions?

This book will not answer this question. Instead, it will help to show the way toward the path of peace and prosperity, based on a detailed un-

and how our generation could mobilize our capacities in the coming seen of the world and of the economic possibilities for our time. by showing the contours of that promising path, we will be more likely derstanding of how the world economy has gotten to where it is today, to choose it. For now, I am grateful for the chance to share what I have twenty years to eliminate the extreme poverty that remains. I hope that

One

FAMILY PORTRAIT A GLOBAL

MALAWI: THE PERFECT STORM

out survival from an unforgiving terrain. This year has been a lot more fields that we pass. an El Niño cycle. Whatever the cause, the crops are withering in the difficult than usual because the rains have failed, probably the result of impoverished landlocked country in southern Africa, households eke perature is sweltering. In this subsistence maize-growing region of an with water jugs, fuel wood, and other bundles. The midmorning temcome over dirt roads, passing women and children walking barefoot Nthandire, about an hour outside of Lilongwe, the capital. We have I t is still midmorning in Malawi when we arrive at a small village,

which has ravaged this part of Malawi for several years now. There are They are nearly all dead. The village has been devastated by AIDS, worker who has led us to the village shakes his head sadly and says no. age in sight. Where, we ask, are the workers? Out in the fields? The aid children greet us, but there is not a young man or woman of working no able-bodied young men at all. In fact, older women and dozens of not be as dire as it is this morning. But as we arrive in the village, we see what little rain had fallen in the preceding months, the situation would small-scale water harvesting units on rooftops and in the fields to collect If the village were filled with able-bodied men who could have built

ON-THE-GROUND SOLUTIONS FOR ENDING POVERTY

The end of poverty will require a global network of cooperation among people who have never met and who do not necessarily trust each other. One part of the puzzle is relatively easy. Most people in the world, with a little bit of prodding, would accept the fact that schools, clinics, roads, electricity, ports, soil nutrients, clean drinking water, and the like are the basic necessities not only for a life of dignity and health, but also for economic productivity. They would also accept the fact that the poor may need help to meet their basic needs, but they might be skeptical that the world could pull off any effective way to give that help.

If the poor are poor because they are lazy or their governments are corrupt, how could global cooperation help? Fortunately, these common beliefs are misconceptions, only a small part of the explanation, if at all, of why the poor are poor. I have noted repeatedly that in all corners of the world, the poor face structural challenges that keep them from getting even their first foot on the ladder of development. Most societies with good harbors, close contacts with the rich world, favorable climates, adequate energy sources, and freedom from epidemic disease have escaped from poverty. The world's remaining challenge is not mainly to overcome laziness and corruption, but rather to take on geographic isolation, disease, vulnerability to climate shocks, and so on, with new systems of political responsibility that can get the Job done.

In the next chapters, I lay out a strategy for ending extreme poverty by 2025. The strategy focuses on the key investments—in people and in infrastructure—that can give impoverished communities around the world, both rural and urban, the tools for sustainable development. We need plans, systems, mutual accountability, and financing mechanisms. But even before we have all of that apparatus—or economic plumbing—in place, we must first understand more concretely what such a strategy means to the one billion-plus people who can be helped. It is the bravery, fortitude, realism, and sense of responsibility of the impoverished and disempowered, for themselves and especially for their children, that give us hope, and spur us on to end extreme poverty in

MEETING WITH THE RURAL POOR: SAURI, KENYA

Together with colleagues from the UN Millennium Project and the Earth Institute, I spent several days in July 2004 in a group of eight Kenyan villages known as the Sauri sublocation in the Siaya district of Nyanza Province, about forty-four kilometers from Kisumu, in western Kenya. We visited farms, clinics, a subdistrict and district hospital, and schools in Sauri and the environs. We met with international organizations working in the region, including ICRAF (the World Agroforestry Center), the UN Development Program, and the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. The visit made vivid both why extreme poverty persists in rural areas and how it can be ended.

We found a region beset by hunger, AIDS, and malaria. The situation is far more grim than is described in official documents. The situation is also salvageable, but the international community requires a much better understanding of its severity, dynamics, and solutions if the crisis in Sauri and the rest of rural Africa is to be solved.

The situation is best understood through the voices of Sauri's struggling residents. In response to an invitation from our group, more than two hundred members of the community came to meet with us one afternoon (see photograph 2). Hungry, thin, and ill, they stayed for three and a half hours, speaking with dignity, eloquence, and clarity about their predicament. They are impoverished, but they are capable and resourceful. Though struggling to survive at present, they are not dispir-

ited but determined to improve their situation. They know well how they could get back to high ground.

supplies. Nonetheless, to boost the fortitude of the eighth graders durgry and impoverished schoolchildren, many of them orphans, through who must fend for themselves. Many go hungry the entire school day. is currently unable to provide midday meals for the younger children, ing the critical examination year, the community provides them with a a secondary school because of lack of funds for tuition, uniforms, and nately, many who will pass the exams will be unable to take a position in in advance for this year's national examinations in November. Unfortugraders sat at their desks from 6:30 A.M. until 6:00 P.M. preparing months we saw why. On their "day off" from school, this year's class of eighth the Kenyan national secondary school exams. On a Sunday in July, hood, and hunger, all thirty-three of last year's eighth-grade class passed mistress, Ms. Anne Marcelline Omolo, who shepherds hundreds of hun-Sauri Primary School, under the auspices of a remarkable school headby the students (shown in photographs 3 and 4). Alas, the community cooked midday meal, with the fuel wood and water brought from home primary education and the travails of daily life. Despite disease, orphan-The meeting took place on the grounds of a school called the Bar

colleagues and told the community of the Millennium Project's assignvillagers arriving on foot from several kilometers away. I introduced my foundly challenging—challenging, most of all, for the rich world. we all rose from a discussion that was distressing, uplifting, and proother parts of Africa and beyond. Several hours later, around 5:30 P.M., nity learn from the experience in Sauri for the benefit of villages in some of the ideas to work in Sauri and help the international commu-States, the Earth Institute at Columbia University would be able to put to a remarkable grant from the Lenfest Foundation in the United Development Goals of reducing extreme poverty, hunger, disease, and ways to help such communities to achieve the worldwide Millennium tion of communities like Sauri, and to work with villagers to identify ment from UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan to understand the situalack of access to safe water and sanitation. I also announced that thanks The village meeting got underway on a Monday afternoon, with the

in places like Sauri, stagnation is a euphemism for decline and early death. Food output per person is falling, malaria is pervasive and in-Whatever the official data may show about "stagnant" rural incomes

> to modern contraceptives. cess whatsoever to family planning and reproductive health services or rates are around six children per woman, and the villagers have no ac-Rapid population growth in the past has made farm sizes small. Fertility more than a trickle and therefore requiring several minutes to fill a jug many homesteads, and heavily congested, sometimes yielding little few protected water points, but they are too few in number, far from day after extensive morning use. An NGO from the UK helped install a collecting water for household use are often dirty, especially later in the lence on the order of 30 percent, if not higher. Rudimentary springs for creasing; AIDS stalks the community and the region, with adult preva-

crops. By choosing the right timing for planting and the right combinanitrogen fertilizer. tion of trees and crops, the farmer gets a natural substitute for chemical (nitrogen-fixing) trees can be planted alongside maize or other food compound that food crops can use as a nutrient. The leguminous nitrogen, which most food crops cannot use directly, into a nitrogen naturally fix nitrogen, meaning that the trees convert atmospheric into Sauri by ICRAF. With this novel technique, villagers grow trees that fixing trees, a scientific farming approach developed and introduced at present. Around 25 percent are using improved fallows with nitrogenand received very perceptive accounts of the grim situation. Only two of the two hundred or so farmers at the meeting reported using fertilizer I canvased the group on the material conditions of the community,

there were additional financial resources available to ICRAF and the vilpotassium, which is also costly, too costly for the impoverished farmers Farmers may also need to add some nonnitrogen fertilizers, especially money to introduce the technique and one planting season is lost ICRAF technique could be scaled up throughout the village, if only All of these additional complications could easily be addressed, and the lage to jump-start the process. So far, just one fourth of Sauri farmers use the new method. It costs

good, with yields of around one ton of maize per hectare, the houseare so depleted of nutrients and organic matter that even if the rains are holds still go hungry. If the rains fail, the households face the risk of therefore biologically unable to produce an adequate crop. The soils than 0.1 hectares, with soils that are utterly exhausted of nutrients, and The rest of the community is farming on tiny plots, often no more

ing, meaning low height for one's age, is widespread, a sign of the pervasive and chronic undernutrition of the children. death from immunosuppression because of severe undernutrition. Stunt-

