



Translator

ETC Group's Unabashed Translation of the
*Declaration of the High-Level Conference on
World Food Security: The Challenges of
Climate Change And Bioenergy*

Volume 5, No.1 June 2008

Ciao FAO

Another "Failure-as-Usual" Food Summit

Issue: During the 3-5 June 2008 World Food Summit, governments patched together sufficient funds to keep the lid on food rebellions for a few months but all the fundamental and long-term institutional and financial problems remain. In Rome, governments opted for a mythical "techno-fix" led by agribusiness in collaboration with the Gates Foundation and other philanthro-capitalists. These "klepto-mandates" are usurping the multilateral system.¹ There is also a clear power shift away from the much-maligned Rome-based agencies to the U.N. in New York and the Bretton Woods institutions in Washington.² A series of "High-Level" meetings in the final quarter of 2008 could decisively impact the world's ability to respond to the ongoing food emergency.

Stakes: Failure to redress the failed policies of the past 34 years (since the last major food crisis) is already making a mockery of the Millennium Development Goal of halving hunger by 2015.³ Instead of reducing the ranks of the hungry to around 415 million, the immediate crisis could grow the numbers from today's 862 million to 1.2 billion by 2025.⁴ A new report from Oxfam claims that biofuel policies in OECD countries have already dragged more than 30 million more people into poverty.⁵

On the front lines are 450 million smallholder farmers who are being told by the U.N. Secretary General that food production must increase by 50% by 2030 – while coping with the uncertain perils of climate change. An FAO report released in March 2008 warns that a temperature increase of 3-4 degrees Celsius could cause crop yields to fall by 15-35% in Africa and west Asia and by 25-35% in the Middle East.⁶ Nothing that happened in Rome in June changed these figures.

Takes: The real focus in Rome was fuel not food. With even conservative agencies like IFPRI and the International Monetary Fund estimating the impact of agrofuels on food prices around 30%, Brazil's sugarcane companies and Southeast Asia's industrial oil palm producers were as anxious as the U.S. and Europe to protect their green credentials and gross subsidies. The agrofuels industry had to convince poor countries that devoting a growing chunk of the world's arable land to feed cars will have no impact on food security. Shamefully, they succeeded.

Fora: The food emergency moves onto the G-8 in Japan in July and then to the High-Level meeting of the U.N./FAO Food Security Committee in Rome in mid-October and then to the FAO Conference November 17-21. However, along the way, the U.N. Secretary-General's task force reports in September and the third High-Level meeting on Aid-Effectiveness in Ghana in September could also pronounce on the ineffectiveness of the U.N.'s food/agricultural architecture. Finally, Spain's offer to host a follow-up meeting later this year could trump other fora.

Policies: Beyond short-term funding, everything depends on the final restructuring of the U.N.'s food and agricultural system. The experience of the 1974 food crisis shows that fundamental structural change is dangerous in the midst of an emergency. As much as change is vital, governments, farmers' organizations and other CSOs need to come up with their own plan by the mid-October high-level meeting.

On May 21, just before the World Food Summit, more than 600 farmers, fishers, pastoralists, and other civil society organizations issued a plan of action entitled, [“No More ‘Failures-as-Usual’!”](#) Unfortunately, the Rome Summit met their grim expectations and now it is for the architects of the CSO action plan to put it to work. First, here’s a summary of what happened in Rome at the beginning of June...

The closing declaration of any U.N. conference is important for two reasons: first, its language offers a snapshot of the current state of political play — both by what it says and what it avoids. Snapshots can fade fast and be thrown away within a month and no one will

ever miss them. Secondly, closing declarations disclose who is — and who isn’t — positioned to follow-through — or, who’s got the power. The food summit that ended in Rome June 5 was an unabashedly pitiful affair with almost everybody declaring failure. After 45 years of failed congresses and summits and almost as many false promises, the honesty is refreshing. Nevertheless, some of the signals for the future are fairly clear. Power is moving away from the four Rome-based multilateral agencies toward the U.N.’s New York headquarters — and, multinationals now clearly trump multilateralism. Our future food supply is being turned over to big companies and big foundations.