spiral of unending indebtedness and destitution some other calamity can push a household that has taken on debt into a farmers: a single failed crop season, an untimely episode of malaria, or Credits to buy fertilizer are neither available nor prudent for these \$100 per hectare, a cost vastly beyond what the household can afford proper application might require two to four bags per hectare, or \$50 to (US\$25). At \$500 a ton, that is at least twice the world market price. A phosphate (DAP) fertilizer sells for around 2,000 Ksh (Kenyan shillings) chase what they had used in the past. A fifty-kilo bag of diammonium reach, and how their current impoverishment left them unable to pur-Farmer after farmer described how the price of fertilizer was now out of ers had used fertilizers in the past? Every hand in the room went up. The real shocker came with my follow-up question. How many farm-

to the occasion. Fortunately, on this occasion, the Earth Institute was represent a low cost per person in villages like Sauri if donors would rise Yes, the amount was out of reach of the villagers themselves, but would chemical fertilizer inputs would cost some tens of thousands of dollars gressed. Scaling up an appropriate combination of agroforestry and In my mind I started the calculations as the conversation pro-

ily members living in Nairobi and other cities. The response was that the asked how many households were home to one or more orphaned chilnity's predicament became more and more apparent. AIDS is ravaging remittances. only things coming back from the cities were coffins and orphans, not up. I asked how many households were receiving remittances from famdren left behind by the pandemic. Virtually every hand in the room shot the village, and nobody has yet had access to antiretroviral therapy. I As the afternoon discussion unfolded, the gravity of the commu-

used antimalarial bed nets? Two out of two hundred hands went up explained, is that they cannot afford the bed nets, which sell for a few use bed nets? All hands remained up. The problem, many of the women How many knew about bed nets? All hands. And how many would like to from malaria. Around three fourths of the hands shot up. How many dollars per net, and are too expensive even when partially subsidized I asked how many households had somebody currently suffering

> lagers can afford. an explanation that the medicines sell at prices well beyond what the vilcommunity were using medicine to treat a bout of malaria? A few hands went up, but the vast majority remained down. A woman launched into (socially marketed) by international donor agencies. How many in the

surgical kit. several kilometers over dirt paths. Yet when we visited the Yala subdisrush the child to the subdistrict hospital in nearby Yala. The mothers in small, ravaged bodies deprived of oxygen-carrying hemoglobin, they explained that they could not afford to pay the doctor and buy the meddoctor (one visits only two afternoons per week), or even one complete trict hospital on our way from the village, we found a hospital with pamay carry the children on their backs or push them in wheelbarrows for into anemia-induced tachycardia (rapid heartbeat), gasping for breath icines, so the doctor departed. Now they fend for themselves without The doctor has since left and the clinic is now padlocked. The villagers tients lying on cots in the halls-without running water, an in-house health care or medicines. When malaria gets bad, and their children fall A year or so ago, Sauri had a small clinic, as seen in photograph 5

cient for cooking one meal. In our meeting with the villagers, I concooked meals. lagers had in fact reverted to cooking with cow dung or to eating untwenty-five shillings (thirty cents). These seven sticks are barely suffiing the ICRAF system of improved fallows, based on leguminous trees, bereft of sufficient fuel wood. The quarter or so households who are uswood, but the decline in the number of trees has left the sublocation that earns almost no money at all. A woman responded that many vilveyed astonishment at the price, thirty cents per meal, for a community (both a few kilometers away), a bundle of seven sticks costing around Villagers said that they now buy pieces of fuel wood in Yala or Muhanda have a dedicated supply of fuel wood. Other farmer households do not A few years back, Sauri's residents cooked with locally collected fuel

so said that they get to the regional city of Kisumu each month, and only a handful of villagers said they had ridden in any kind of motorized commercial and political capital, four hundred kilometers away, once transport during the past year. Only three or four of the two hundred or ning. There are no cars or trucks owned or even used within Sauri, and about the same number said that they had been to Nairobi, Kenya's As this village dies of hunger, AIDS, and malaria, its isolation is stun-

during the past year. There are virtually no remittances reaching the village. Indeed, there is virtually no cash income of any kind reaching the village. Given the farmers' meager production, farm output must be used almost entirely for the household's own consumption, rather than for sales in the market. The community has no money for fertilizers, medicines, school fees, or other basic needs that must be purchased from outside of the villages. Around half of the individuals at the meeting said that they had never made a phone call in their entire lives. (Ironically, and promisingly, our own mobile phones worked fine in the village, relying on a cell tower in Yala. Extending low-cost telephony to the village, for example based on a mobile phone shared by the community, would therefore pose no infrastructure problems.)

This year the rains are failing again, another disaster in an increasingly erratic climate, quite possibly a climate showing the increasing effects of long-term man-made climate change emanating from the rich world. The two roof-water harvesting cisterns at the school are now empty, and the farmers fear disaster in the harvest next month. The Kenyan government has already put out a worldwide appeal for emergency aid to fight imminent starvation in several provinces, including Nyanza.

This village could be rescued, and could achieve the Millennium Development Goals, but not by itself. Survival depends on addressing a series of specific challenges: nutrient-depleted soils, erratic rainfall, holoendemic malaria, pandemic HIV/AIDS, lack of adequate education opportunities, lack of access to safe drinking water and latrines, and the unmet need for basic transport, electricity, cooking fuels, and communications. All of these challenges can be met, with known, proven, reliable, and appropriate technologies and interventions.

The crux of the matter for Sauri sublocation can be stated simply and directly:

Sauri's villages, and impoverished villages like them all over the world, can be saved and set on a path of development at a cost that is tiny for the world but too high for the villages themselves and for the Kenyan government on its own.

African safari guides speak of the Big Five animals to watch for on the savannah. The international development community should speak of the Big Five development interventions that would spell the difference between hunger, disease, and death and health and economic development. Sauri's Big Five, identified by the villagers as well as by the UN Millennium Project, are

- Agricultural inputs. With fertilizers, improved fallows (with ICRAF's proven technologies), green manures and cover crops, water harvesting and small-scale irrigation, and improved seeds, Sauri's farmers could triple the food yields per hectare and quickly end chronic hunger. In addition, storage facilities would allow the village to sell the grain over the course of months, rather than all at once, thereby getting more favorable prices. Grain could be protected in locally made storage bins using leaves from the improved fallow species tephrosia, which has insecticide properties. These improvements would be of particular advantage for the women, who do the lion's share of African farm and household work.
- Investments in basic health. A village clinic with one doctor and nurse for the five thousand residents would provide free antimalarial bed nets; effective antimalarial medicines; treatments for HIV/AIDS opportunistic infections (including highly effective and low-cost Bactrim); antiretroviral therapy for late-stage AIDS; and a range of other essential health services, including skilled birth attendants and sexual and reproductive health services.
- Investments in education. Meals for all the children at the primary school could improve the health of the schoolchildren, the quality of education, and the attendance at school. Expanded vocational training for the students could teach them the skills of modern farming (for example, using improved fallows and fertilizer), computer literacy, basic infrastructure maintenance (electrical wiring, use and maintenance of a diesel generator, water harvesting, borewell construction and maintenance), carpentry, and the like. With a mere thousand households in Sauri, villagewide classes once a month could train adults in hygiene, HIV/AIDS, malaria control, computer and mobile phone use, and a myriad of other technical and enormously pressing topics. Without doubt, the village is ready and eager to be empowered by increased information and technical knowledge.
- Power, transport, and communications services. Electricity could be
 made available to the villages either via a power line (from Yala or
 Nyanminia) or an off-grid diesel generator. The electricity would power
 lights and perhaps a computer for the school; pumps for safe well water; power for milling grain and other food processing, refrigeration,
 carpentry; charges for household batteries (which could be used for

goods and milk for sale in Kisumu, and increase opportunities for offbecues), and take out harvests to the market, transport perishable of liquid petroleum gas [LPG], familiar from American backyard barother farm inputs, and modern cooking fuels (for example, canisters without electric lighting. A village truck could bring in fertilizers, could be used for emergencies, market information, and generally to to the hospital. One or more shared mobile phones for the village farm employment for youth. The truck could rush women with childconnect Sauri with the outside world. birth complications and children with acute complications of anemia that the students would like to study after sunset but cannot do so household illumination); and other needs. The villagers emphasized