Political summits: It could be argued that the world has only had three truly-political food conferences: the first, in Copenhagen in 1946 saw the big grain-exporting countries (USA, Canada, Australia and Argentina) slap down the brand-new U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization and its campaigning Director-General who optimistically attempted to make food security supreme over commercial food markets. When the dust settled, the British DG was heading for early retirement and FAO withdrew into more mundane monitoring and regulatory pursuits. The second political summit was in 1974 during the last major food crisis when (does this sound familiar?) skyrocketing oil prices, collapsing food stocks, drought, famine, and market speculation stirred a political firestorm industrialized countries couldn’t ignore. The 1974 summit offered minimal band-aid food relief but soared in rhetoric (see box). Unnoticed at the

45 Years of False Promises

45 years ago (1963) World Food Congress (Washington, DC) President Kennedy told governments, “We have the means, we have the capacity to wipe hunger and poverty in the face of the earth in our lifetime. We need only the will.”

38 years ago (1970) World Food Congress (The Hague, Netherlands) A succession of world leaders repeated Kennedy’s statement of seven years earlier without effect.

34 years ago (1974) World Food Conference (Rome, Italy) U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger told governments, “Within 10 years, no child will go to bed hungry.”

12 years ago (1996) World Food Summit (Rome) Governments agreed that the number of hungry and malnourished people would be cut in half by 2015 (from an estimated 830 million to less than 415 million).

6 years ago (2002) World Food Summit plus five (Rome) Governments reaffirmed the Millennium Development Goals without elaboration.

This year (2008) World Food Summit (Rome) Governments reaffirmed 1996 commitment while noting that the number of hungry people now stands at 862 million and could increase another 100 million during the current crisis. Governments spent more time debating subsidies for agrofuels than hunger. Or, to update Henry Kissinger, “Within 10 years no car will go to bed hungry.”

time, governments cobbled together a bundle of institutional “structural adjustments” that — in their haste — demoralized, decentralized, and devastated the U.N.’s capacity to address the long-term needs of global food and agriculture. In many ways, the structural changes from the 1970s food crisis set the stage for the third political food fight in Rome this June when a hyper-version of the 1974 factors came home to roost — augmented, this time, by the highly-politicized specter of climate chaos and [the new corporate drive for agrofuel subsidies](#).

Summit plummet: That there is almost universal agreement that this latest summit was a failure is, quixotically, something of a success. This time there was no ringing rhetoric. Most OECD governments simply re-jigged their aid budgets to pretend new money for food and agricultural assistance — money that was otherwise earmarked for health or education. Only Spain and OPEC actually came forward with significant new contributions. (Nobody failed to note that the OPEC contribution would amount to little more than a modest slice of their windfall profits as oil prices climb toward \$140 a barrel.) Still, the fact that world leaders so publicly failed to address the food emergency — which everyone agreed will be with us for years, likely decades — forces us all to look for new structures and strategies.

Ciao FAO: Having positioned new technologies as humanity’s only hope, governments went on to criticize the mangled infrastructure of U.N. and related Rome-based agencies. Since 2005, International Independent Evaluations of FAO, IFAD, and (now in a smaller way) CGIAR have turned up horrific governance shortcomings and program failures and inefficiencies that can largely be traced back to the dismemberment of FAO back in the early 70s. France’s President Sarkozy (who, tellingly, takes up the presidency of the EU July 1) offered a series of ideas for restructuring. He proposed that an international group on food security be formed under Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon’s special task force on the food crisis. This new group would include international agencies, scientists, agribusiness, new funding sources (a.k.a. foundations) and civil society. Sarkozy warned that the group should bring an end to the inter-agency rivalries that have plagued the Rome-based agencies for more than three decades. The president also called for an IPCC-type (the prestigious scientific panel reporting on climate change) scientific group that would assess the current situation; project future problems; and propose technological solutions. Interestingly, Sarkozy suggested that this body be housed in FAO — already home to the CGIAR’s lackluster Science Council. Finally, France proposed a new World Facility for Food Security — something like a new financial window to be opened at IFAD and capable of receiving funds from private business, foundations, bilateral agencies and free to disburse to the same range of actors including CSOs and producer organizations.

It was all a bit confusing. Sarkozy’s new international group clearly overlaps with the work of the Secretary-General’s task force. The second proposal could simply duplicate the work of the CGIAR Science Council and the third proposal could further complicate existing efforts at IFAD — without any new money.