· Safe drinking water and sanitation. With enough water points and lafetching water. The water could be provided through a combination and children of the village would save countless hours of toil each day trines for the safety and convenience of the entire village, women technologies. There is even the possibility of establishing links with of protected springs, borewells, rainwater harvesting, and other basic an existing large-scale storage tank and pumping station a few kilo-

at the Earth Institute are refining: dents would be very low. Here are some quick guesses, which colleagues The irony is that the costs of these services for Sauri's five thousand resi-

year for the community. hectares would be roughly \$100 per hectare per year, or \$50,000 per Fertilizers and improved fallows for the five hundred or so arable

achieved through the application of fertilizers. virals, would cost around \$50,000 per year. (Antiretrovirals would be communally out of just a small part of the incremental grain yields Emergency Plan, and other programs.) School meals could be paid for provided by the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB, and Malaria, the U.S. vention and care and additional free basic services other than antiretro-A clinic, staffed by a doctor and nurse, providing free malaria pre-

school students (numbering about a thousand) in the entire sublocamanufacturer). Modern cooking fuel for the primary and secondary haps \$15,000 per year if amortized over several years (or leased from a A village truck would be an annual inclusive running cost of per-

> and a grain storage facility would add perhaps \$5,000 per year, for a total of \$25,000 per year. tion would cost an additional \$5,000 per year. A few village cell phones

and cost around \$25,000 dollars. storage system would provide access to water at ten convenient locations wells (with pumps), and community taps connected to the large-scale A combination of protected springs (with improved access), bore-

a few hours every night with the battery charging station connected to could be provided with a battery/bulb assembly to light a small bulb for the village generator. The annualized costs would be \$25,000 per year. \$40,000 in initial costs and recurring costs of \$10,000, every household from Yala or Nyanminia for an initial cost of about \$35,000. For another five water points by a dedicated off-grid generator or by a power line Electricity could be provided to the school, the nearby clinic, and

extension officers, and other related delivery services. various costs of local management, technical advice from agricultural Additional expenses would include scaling up educational activities,

phaned children, could also be stanched. vices, the mass deaths from AIDS, as well as the deluge of newly ormyriad of other benefits. With anti-AIDS drugs added to the clinic's sering manufacturing, horticulture, aquaculture, animal husbandry, and a growth of cash incomes via food processing, carpentry, small-scale clothrise in incomes through the sale of surplus grains and cash crops, the net trials in a neighboring area), a doubling or tripling of food yields roughly \$70 per person per year in Sauri, for at least the next few years. tion, improved school attendance, a reduction of water-borne disease, a per hectare with a drastic reduction of chronic hunger and undernutrimission reduced by perhaps 90 percent, judging from recent CDC bedcosts of these improvements would total around \$350,000 per year, or The benefits would be astounding: decisive malaria control (with trans-My Earth Institute colleagues and I estimated that the combined

tuted by improved fallows (as appropriate), could raise crop yields in a even if credit is made available. A fertilizer application of \$100 per transport, credit, and a financial cushion against the risk of crop failures which are currently unused, since households lack access to storage, hectare (such as two hundred kilos of DAP), combined with or substibut also in direct commercial returns. Consider the case of fertilizers, not only in lives saved, children educated, and communities preserved Sooner rather than later, these investments would repay themselves

a marketable value of the increment of roughly \$200 to \$400 dollars per would mean the difference between harvesting one ton and a failed normal season from one ton per hectare to three tons per hectare, with izer and improved fallows on a full commercial basis community and, eventually, perhaps in a decade, to provide the fertilcial cushion. Later on it will be possible to share the costs with the years, fertilizers and improved fallows should be given largely for free to the vilcrop (with attendant acute hunger, if not starvation). In the first few for the maize crop. In a drought year, fertilizer and/or improved fallows hectare, assuming that transport is available and there is a stable price lagers to boost their own nutrition and health, and to build a small finan-

INTERNATIONAL DONORS AND VILLAGES LIKE SAURI

needed. Kenya's debt servicing to the rich world is around \$600 million to Kenya is around \$100 million, or a mere one fifteenth of what is ment is already stretched beyond its means. (More precise estimates of donors filling most of that financing gap, since the national govern-The international donor community should be thinking round the velopment plans as described in chapter 14.) Instead, donor support cost would have to be worked out in the context of detailed denual investments on the order of \$1.5 billion per year for its Sauris, with people, of whom two thirds are in rural areas, Kenya would require anrural areas like Sauri? With a population of some thirty-three million clock about one question: how can the Big Five interventions be scaled up in nity, not bolstered by it. per year, so its budget is still being drained by the international commu-

ment partners. Kenya, ironically, is also a victim of global terrorism, soil have been hit in recent years, sending Kenya's tourist industry into a caught in a war not of its own making. U.S. and Israeli targets on Kenyan sive property damage. downward spiral and causing hundreds of deaths of Kenyans and masdemocracy that should be receiving considerable help from its develop-This is all the more remarkable since Kenya is a new and fragile

Kenya to ensure that its poverty reduction efforts are bold enough to The UN Millennium Project is working with the government of

> the opportunity to examine how it could actually be accomplished. cess to basic health care, donors quickly objected rather than jumped at tional social health insurance fund, the very thing needed to scale up acrural Kenya. Yet when the Kenyan government recently proposed a nasafe drinking water-not only in Sauri villages, but across impoverished health and education, electricity, transport and communications, and the rich world to enable Kenya to invest in the Big Five-agriculture, much greater development assistance and deeper debt cancellation from achieve the Millennium Development Goals. This strategy will require

ruption inside their own governments and even in the provision of forsystematically and cleverly, but without useless and false moralizing. eign aid (which is often linked to powerful political interests within the ment of local villages to oversee the provision of public services, and ment's already major efforts to improve the judicial system, empowerdonor countries). The affliction is widespread, and needs to be attacked some humility on the part of donors. Most donor governments have corlive off bribes and side payments, continued support for the governupgrading, higher pay for senior managers so that they do not have to public administration, not by moralizing and finger pointing but by the able, but only if donors help Kenya to improve the functioning of the yet been weeded out. Part of the corruption is new and completely avoidearlier regime of more than two decades, corrupt officials who have not installation of computer systems, published accounts, job training and Kenyan government. Much of the corruption reflects holdouts from the The issue of corruption overshadows donor relations with the

a historic project." Private international consulting firms could be implementation and performance brought in to help design these systems and to lend credibility to their governable, and scalable set of interventions across the country. We're and safe water and sanitation. Together, let's design a budgetary and inputs, health, education, electricity, communications and transport, you to ensure that all of Kenya's rural poor have access to agricultural prepared to pay if you are prepared to ensure good governance on such management system that will reach the villages and ensure a monitorable, "We'd like to help you scale up the Big Five in Kenya's villages to enable Donors should sit down with the government leadership and say,

advantage of the crucial fact that villages like Sauri have a group moni With a little more forethought, donors and governments could take

with village governance in India, based on the panchayats (local counsee village services have also been highly successful. Recent experiences projects that empower village-based community organizations to overence with group lending in microfinance has been highly successful, that can help to ensure that aid to the village is well used. Just as experitoring and enforcement mechanism automatically built into village life ics, transport and electricity, farming) to help prepare for the actual ineagerness at the invitation to form various committees (schooling, clincils), are but one notable example. In Sauri, the villagers jumped with dens and even legal obstacles, would be well represented in each of the also ensured that the village women, with their special needs and bur-Headmistress Omolo, who oversaw the formation of the committees, vestments and to ensure proper governance as they are put into place.

tually reaches the villages. We need to be more creative in order to save could come up with dozens of fruitful approaches to ensure that aid acwith the villagers and brainstorming with government officials, they strategy. Kenya's new democracy, from the national government down ing-in the impoverished villages around the world. The donors and the lives of millions of people now struggling to survive-and often failto the villages, is prepared to govern the use of international help with the government of Kenya can and should agree on a suitable and bold nisms right and invest in the supporting information and reporting transparency, efficiency, and equity if we can get the delivery mechatechnologies. If donor officials would join the government of Kenya in meeting

MEETING WITH THE URBAN POOR: MUMBAI, INDIA

group that I met in June 2004 comes from a community that lives near in Mumbai, India, struggles with the urban face of extreme poverty. A Several thousand miles from Sauri, Kenya, an impoverished community within ten feet of the tracks. It may seem impossible, but the shacks of whistle as the train rolls through the city; I mean a community that lives the railway tracks. By near, I do not mean within range of the railway poster board, corrugated sheet metal, thatch, and whatever else is at hand are pushed right against the tracks, as seen in photograph 6. Chil-

> sanitation. And they are routinely maimed and killed by the trains. two of passing trains. They defecate on the tracks, for lack of alternative dren and the old routinely walk along the tracks, often within a foot or

who are there to learn about community organization for slum dwellers meet with me, and also a group of visitors from Durban, South Africa, hard physical work and exposure to the elements. They have come to in their thirties and forties, but they look much older after decades of The fifty or so people assembled around the room are mostly women the Promotion of Area Resource Centres (SPARC), is our host today. in photographs 7 and 8. The NGO that she founded, the Society for has brought me to meet the group. She has pioneered the cause of comacademic research years earlier to work with communities like this one, munity organization within the very poorest slums, such as those shown An energetic and charismatic social worker, Sheela Patel, who left

thousands more wait to find new living quarters. gutters, even roads. Thousands have already been relocated, though ground, in settlements with basic amenities like running water, latrines, negotiating arrangements to relocate away from the tracks to safer past few years, this particular group, with SPARC's support, has been found a voice, a strategy for negotiating with the city government. In the group is discussing how slum dwellers who own virtually nothing have water, and safety from the trains, but empowerment: specifically, the The overarching theme of our discussion is not latrines, running

Slum Dwellers Federation (RSDF), which has been organized by the on the needs of women slum dwellers. meeting, Mahila Milan (Women Together), which focuses specifically In addition to SPARC and the RSDF, a third NGO is represented at the nicipality and the Indian Railways concerning their needs and interests community members, with the aid of SPARC, to negotiate with the mudren. But I'm even more startled to learn that there is actually a Railway gle to establish survivable conditions for themselves and for their chilin cities to escape rural impoverishment, even famine, and then strugsure, a measure of the desperation of the poorest of the poor who arrive of the train tracks is startling enough for me this morning. It is, to be The notion of large communities of people living within a few feet

with a kind of testimonial to the power of group action. This testimony and the range of solutions come vividly to the fore. Each woman begins As the women begin to talk, the realities of extreme urban poverty

and straightforward, matter-of-fact approach of the group. They explain might have seemed staged but for the genuine smiles, calm demeanor, danger, noise, disruption, and squalor. they were resigned to their dreadful circumstances, living in constant together in the joint initiative of SPARC, the RSDF, and Mahila Milan, tendance several decades ago. They cannot read or write, but they know how they have had no schooling—perhaps two or three years of fitful atfull well that their children need and deserve better. Before they came

act together. The city government and Indian Railways, for their part, have been only too happy to try to relocate the group away from the railwithin the city and even the possibility of access to public services if they families can trigger an uproar, as occurred in February 2001 when two raising costs and limiting service. The city and the railway company have leads to frequent accidents and forces the trains to slow down markedly, way tracks, since the presence of the slum right up against the track federation mobilized its members to shut down the city's railways. learned the hard way that any forcible actions to relocate individual thousand huts were demolished along the Harbour railway line and the But group action has taught them that in fact they have legal rights

supplied subsidized food and cooking oil in the new neighborhoods where they will live. Their children will need access to a school and to be healthier, better educated, and more productive in the workforce. ments in individuals and basic infrastructure that can empower people their current salaries, perhaps in the garment factories. literacy, empowered and motivated by their political activism. Those other low-skilled, labor-intensive services. The younger and more litermeager incomes as maids, cooks, sweepers, guards, launderers, or in or by foot if they are close enough. All are hard workers, earning their clinic. They would like to be able to reach their jobs on public transport tricity. They will need to have new ration cards for the governmentthe railway tracks, with access to water, sanitation, roads, and even elec-These impoverished families want basic amenities—to live away from who become literate have a chance to find work at two or three times ate members of the group have actually begun to gain, or regain, basic As in the villages of Sauri, what this community needs are invest-

drinking water, has devastating consequences on the dignity and physispeaks plainly to how the lack of basic infrastructure, in this case safe cal well-being of women: One recent report from the slums of Mumbai and Pune, India.

> filthy toilets, carries health risks and is also a source of anxiety can be. Not having toilets, or having to wait in long queues to use to appreciate how humiliating, tiring, stressful and inconvenient this for those who have never had to rely on public or other peoples' taps mate this side of the water burden. There are no compelling internawhen their usual sources run dry. It is important not to underestioften inadequate water supplies to clean the home, prepare the labour burdens related to inadequate water provision. It is difficult tional statistics, comparable to health statistics, documenting the also women who have to scrounge, buy or beg for water, particularly food, wash the utensils, do the laundry and bathe the children. It is slippery slopes. It is typically women who have to make do with the who have to carry heavy water containers over long distances and on very early or go late at night to get the water. It is typically women ten queuing for long periods in the process and having to get up It is typically women who collect water from public standpipes, of

ernment and the slum dwellers in a realistic manner? voice, and how can the financial burdens be shared among the city govout its own land, find a collective voice and the security to raise that ment and finance. How can an impoverished squatter community, within rural Kenya. The problems in urban areas revolve around empowerand clinics can also be easier to arrange. Doctors and nurses abound in Mumbai in comparison with the scarcity of trained medical personnel alone generator. In densely populated urban areas, access to schools can be tapped into from the power grid rather than supplied by a stand-Sauri. Water taps can be provided from the main city pipes. Electricity will be easier to address than the comparable needs of the villagers in In many ways, the logistical and investment needs of the squatters

tiating with the Kolkata Municipal Authority to help set up lavatories in velopment that can finance resettlement elsewhere. SPARC is also negoaccess to real estate for community resettlement or for commercial dedweller organizations can tap into special municipal programs to gain slum dwellers in a particular location. As land developers, the slumthat they have agreements to represent at least 70 percent of the eligible legally empowered to act as land developers if they can demonstrate added power to the communities: slum-dweller organizations are now Kolkata's slums, under an arrangement in which the costs of construc-With SPARC's initiative, the new Slum Rehabilitation Act has given

and maintenance would be the responsibility of the slum dwellers' orgation would be borne jointly by the municipality and the slum dwellers,

of the resettlement programs. The NGOs, for their part, have made imbased on a major role for the NGOs in the design and implementation ing to finance some of the upgrading of Mumbai's urban transport in the past. Recently the World Bank has creatively joined the mix, helpat the table will make possible future solutions that were undreamed of vorable confluence of a supportive policy environment and grassroots that these programs are "steps on the journey towards citizenship for bers to facilitate the process. Sheela Patel and her colleagues have said portant advances in organizing and documenting the community memdemocracy in action." the urban poor, where rights are translated into reality because of the fa-As Sheela Patel explains, adding an organized slum dwellers' voice

THE PROBLEM OF SCALE

to create a global network of connections that reach from impoverished Mumbai, and millions of places like them. The key to ending poverty is to that in Sauri, it will be possible to establish that foothold community can enable its households to get a foothold in the urban person can go in changing lives—not as a welfare handout, but as an inagain. Looking at the conditions in Sauri, we can see how far \$70 per communities to the very centers of world power and wealth and back The end of poverty must start in the villages of Sauri and the slums of economy, one that is already linked to global markets. For a sum similar Mumbai, we can see how a stable and safe physical environment for a vestment in sustained economic growth. Looking at the conditions in

a very realistic idea about their conditions and how to improve them, for the benefits of the group rather than pocketed by powerful individuthemselves responsibly, ensuring that any help that they receive is used not a mystical acceptance of their fate. They are also ready to govern working, prepared to struggle to stay afloat and to get ahead. They have ready to act, both individually and collectively. They are already hard als. But they are too poor to solve their problems on their own. So, too, are their own governments. The rich world, which could readily provide The starting points of that chain are the poor themselves. They are

> rather than an endless provision of emergency rations. This question run alongside the networks of financing. can be answered by showing how networks of mutual accountability can would actually reach the poor and be an investment in ending poverty the missing finances, wonders how to ensure that money made available

to design a poverty reduction strategy that can meet this challenge. end poverty, including a system of governance that empowers the poor while holding them accountable. In each low-income country, it is time In short, we need a strategy for scaling up the investments that will

MAKING THE INVESTMENTS NEEDED TO END POVERTY

I the most basic level, the key to ending extreme poverty is to enable the poorest of the poor to get their foot on the ladder of development. The development ladder hovers overhead, and the poorest of the poor are stuck beneath it. They lack the minimum amount of capital necessary to get a foothold, and therefore need a boost up to the first rung. The extreme poor lack six major kinds of capital:

- Human capital: health, nutrition, and skills needed for each person to be economically productive
- Business capital: the machinery, facilities, motorized transport used in agriculture, industry, and services
- Infrastructure: roads, power, water and sanitation, airports and seaports, and telecommunications systems, that are critical inputs into business productivity
- Natural capital: arable land, healthy soils, biodiversity, and wellfunctioning ecosystems that provide the environmental services needed by human society
- Public institutional capital: the commercial law, judicial systems, government services and policing that underpin the peaceful and prosperous division of labor