France's proposals may — or may not — have been coordinated with another offer coming from Spain. Prime minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, freshly reelected, took the podium in Rome to announce that Spain would fund and host a follow-through meeting to the summit later this year. The meeting, he suggested, would continue the work and, also, approve a “charter of food security rights.” However well-intentioned Spain's offer, FAO has already planned yet another High-Level session for the U.N./FAO Committee on Food Security in Rome around World Food Day (October 16) and a special session of the (normally-biennial) FAO Conference is slated for November 17-21 to address the agency's ongoing institutional and financial crisis. Meanwhile, in September, the special task force will be reporting to the U.N. General Assembly. The only thing that seems clear if you are on the FAO secretariat — is that power is slipping from the Rome-

Summit pledges:

African Development Bank	\$1 billion
France	\$1.5 billion (over 5 years)
Japan	\$150 million
IFAD	\$200 million
Islamic Development Bank	\$ 1.5 billion (over 5 years)
Kuwait	\$100 million
Netherlands	\$75 million
New Zealand	\$7.5 million
Spain	\$773 million (over 4 years)
U.N. Central Emergency Response	\$100 million
United Kingdom	\$590 million
U.S.A	\$5 billion (2008/2009)
Venezuela	\$100 million
World Bank	<u>\$1.2 billion</u>
TOTAL:	\$12.3 billion

-based agencies toward the U.N. in New York and the Bretton Woods agencies in Washington. In the aftermath of this latest food summit, efforts to re-jig the architecture of the world's food agencies has the eerie feel of the 1970s — déjà vu all over again. *Ciao FAO!*

Ciao chicos: According to Planet Retail (market analysts) the global food bill has risen from \$5.5 trillion in 2004 to \$8

trillion this year on its way to \$8.5 trillion in 2009.⁷ FAO's index of food prices rose by 9% in 2006, 23% in 2007 and has surged by 54% in the last 12 months.⁸ FAO forecasts that the world will spend \$1.035 trillion on food imports in 2008, \$215 billion more than in 2007.⁹ Speaker after speaker in Rome acknowledged that impoverished families spend an average of 60%-80% of their annual income procuring food and that the current food price crisis is pushing at least another 100 million people into malnutrition or absolute hunger. It is against these figures that the Summit's offer of about \$6.8 billion in new money should be judged. Aside from the new money, governments and agencies tallied up another estimated \$7 billion in “old money” that will be shifted out of health or education aid pockets into the food and agricultural pocket. Close to \$9 billion of the combined new and old money will be spread over the next two to five years even as food prices continue to rise. The pledges make a mockery of the 1974 promise that, “Within 10 years no child will go to bed hungry.” *Ciao chicos!*

Ciao amigos: The failure to offer significant new money encourages governments to conjure up a trilateral partnership between intergovernmental agencies, agribusiness, and the big philanthro-capitalist foundations like Gates, Google and Clinton. Indeed, some speakers in Rome specifically identified the Gates Foundation as their bright hope for future funding. Many observers were alarmed that the heads of FAO, the World Food Program, and the International

Fund for Agricultural Development took advantage of the Summit to sign a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with Kofi Anan as the President of the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA) — the controversial initiative for sub-Saharan Africa funded by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and Rockefeller Foundation. While the details of the MOU are sketchy, the FAO news release hints at a practical collaboration that could have CGIAR producing genetically engineered (GE) crops for Gates with a market guaranteed by the WFP (purchasing GE grain for food aid) supported by an agribusiness infrastructure based on loans and grants from IFAD. FAO might work with African governments to bring about a policy alignment with other agribusiness interests. That AGRA and Gates officials eschewed their conventional NGO status and chose to attend the Summit's private sector forum rather than the Summit's CSO forum (held at the same time in an adjacent room) increased concern.