 Knowledge capital: the scientific and technological know-how that raises productivity in business output and the promotion of physical and natural capital

cumulation is large enough to keep up with population growth question for growth in per capita income is whether the net capital actal stock declines. Even if there is positive net capital accumulation, the net capital accumulation. If savings are less than depreciation, the capiple, because of AIDS. If savings exceed depreciation, there is positive sage of time, or wear and tear, or the death of skilled workers, for exammarket. Capital is diminished, or depreciated, as the result of the pasbanks) or invested directly in family businesses or equities traded in the lent to businesses (often through financial intermediaries such as nance investments by the government. Household savings are either part of their current income, or have a part of their income taxed to fi-On the positive side is the capital accumulated when households save a lated, in turn, in a balance of two forces, one positive and one negative growing faster than capital is being accumulated. Capital is accumution. The amount of capital per person declines when the population is the ratio of capital per person actually falls from generation to generacapital per person, and then find themselves trapped in poverty because How to overcome a poverty trap? The poor start with a very low level of

HOW THE POVERTY TRAP WORKS AND HOW FOREIGN AID HELPS OVERCOME IT

Figure 1 shows the basic mechanics of saving, capital accumulation, and growth, and figure 2 shows how a poverty trap works. In figure 1, we start on the left-hand side with a typical household. The household divides its income into consumption, taxation, and household savings. The government, in turn, divides its tax revenues into current spending and government investment. The economy's capital stock is raised by both household savings and by government investment. A higher capital stock leads to economic growth, which in turn raises household income through the feedback arrow from growth to income. We show in the figure that population growth and depreciation also negatively affect the accumulation of capital. In a "normal" economy, things proceed smoothly toward rising incomes, as household savings and govern-

ment investments are able to keep ahead of depreciation and population growth.

In figure 2, the process breaks down into a poverty trap. We start again on the left-hand side, but now with a household that is impoverished. All of its income goes to consumption, just to stay alive. There are no taxes and no personal savings. Nonetheless, depreciation and population growth continue relentlessly. The result is a fall in capital per person and a negative growth rate of per capita income. That leads to still further impoverishment of the household in the future. The figure depicts a vicious circle of falling incomes, zero savings and public investment, and falling capital per person as a result.

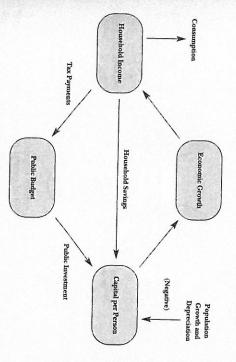
goes directly to households, mainly for humanitarian emergencies such grams and other schemes in which external assistance directly finances private businesses (for example, farmers) through microfinance probudget to finance public investments, and some is also directed toward as food aid in the midst of a drought. Much more goes directly to the process of capital accumulation, economic growth, and rising houseof official development assistance (ODA), helps to jump-start the a welfare handout, but is actually an investment that breaks the poverty ported by taxation of households. In this sense, foreign assistance is not self-sustaining through household savings and public investments suppoverty trap is broken, and figure 1 comes into its own. Growth becomes rises sufficiently to lift households above subsistence. At that point, the tance is substantial enough, and lasts long enough, the capital stock private small businesses and farm improvements. If the foreign assishold incomes. The foreign aid feeds into three channels. A little bit trap once and for all The solution is shown in figure 3, where foreign help, in the form

A Numerical Illustration

Economists like to use numerical models because it helps them to calibrate more specifically how much it will cost to accomplish a particular goal, in this case the goal of breaking a poverty trap. Here's a numerical illustration of how the poverty trap works, and though a bit tedious, it shows how financial planning can be used to identify the overall magnitude of official development assistance that will be needed to end poverty. To keep things simple, I use an illustration based entirely on

household savings and investment, without worrying about taxation and public investment.

Figure 1: The Basic Mechanics of Capital Accumulation

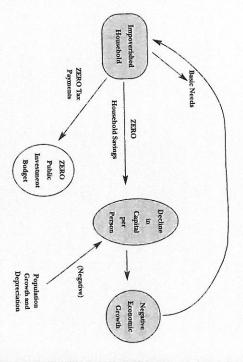


Suppose that an economy requires \$3 of capital for every \$1 of annual production. Suppose also that the capital stock depreciates at a rate of 2 percent per year. For each \$1 million of capital this year, about \$835,000 will remain at the end of a decade, after ten years of depreciation. We'll suppose that the economy currently has 1 million poor people, each with capital of \$900. This results in annual income of \$300 per person (\$900 capital divided by three). The total GNP is therefore \$300 million (\$300 per person times 1 million people). The population is growing at 2 percent per year, so at the end of the decade there will be about 1.2 million people.

Suppose now that the society is too poor to save. Each year the population lives hand to mouth, consuming whatever meager amount is produced. The starting income of \$300 is just barely enough to meet basic needs. At the end of a decade, the capital stock will have partly worn out. Instead of \$900 million in capital, there will be only \$750 million in capital. In the meantime, the population will have grown from 1 million

Figure 3: The Role of ODA in Breaking the Powerty Trap

Figure 2: The Poverty Trap



to 1.2 million. Instead of \$900 of capital per person, there is now only \$628 of capital per person (\$750 million in capital divided by 1.2 million population). Instead of each person being able to produce \$300, each person will now produce only \$209 (\$628 of capital divided by three). Households will be sinking into extreme poverty, without the income to meet basic needs.

In another illustration, suppose now that for whatever reason, the economy begins with the same population, but with a capital stock that is twice as large, equal to \$1.8 billion. Per capita income is also twice as large, \$600 per capita. As before, households need \$300 per person per year to meet their basic needs, and do not save anything out of incomes of \$300 or below. On all income above \$300 per person, they save 30 percent. Thus a household earning \$600 per capita saves 30 percent of \$300 (\$600 income minus \$300 basic needs), or \$90 in annual saving. Economywide saving is therefore \$90 million.

This year, the capital stock is \$1.8 billion, or \$1,800 per capita. What about next year? I have assumed that 2 percent of this year's capital stock, or \$36 million, will depreciate by next year. But there is also new savings of \$90 million. The net change of the capital stock is a rise of \$54 million (\$90 million minus \$36 million). Next year's capital stock is therefore

Basic Needs

Household Savings Person

Fablic Public Investment (Negative)

Developm

noddno

Growth and Depreciation

Population

\$1.854 billion (\$1.8 billion plus \$54 million). This amount of capital produces a GNP of \$618 million (\$1.854 billion divided by 3). The population also grows by 2 percent, and so stands at 1.02 million. Per capita income is equal to \$606 (\$618 million divided by 1.02 million). Per capita income has increased by 1 percent (in comparison with \$600), and will increase each year through the decade. Actually, the growth rate will rise gradually over time, reaching more than 2 percent per annum toward the end of the decade as household incomes rise further above the \$300 threshold of basic needs. If you use a spreadsheet to repeat the calculations for ten years rather than one year, the GNP per person at the end of the decade is \$687, up 15 percent during the decade.

Voilà. With the same economic structure as the first economy, but starting with twice the capital stock, the economy grows rather than declines. The reason is that at an income of \$600 per person, the economy is wealthy enough to save for the future; at \$300 per person, it is not. Therefore, starting at \$600 per capita, the economy finds its way onto a sustainable growth path, whereas starting at \$300 per capita, the economy sinks into further misery.

This is not all. As capital accumulates from the income base of \$600 per person, and the ratio of capital per person increases, not only does the economy grow, but the economy is likely to get an *extra* boost from

increasing returns to scale of capital. An economy with twice the capital stock per person means an economy with roads that work the year-round, rather than roads that are washed out each rainy season; electrical power that is reliable twenty-four hours each day, rather than electrical power that is sporadic and unpredictable; workers who are healthy and at their jobs, rather than workers who are chronically absent with disease. The likelihood is that doubling the human and physical capital stock will actually more than double the income level, at least at very low levels of capital per person.

A graphic illustration of increasing returns to capital is the case of roads like the one that connects the port at Mombasa, Kenya, with the landlocked countries Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi. The transport costs on this road are extremely high because the road is in very poor condition on various stretches. From time to time, transport is disrupted entirely when the rains wash away bridges and sections of the road. Suppose that, at some point, around half the road is paved and usable, and the rest is unpaved and impassable, with alternating sections of paved and unpaved roadway. Repairing the missing sections would amount to doubling the kilometers of paved road, but would much more than double the economic benefits of the road, since it would become usable along its entire length. This is an example of a threshold effect, in which the capital stock becomes useful only when it meets a minimum standard.

Thus targeted investments backed by donor aid lie at the heart of breaking the poverty trap. Donor-backed investments are needed to raise the level of capital per person. When the capital stock per person is high enough, the economy becomes productive enough to meet basic needs. Households can thus save for the future, putting the economy on a path of sustained economic growth. In my illustration, foreign aid (over several years) that raises the capital stock from \$900 per person to \$1,800 per person would enable the economy to break out of the poverty trap and begin growing on its own. It would also enable the economy to benefit from increasing returns to capital.