U.N. agency enthusiasm for trilateral partnerships should be tempered by their experience following the Johannesburg World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002 where 311 partnerships were proclaimed but only six were completed three years later and half were never heard from again. *Ciao amigos!*

Ciao climate change: Although the Summit was established to address the triple-whammy of soaring food prices, climate change, and agrofuels, the climate got lost in the squeeze. On the eve of the Summit, Turkana pastoralists were being forced into Kenyan relief camps due to extreme drought conditions and the Governor of Pohnpei in the Federated States of Micronesia was forced to declare a State of Emergency as sea water inundated taro fields. A floor away from the Summit plenary hall in Rome, a frustrated FAO official waved to a new study on his desk that shows maize production in Africa will decline by at least 30% by 2030 and become impossible by 2050 or sooner. Despite this, the burning issue in Rome was feedstocks for cars not food stocks for people. Yet, Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon told the summit that crop production will have to increase 50% by 2030 and double by 2050. How does the world do this if we ignore climate change and introduce agrofuels as new competition for arable land? *Ciao crops!*

Ciao justice: If you can't offer money or muscle, offer technology. World leaders called upon agribusiness to devise new technologies that could "decisively" solve the hunger problem in the light of climate change. The call for new technologies actually met two urgent needs: 1) to reassure concerned publics that there is a pain-free, long-term solution and, 2) to explain away the massive expansion of biofuels by the energy and chemical industries and agribusiness. This, in the midst of hunger and declining crop yields. Only the assumption that second-generation biofuels will mythically make the desert bloom with ethanol made it possible for industry to get away with the Big Lie. Brazil, the world leader in sugarcane ethanol, was the schoolyard bully that beat up every attempt to introduce scientific reason or morality into the Summit. Brazil was cheered on by a powerful corporate cadre led by oil giant BP.

Ciao pasta — hello petrol: The hottest topic at the Summit was not climate change but the debate over agrofuels. According to BioEra, the global biofuels market is expected to expand from \$22 billion in 2006 to \$110-150 billion by 2020.¹⁰ Energy moguls and agribusiness clearly have a lot at stake. Likewise, OECD governments have invested heavily in agrofuel subsidies as "green" solutions to greenhouse gases and global warming. Some South governments like Brazil hope to cash in on this false-green technology by exporting to Europe and North America.

For this reason, FAO held a round-table panel debate on bioenergy to allow governments to hear a wider range of opinions. The panel included one rep from CSOs, one from industry and a third from an African NGO seeking local solutions.¹¹ The panel was chaired by the ministers of agriculture of the Netherlands and Panama. Following panel presentations, delegations made interventions and asked questions. Brazil called ETC Group “neo-colonialist” (because of our position opposing industrial agrofuels) and much of the acrimonious debate orbited around the question of marginal lands.

Agrofuels and Marginal Lands

Like desert sands, the definition of words like “underutilized” or “marginal” can shift, to encroach on ever-better soils. To anyone seeking property, all land is underutilized that isn’t utilized by the property seeker. The issue is more about marginalized peoples than marginal land. Land is always somebody’s hunting ground, pasture, garden or pharmacy (or all of the above). If it appears “underutilized,” it is probably because of its underlying fragility or the role it plays in protecting ecosystems. Outsiders who propose a different or more intensive land use may be undermining the livelihoods of others.

“Marginal” for whom? Brazilian delegates in Rome insisted they could select marginal areas of the Amazon that can be converted safely to sugarcane ethanol production (but they avoided talking about soy expansion in ecologically sensitive areas of the Cerrado and Caatinga). Yet, indigenous communities such as the Ka’apor and Tembe in Brazil, and the Chacoba in Bolivia and Panare in Venezuela, use anywhere from 20 to 50% of Amazonian tree species for food and another 10-30% for medicines. The Amazon reality is replicated from forests to savannas and semi-arid plains around the world. Migrating (or migrated) families from Mexico to Indonesia may resettle to grow maize or rice and raise livestock but quickly seek out additional calories and vital nutrition in adjacent forests. Often these families move prized species into their gardens but still use the forest as a direct source of food and medicine and as a gene bank for improving their garden cousins. Even well-established farm families in places like Swaziland and Thailand still see surrounding forests as a major food source second only to their major crop. While women and children use non-cultivated foods regularly, surveys of all adults in Eastern and Southern Africa show that the so-called “hidden harvest” of “wild” foods are a vital part of family food security. Forests and savannas often yield essential vitamins and minerals that can’t be grown or bought. The use of this hidden harvest varies seasonally with families relying most heavily on wild foods in the weeks and months before harvest. In general, foods gleaned from so-called marginal lands account for between one-third to one-half of critical nutritional requirements for the poorest sectors of the rural population. In times of high food prices or famine, access to these marginal lands is the difference between life and death.

Marginal – for what? First generation “high-energy/low-food” soils? The agrofuels industry argues that plants like *Jatropha* can be grown on marginal lands that cannot otherwise be used efficiently for food or fodder. In other words, of the 80,000 or so higher-order (vascular) plants known to humans, uniquely, certain non-food “fuel” crops can be grown with sufficient intensity as to be commercially-viable as an alternative energy source. This defies logic. If there are marginal (barren or degraded) soils that can yield commercial levels of oil for ethanol or biodiesel then it is scientifically inevitable that the same lands could be used to grow socially-important (even commercially-significant) food crops. The only conceivable difference is that agribusiness and energy companies are prepared to invest – and governments are prepared to subsidize – sufficient amounts of money in research to make agrofuels possible but are not prepared to do the same for food or fodder.

Second-generation “biomass-for-gas/not-food” systems? Industry also argues that it will develop second-generation agrofuels that use novel enzymes to break down cellulosic fiber in closed factory systems. The cellulosic fiber will come from maize stalks, trees, or other biomass, which can only become ethanol or biodiesel. But, if cellulosic fiber can be converted efficiently into food for cars, then it could be converted into fodder for livestock and, maybe, into food for people. Again, the obvious difference between the two prospects is that industry is prepared to invest in (and receive subsidies for) transport fuel; industry isn’t interested in solving the food crisis. The answer, of course, is to support farmers and food sovereignty – not mythical techno-fixes.

Declaring Failure

Translator Text: Declaration of The High-Level Conference on World Food Security: The Challenges Of Climate Change And Bioenergy (complete text available here: <http://tinyurl.com/4ff2gg>)

Translation in Brief:

Contrary to the opinion of many, June’s Food Summit actually did something. It signaled the beginning of the end for the multilateral system as we know it. Over the next six months the food emergency — and the international institutions designed to address it — could get worse.

Translating the Declaration	
Abridged Text of Declaration complete text available here: http://tinyurl.com/4ff2gg	ETC Group’s Translation
Preamble	
1. We reaffirm... immediate view to reducing by half the number of undernourished people by no later than 2015...	<i>The Big Lie:</i> No one at the Summit believes this will happen. There were 830 million hungry/malnourished in 1996 and 862 million today and projections for 1.2 billion in 2025.
We reiterate that food should not be used as an instrument for political and economic pressure.	<i>Food fights:</i> Following the usual scripted Cuba/U.S. confrontation, the U.S. gracelessly acceded to weak language confirming that food must not be used as a political weapon. No surprise — no victory.
We also recall the Voluntary Guidelines to Support the Progressive Realization of the Right to Adequate Food...	<i>Food Rights:</i> Under strong U.S. pressure, the declaration avoids supporting the Right to Food and adopts much weaker language.
We reiterate that it is unacceptable that 862 million people are still undernourished...	So, do something.
2. ... food prices will remain high in the years to come.	<i>High prices:</i> This admission opens the doors to — and requires — further national and international action. Not bad.
3. ... There is therefore an urgent need to ... increase investment in agriculture, agribusiness and rural development, from both public and private sources.	<i>Partners?</i> Also standard rhetoric these days. The first hint of a Grand Alliance with public and private (foundation and agribusiness) investing together.
Immediate and Short-Term Measures	
5. a) ...expand and enhance their food assistance and support safety net programmes ... when appropriate, through the use of local or regional purchase.	<i>Food aid.</i> This is useful. Growing global acceptance that food aid purchases must be local or neighboring. Political space is created for follow up with the WFP and recalcitrant bilateral food aid