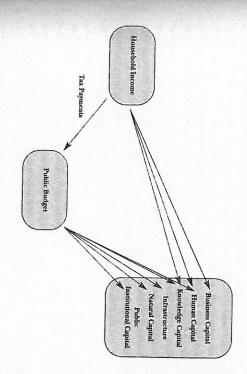
Without donor funding, alas, the necessary investments simply cannot be financed. No matter how hard a government might try—through taxes, user fees, or privatization—the poor households at \$300 per person simply do not have enough income to meet their basic needs and at the same time finance the accumulation of capital. They need the \$300 just to eat and provide clothing, shelter, and other basics.

Differential Diagnosis and Capital Accumulation

In a simple illustration, or model, as economists call it, it is easy enough to talk about capital as a single item, something that can be doubled or halved fairly straightforwardly. Much of the complexity of real economic strategy, however, is that capital comes in numerous, almost unlimited, forms. Suppose that an economy successfully negotiates an extra \$1 billion in foreign aid. Should that go to building roads, or schools, or power plants, or clinics, or to pay doctors, or teachers, or agricultural extension officers? The answer, in general, is yes to all of the above. The mix will differ markedly country by country. At the core of an effective investment strategy is a rigorous differential diagnosis. The differential diagnosis should build on the appropriate division of labor between the public sector and the private sector, as shown in figure 4.

The public sector should be mainly focused on five kinds of investments: human capital (health, education, nutrition), infrastructure (roads, power, water and sanitation, environmental conservation), natural capital (conservation of biodiversity and ecosystems), public institu-

Figure 4: Private and Public Investments in Capital



tional capital (a well-run public administration, judicial system, police energy, agriculture, climate, ecology) force), and parts of knowledge capital (scientific research for health,

technologies building on scientific advances), as well as for household ture, industry, or services and in knowledge capital (new products and be mainly responsible for investments in businesses, whether in agriculcontributions to health, education, and nutrition that complement the example, to help farmers adopt new technologies, or to help impoverwant to provide direct financing for some private-sector activities, for public investments in human capital. Occasionally the public sector will mainly to general kinds of investments-schools, clinics, roads, basic refarm, or to encourage the start-up of new urban industries. The general ished rural families to start small businesses or buy critical inputs for the vate sector. search—and to leave highly specialized business investments to the prilesson of successful economies is that governments are wise to stick The private sector (funded largely through private savings) should

compelling in the proper context. First, there are many kinds of infrathan leave those to the private sector? There are five kinds of reasons, all monopolized, so they are called natural monopolies. If such capital inreturns to scale. If left to private markets, these sectors would tend to be facilities—airports and seaports—which are characterized by increasing structure, especially networks like power grids, roads, and other transport vestments are left to the private sector, the privately owned monopolies tion of this kind of capital. Potential users would be rationed out of the would overcharge for their use, and the result would be too little utilizawould be set by a private monopolist. network infrastructure and set an efficient price below the one that market. It is more efficient, therefore, for a public monopoly to provide Why should government finance schools, clinics, and roads, rather

minish its availability for use by others. A scientific discovery is a classic that are nonrival, when the use of the capital by one citizen does not dinonrival good. Once the structure of DNA has been discovered, the use of that wonderful knowledge by any individual in society does not limit social benefits of the knowledge. There should not be a fee for scienrequires that the knowledge should be available for all, to maximize the the use of the same knowledge by others in society. Economic efficiency tists, businesses, households, researchers, and others who want to utilize A second category of publicly provided capital goods includes those

> is the public, through publicly financed institutions like the National Institutes of Health (NIH) in the United States. Even the free-market who will invest in the discoveries in the first place? The best answer the scientific knowledge of the structure of DNA! But if there is no fee, United States invests \$27 billion in publicly financed knowledge capital

estation, or other kinds of environmental degradation with serious logging, overfishing, and the like-can lead to species extinction, defor-Governments therefore have a crucial role to play in conserving natural adverse consequence for the whole society, or even the whole world other area where externalities loom large. Private actions-pollution pable of seeing through, the interested complaints of faction and sediwhen any segment of society is poorly educated. Natural capital is antion...." Smith argued, therefore, that the whole society is at risk and intelligent people . . . are more disposed to examine, and more ca-Adam Smith called for the public provision of education: "An instructed undersupply the goods and services in question. For just this reason, me as well as you. When such spillovers exist, private markets tend to easily fall under the sway of a demagogue who would be harmful for For a similar reason, I want you to be well educated so that you do not that a mosquito does not bite you and then transmit the disease to mel ties) in their effects. I want you to sleep under an antimalarial bed net so Third, many social sectors exhibit strong spillovers (or externali-

goods are not only an informal commitment of the world's governto human well-being are called merit goods. The rights to these merit that should be available to everybody because of their vital importance education, safe drinking water) as a matter of right and justice. Goods the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as follows: ments, they are also enshrined in international law, most importantly in has an adequate level of access to key goods and services (health care, Fourth, societies around the world want to ensure that everybody

hood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widow-Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing,

Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

follow-through on commitments to the Millennium Development Goals and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized." A one is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights Moreover, according to Article 28 of the Universal Declaration, "Everywould mark a major practical application of that article

Thus government might want to provide subsidized fertilizers to subsishelp impoverished households get started in market-based activities. ing productive inputs into private businesses if that, too, is required to by providing infrastructure and social investments, but also by providaccumulate savings on their own, the government subsidies can be gradholds successfully raise their incomes above subsistence, and begin to tence farmers so that they can produce enough to eat or microcredits to ually withdrawn rural women so that they can start microbusinesses. Once these house-Fifth, government will want to help the poorest of the poor not only

on the basis of expected returns. Factories are likely to be built in the dis-State-owned banks tend to make loans for political reasons, rather than votes for politicians, and layoffs can cost a politician the next election. State enterprises tend to overstaff their operations, since jobs equal nesses, they tend to do so for political rather than economic reasons. of running businesses than governments. When governments run busi-Experience has shown that private entrepreneurs do a much better job ernments generally should not provide the capital for private businesses. population. Moreover, governments rarely have the in-house expertise tricts of powerful politicians, not where they can best serve the broader structure, health, and education. tors where the government's role is central, such as in defense, infrato manage complex technologies, and they shouldn't, aside from sec-At the same time, except in the case of the poorest households, gov-

ments and another to apply the checklist to specific contexts. In Sauri, Five: agriculture, health, education, infrastructure (power, transport Kenya, and thousands of villages like it, the priorities include the Big It is one thing to identify the general checklists of public invest-

> farm inputs for smallholder farmers. vate capital accumulation via microfinance and provision of critical overfishing, logging, and deforestation generally. Support should come and communications), and water and sanitation. Natural capital needs both as direct public provision of services and as public support for pribolstering, especially land reclamation, pollution control, and limits on

the meter. in South Africa's program. Above that amount, the household pays by vices, for example six thousand liters of water per household per month easy to identify) are guaranteed a given supply of free infrastructure sering. In this approach, all households (or all poor households, if they are bining a market approach with subsidies is through lifeline-tariff prictherefore require significant subsidies. One successful model for comwill be unable to purchase their basic needs at market prices, and will overlooks the fact that a sizable proportion of low-income households often claimed that in urban areas, private markets can provide these infrastructure services on the basis of market prices. This claim typically holds through infrastructure grids for water, sewerage, and power. It is deed necessary for public health and economic reasons, to reach houseareas. The higher urban population density makes it feasible, and in-A distinct package of public investments will be needed in the urban

sis) in the crowded living conditions of urban slums. These conditions investments on their own. need to be ameliorated by targeted environmental investments, though and the transmission of airborne infectious diseases (such as tuberculoand destruction of fragile marine ecosystems close to urban centers, tories, excessive mining of water aquifers, urban garbage, coastal erosion impoverished cities rarely have the financial means to undertake these bustion), the release of toxic chemicals into the environment from fachazards include outdoor air pollution (especially from fossil fuel comthough in ways quite different from rural areas. Urban environmental Urban areas are also vulnerable to intense environmental damage,

Why Good Investments Come in Packages

needed for an effective, well-functioning economy. Each one is needed Alas, it does not exist. Each one of the six identified types of capital is for a magic bullet, the one decisive investment that will turn the tide. One of the weaknesses of development thinking is the relentless drive

investments across the board. area, whether in health, or education, or farm productivity, depends on to escape the poverty trap. Even more to the point, success in any single

child mortality (the list is hardly comprehensive): the six forms of capital contributes to healthier children and reduced vesting in the health sector is crucial overall. Here are ways that each of child survival will not be found in the health sector alone, although in-Let me focus on child survival to make the point. The solutions for

- Business capital. Higher household incomes on the farm and in doors to keep out mosquitoes), piped water, modern cooking fuels, access to doctors, improved diets, and the like. the cities allow households to invest in safer shelter (with screen
- Human capital. Key human capital investments include nutrition ning (birth spacing and smaller family size), mother's literacy, and preventative interventions like antimalarial bed nets), family plan-(immunizations, routine monitoring, emergency interventions, (micronutrient and macronutrient supplementation), health care public health awareness.
- Infrastructure. This includes safe drinking water and sanitation, pin routine and emergency health services. ics, and information and communications technology to underpower supplies for safer cooking, emergency transport to clin-
- Natural capital. Investment in natural capital includes protection against natural hazards such as El Niño-induced droughts, services to support crop productivity, and avoidance of toxic control of disease vectors and pests, conservation of ecosystem wastes in the air and water.
- Knowledge capital. Investments here are for improved organizational procedures for fighting epidemic diseases, development of sources for the household for food preparation and storage proved seed varieties to improve food intake, and low-cost energy new drugs and immunizations, development and diffusion of im-
- Public institutional capital. These investments provide the operation and extension of public health services, nutrition programs, and community participation schemes involving public health

ments to attack these ills from a variety of directions ronmental degradation, and urban slums all require packages of invest-Development Goals. Fighting hunger, disease, lack of education, envi-The same approach would apply in addressing each of the Millennium

Investing in Technological Capacity

ciety as a whole should promote a significant cohort of university-trained cers, and engineers will be needed to harness technologies for local use. graduates. These teachers, medical officers, agricultural extension offiof nine years of schooling, and most should have more than that. The sotence. Even in the poorest societies, primary education alone is no longer sufficient. All school-aged youth should be provided a minimum embedded in the capital. A cell phone, or personal computer, or high-Yet using these new technologies requires training and technical compeyield variety seed brings the latest in science to the benefit of the poor. the amount of capital per person but also the quality of the technology In both rural and urban areas, increased investments not only increase

doctors of China, have enough formal training to address basic technical geted ways, specifically for the main tasks at hand. For example, every viltrain very large numbers of people at the village level in creative and tarneeds at the village level. lage should aim to have a group of village experts, who, like the barefoot have very few years if any of formal education? The trick, I believe, is to plish that task in a setting of widespread illiteracy, where most adults ity suffuse the entire society, from the bottom up. But how can we accom-Indeed, rapid economic development requires that technical capac-

health career outside the village nurses, since one year of training would not qualify the individual for a would not arise-nor would the problem of brain drain of doctors and that the problem of attracting a trained worker from outside the village member of the community selected to be trained for this purpose, so keep track of all of this. Ideally, the community health worker would be a dren, explain the use of oral rehydration solutions, and with colleagues, immunizations, track the body weight and size of the community's chilnets, give children medicine for helminthic (parasitic) infections, give daily anti-AIDS drugs, distribute and explain the use of antimalarial bed taught to prescribe antimalarial medicines, observe patients taking their A literate community health worker, trained for one year, could be

Similarly, we could also imagine in each village a community-based agricultural extension worker with much less formal training than a traditional agricultural extension officer. The community-based worker would understand the basics of soil chemistry (measuring the adequacy would understand the basics of soil chemistry (measuring the adequacy soil tests, as well as the basic techniques of agroforestry, seed selection, soil tests, as well as the basic techniques of agroforestry, seed selection, and water management. One year of training for a high school graduate and water management. One year of training for a high school graduate the operation—and routine maintenance—of diesel generators, electrical wiring, hand pumps, road grading, and the village truck.

Villages of several hundred to a few thousand people have an added villages of several hundred to a few thousand people have an added advantage: the ability to gather together on the village green for discussions of village issues. With some planning, villages around the world could be helped to engage in continuing adult education on issues of pressing, life-and-death concern, such as, for example, how AIDS is conpressing, life-and-death concern, such as, for example, how AIDS is contracted and spread, how malaria can be controlled, the role of hygiene tracted and spread, how malaria can be controlled, the role of hygiene in food preparation, the use of fertilizers, and so forth. Such relevant in food preparation, the use of fertilizers, and so forth. Such relevant knowledge, if suitably presented, could inform rural societies on a masknowledge, if suitably presented, could inform rural societies on a masknowledge. The nearly costless production and distribution of CDs and DVDs with educational materials prepared for village discussions could make it easy to disseminate such information.

well. It used to be thought that research could be left to the rich counnational governments should promote scientific research activities as literacy levels. When India created its Indian Institutes of Technology in tries while poor countries focused on raising their basic education and of those investments in scientific research capacity. The institutes not such an impoverished country. Decades later we see the remarkable fruit such advanced and rarified educational programs really belonged in the 1950s and 1960s, development experts expressed skepticism that only produced the generation of information technology engineers that tists able to harness that technology specifically to meet India's needs. are now powering India's IT boom, but they also created teams of scienhomegrown technologies will be needed to adapt global processes to lolions of Indian villagers to get online. In any developing country, similar designed appropriate local-loop wireless technology that has helped mil-Dr. Ashok Jhunjhunwala, a professor at the IIT, Chennai, for example, natural hazard mitigation, disease control, and agricultural production cal needs in areas ranging from energy production and use, construction, In addition to training technical workers and educating villagers,

India and China are both on the verge of technological break-throughs from technology importers to technology producers and exporters on a large scale. This rise of homegrown high technology will fuel the growth of these countries for decades to come. Similar efforts are needed to create scientific capacity in sub-Saharan Africa and other very low-income regions. The task is particularly difficult, since it is swimming against the powerful current of brain drain. The few scientists trained in Africa go abroad in search of laboratory equipment, colleagues, and grant support. The infrastructure for science—well-financed universities, laboratories, and a critical mass of research funding and collegial support—will have to be built, and just like other infrastructure, this one will require the backing of rich-country donors. They will have to understand the critical importance of investment in higher education alongside primary education.

EXAMPLES OF SCALING UP IN THE FIGHT AGAINST POVERTY

The world is filled with pilot projects showing that one intervention or another has proven successful time and again. It has been shown repeatedly that antimalarial bed nets save lives in rural Africa, that anti-AIDS drugs can be administered in low-income settings, and that immunizations can be delivered in the most difficult places in the world, even in the middle of war zones. The main challenge now is not to show what works in a single village or district—though these lessons can be of great importance when novel approaches are demonstrated—but rather to scale up what works to encompass a whole country and even the world.

There are several significant examples of programs that have been scaled up massively to remarkable success. Here are ten dramatic examples that prove the naysayers wrong:

The Green Revolution in Asia

The Green Revolution is one of the most important triumphs of targeted science in the past century. Fearing the possibility of massive hunger because of a rapidly rising global population, the Rockefeller Foundation took the initiative in developing and promoting high-yield varieties (HYVs) of staple crops, first in Mexico, and then in Asia and more

tion set up an institute to develop HYVs of wheat for Mexico, under the broadly elsewhere. The start was in 1944, when the Rockefeller Foundalar crop-breeding efforts for South Asia, and also helped to introduce tween 1944 and 1964. Borlaug then persuaded donors to invest in simiwent from a large net importer of grain to a significant net exporter bebrought from Japan after World War II, led to a breakthrough. Mexico lead of Dr. Norman Borlaug. Scientific breeding, using crosses of strains oped new strains. As the result of its Green Revolution, India went from the resulting technologies to local crop breeders who successfully develeleven million metric tons of wheat production in 1960 to twenty-four million tons in 1970, thirty-six million tons in 1980, and fifty-five million search Institute in the Philippines and the International Potato Center network of international institutions, such as the International Rice Rerieties were similarly developed for other crops and locations through a tons in 1990, far outstripping the increase in population. High-yield va-

The Eradication of Smallpox

A concerted global effort ended the scourge of smallpox after thoucowpox vaccine to prevent smallpox; that breakthrough provided the sands of years of epidemics that claimed the lives of hundreds of miltechnological basis for eventual eradication. By the 1950s, most of the lions of people. In 1796, Edward Jenner demonstrated the use of a recently as 1967, the disease struck around 10 to 15 million people and ued to rage in poor countries, where vaccine coverage was very low. As rich world had already become free of smallpox, but the disease continsurveillance and containment. In 1980, the World Health Organization established the Smallpox Eradication Unit, and began to implement a claimed 1.5 to 2 million lives. That year, the World Health Organization campaign of mass vaccination worldwide, backed by strong efforts on gions in the hinterlands of Asia and Africa, and regions in the midst of reached the farthest corners of the world, including impoverished redeclared the world free of smallpox. The campaign had successfully violent conflict.

The Campaign for Child Survival

was estimated to have saved around twelve million lives by the end of the Africa, where the rates were (and are) by far the highest. The campaign ity rates fell sharply in all parts of the low-income world, including with the immunization package. The results were striking. Child mortalduce these measures, especially to reach at least 80 percent coverage years, dozens of poor countries conducted all-out campaigns to introup in low-income settings. During the decade, particularly in the latter depended on standardized technologies that could be massively scaled polio, and measles. As in the smallpox eradication effort, the campaign childhood killers: tuberculosis, diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus, and immunity to diseases in infancy; and immunization against six dration therapy to treat bouts of diarrhea; breastfeeding for nutrition terventions known as GOBI: growth monitoring of children; oral rehy-Campaign for Child Survival. The campaign promoted a package of in-In 1982, the executive director of UNICEF, James Grant, launched the

The Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization

Once again, its strategy has depended on the coupling of standardized fluenzae type b (Hib); 3.2 million children vaccinated against yellow developed and adopted in the rich countries, but because of costs and fever; and 9.6 million children vaccinated with other basic vaccines. hepatitis B; 5.6 million children vaccinated against Haemophilus in-2004, the alliance reported 41.6 million children vaccinated against poor countries, and it has achieved a series of striking results. As of years of its operation, the alliance made commitments of \$1.1 billion to Immunizations was launched in 2000 to guide the new effort. In the first dation to reenergize the effort. The Global Alliance for Vaccines and ing an initial gift of \$750 million from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foun-Africa and other regions. Bill Gates stepped up to the effort, announcoften the result of intensifying poverty and economic crisis in sub-Saharan countries. Second, coverage rates achieved by the early 1990s had slipped, lack of training and facilities, they had not been introduced into poor fortifying in two major ways. First, many new immunizations had been By the late 1990s, the campaign for childhood immunizations needed

posals developed and submitted by the recipient countries. technologies with systems of mass distribution, in this case based on pro-

The Campaign Against Malaria

have been a failure, since malaria was certainly not eradicated, these efseries of efforts directed at eradicating malaria. Sometimes judged to During the 1950s and 1960s, the World Health Organization launched a living in endemic regions in the 1940s were largely freed of malaria and decisively under control. Well over half of the world's populations where the scourge of malaria was eliminated or brought dramatically forts can be seen as a stunning success for certain parts of the world and other pesticides to reduce the transmission of the disease and the duced these regional, if not global, successes were two: the use of DDT ary of its results until today. The standardized technologies that pro-Africa, alas, was neither part of the program at the time, nor a beneficimainly in the areas where disease ecology favored the control measures transmission and mortality as a result of WHO's concentrated efforts, use of chloroquine and other new antimalarial drugs to treat cases of it. but will not eliminate the transmission entirely.) appropriate, can dramatically reduce the burden of the disease in Africa combination therapies to treat the disease, combined with DDT where (Newer technologies, especially antimalarial bed nets and artemisinin-

The Control of African River Blindness

collaboration of WHO, the World Bank, Merck, the Food and Agriculgram (UNDP). OCP aimed to reduce the transmission of African river ture Organization (FAO), and the United Nations Development Pro-The Onchocerciasis Control Program (OCP) was launched in 1974 as a activities (including airborne spraying of insecticides to reduce the black fly. The program adopted a multipronged, scaled-up strategy in eleven blindness (onchocerciasis), a disease transmitted by a species of black mectin (Mectizan by trade name), could also effectively treat African fly abundance) and treatment. In the 1980s, Merck and WHO scientists hard-hit countries of West Africa based on a combination of prevention realized that one of Merck's drugs used in veterinary medicine, iverto control the disease. The OCP now reports the following accomplishriver blindness. Merck agreed to donate ivermectin in a massive effort

> ease transmission. The economic benefits have been significant. and cultivation, and roughly forty million people protected from disness prevented, twenty-five million hectares made safe for settlement ments: an estimated six hundred thousand cases of African river blind-

The Eradication of Polio

and international funding on the order of \$3 billion. munized since 1988, with the cooperation of twenty million volunteers with 350,000 in 1988. An estimated two billion children have been imcontained. Only 784 cases were reported worldwide in 2003, compared ria, India, Pakistan, Niger, Afghanistan, and Egypt); and it is being fort by Rotary International, polio remains in only six countries (Nigewell as actions within poor countries and a remarkable and tireless ef-UNICEF, and the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, as Today, thanks to massive efforts by official institutions such as WHO, tiative. At the time, polio was still endemic in more than 125 countries. Health Organization), voted to launch the Global Polio Eradication Inipolio eradication is feasible and well on its way to being achieved. In tween the two diseases, which make the polio effort a bit harder. Still, achieve global eradication of polio. There are technical differences be-As there is for smallpox, an immunization technology is also available to 1988, the World Health Assembly (the governing board of the World

The Spread of Family Planning

10 to 15 percent of couples in 1970 to an estimated 60 percent in 2000 tives among couples in developing countries, rising from an estimated to help coordinate this effort, and it currently operates in 140 countries. It has helped to spur a massive increase in the use of modern contracep-The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) was established in 1969 reduced child mortality, and urbanization) have played important roles. factors (women's literacy, women's entry into the nonfarm labor force, of women, and promoting modern contraception, although many other advice and information, advocating and assisting in the empowerment Family planning programs have played an enormous role in providing riod 1950 to 1955 to 2.8 children per woman in the period 1995 to 2000. fertility rates, from a world average of 5.0 children per woman in the pe-Modern contraception has contributed to a dramatic reduction in total

ity in the poorest countries is far below needed levels. unmet needs are still massive, since funding for contraceptive availabil-This program has been an example of scaling up par excellence, but the

Export Processing Zones in East Asia

ample land for manufacturing operations, easy connections to reliable ing facilities. The general key has been physical security within the zone, to encourage foreign companies to set up export-oriented manufacturtax, administrative, and infrastructure conditions are applied in order dustrial zone (sometimes a whole region or country) in which special Processing Zone (EPZ), or free-trade zone. The free-trade zone is an in-World War II depended on a new organizational technology, the Export To a remarkable extent, the early industrialization of East Asia after ucts. Free-trade zones have been the basis for East Asia's leap into global on profits, and tax-free imports of inputs and exports of finished prodwater and power, low-cost proximity to a seaport or airport, tax holidays tries began with very low-skilled, labor-intensive operations (such as the tronics, and semiconductors. In almost all cases, the East Asian counproduction in garments, footwear, toys, automotive components, elecdustry." Manufactured exports from East Asia rose at an astounding comscale. Asiaweek magazine once referred to free-trade zones as "Instant Induct design. The result was an export boom at national, indeed global, progressed to higher technology parts of the value chain, including procutting and stitching of fabrics into ready-made garments), and then manual assembly of components onto electronics motherboards or the dollar terms, from \$37 billion to \$723 billion (in 1995 dollars). pound rate of 12 percent per annum between 1978 and 2000, or in

The Mobile Phone Revolution in Bangladesh

ern telecommunications technologies in the world's poorest places. lending, has also opened the world's eyes to expanding the use of modnumber of landlines. It used that mainly urban base of operations to reaching half a million subscribers by 2003, roughly equal to the total Grameen Telecom went into the business of mobile phones in 1997, Bangladesh's Grameen Bank, already justly famous for its microfinance funds for a mobile phone that is then used throughout the village at a launch a village phones program, whereby a village woman borrows

> model is being widely adopted now in dozens of other countries. the estimated access would be on the order of 23 million villagers. The 2,500 people in the village. With 9,400 villages covered by early 2004, loan. Grameen estimates that each phone reaches an average of about small charge. With the fees she collects, the woman gradually repays the

adapting crop-breeding technologies to the local conditions of land, climate, and labor). the "cold chain" for immunizations that must remain cold until used, or almost every case, technologies had to be adapted to local conditions had to be developed and then promoted through a targeted effort. In crops at the core of the Green Revolution, the appropriate technologies settings. In other cases, such as with the high-yield varieties of food technologies had long existed, but had not been applied in the poorest nancing. In many cases—such as smallpox or polio eradication—the (for example, solving the problems in tropical settings of maintaining applicable technology, organizational leadership, and appropriate fimost, scaling up is possible when it is backed by appropriate and widely These cases demonstrate some common themes, First and fore-

to change. Next, I consider the operational ways to get the job done. cent of rural Africans living in endemic malaria regions. It is time for that nets, just to name one pertinent example, are used by fewer than I pertechnologies exist, but have not yet been scaled up. Antimalarial bed In the case of the Millennium Development Goals, the promising