	donors. Note the use of “when appropriate” which weakens the intent.
5. e)... Other measures ... including reviewing debt servicing as necessary. ...simplify the eligibility procedures of existing financial mechanisms to support agriculture and environment.	<i>Financial mechanisms.</i> More political (if not practical) support for debt relief and flexibility and pressure on international financial institutions and the GEF (Global Environmental Facility) to support agriculture including agricultural biodiversity. This has some value. Note “as necessary” which may weaken the intent.
6.a) ... help farmers, particularly small-scale producers, increase production and integrate with local, regional, and international markets.	<i>Markets.</i> A little gained and lost. This reference to small-producers is rare and, therefore, useful. The reference to international markets is predictable – and emphasizes trade over food sovereignty.
6. b) ...access to appropriate locally adapted seeds, fertilizers, animal feed and other inputs, as well as technical assistance, in order to increase agricultural production.	<i>Inputs.</i> Slightly helpful reference to locally-adapted seeds is overwhelmed by support for agribusiness inputs. Note, however, that there is no explicit reference to biotechnology despite U.S. pressure.
6. c) ... initiatives to moderate unusual fluctuations in the food grain prices. ...assist countries in developing their food stock capacities...	<i>Emergency?</i> This opens the door to action against commodity speculators and agribusiness monopolies and seems to make space for national food purchases and other forms of national supply control.
6.d) ... Implementing an aid for trade package should be a valuable complement to the Doha Development Agenda ...	<i>WTO (“We Talk On”).</i> Lots of strong pro-globalization language. North will give aid to global South to comply with North’s WTO rules.
6.e) ... we reaffirm the need to minimise the use of restrictive measures that could increase volatility of international prices.	<i>Restrictive?</i> This was a hotly-contested paragraph. Argentina, especially, wanted to modify the word “restrictive” for domestic reasons. Language is usefully ambiguous to allow for action against speculators, monopolies, patents, and any other practices that restrict local food access.
Medium and Long-Term Measures	
7.b) ... maintaining biodiversity is key to sustaining future production performance. ... priority to the agriculture, forestry and fisheries sectors, in order to create opportunities to enable the world’s smallholder farmers and fishers, including indigenous people, ... benefit from financial mechanisms and investment flows ...	<i>Trade trade-off?</i> Rare, positive language about biodiversity and small producers is attempt to balance WTO language earlier on. However, reference to financial flows goes on to emphasize the development and dissemination of new technologies (significantly, biotech is not mentioned).
7.d) We urge ... the private sector, to decisively step up investment in science and technology... ...policy environments which	<i>The word they dare not speak.</i> Note “decisively” which implies that governments see technology as the central solution to the crisis. But, again, the

will facilitate investment in improved agricultural technologies.	declaration fails to endorse biotechnology. The U.S. tried...
7.e) We encourage ... efforts in liberalizing international trade in agriculture by reducing trade barriers and market distorting policies.	<i>WTO</i> — once more with feeling.
7. f) ...We are convinced that in-depth studies are necessary to ensure that production and use of biofuels is sustainable in accordance with the ... need to achieve and maintain global food security. ...exchanging experiences on biofuels technologies, norms and regulations. We call upon relevant intergovernmental organizations, including FAO, ... the private sector, and civil society, to foster ... international dialogue on biofuels...	<i>Bioenergy biases:</i> Brazil fought hard over this. Basically, declaration calls for FAO to lead studies and develop standards/regulations – allowing governments to delay addressing the immediate threats biofuels pose to food sovereignty and food production. CSOs are invited to participate. Brazil’s offer to host a November conference on topic is not referenced. Note that while the topic was “bioenergy” the reference was narrowed to “biofuels” (energy issues beyond transport were not discussed).
Monitoring and Review	
8. We request [FAO], in close partnership with WFP and IFAD and other relevant international organizations, including those participating in the High-Level Task Force ...and in collaboration with governments, civil society and the private sector, to monitor and ...develop strategies to improve ...	<i>Who’s got the clout?</i> This is the important part. After many drafts, FAO is still given an important role in follow-through but the Secretary-General’s Task Force (New York-based) is discreetly prominent. General assumption is that the action is moving inexorably toward New York and away from Rome. However, this will not be a swift process. Note that CGIAR (even though it’s a co-host) is not referenced probably because its structure prevented high-profile representation and there was no one with stature around to defend it in the declaration negotiations. Also note: France’s proposals for the structures/facilities at IFAD, FAO, etc., go unmentioned.
9. ... we stress the importance of the effective and efficient use of the resources of the [U.N.], and other relevant international organizations.	<i>Clean up your act.</i> This is a not-so-subtle reference to the upcoming Third High-Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in September 2008 (Ghana) and supports the coordination aspirations of the Global Donor Platform for Rural Development to boot.

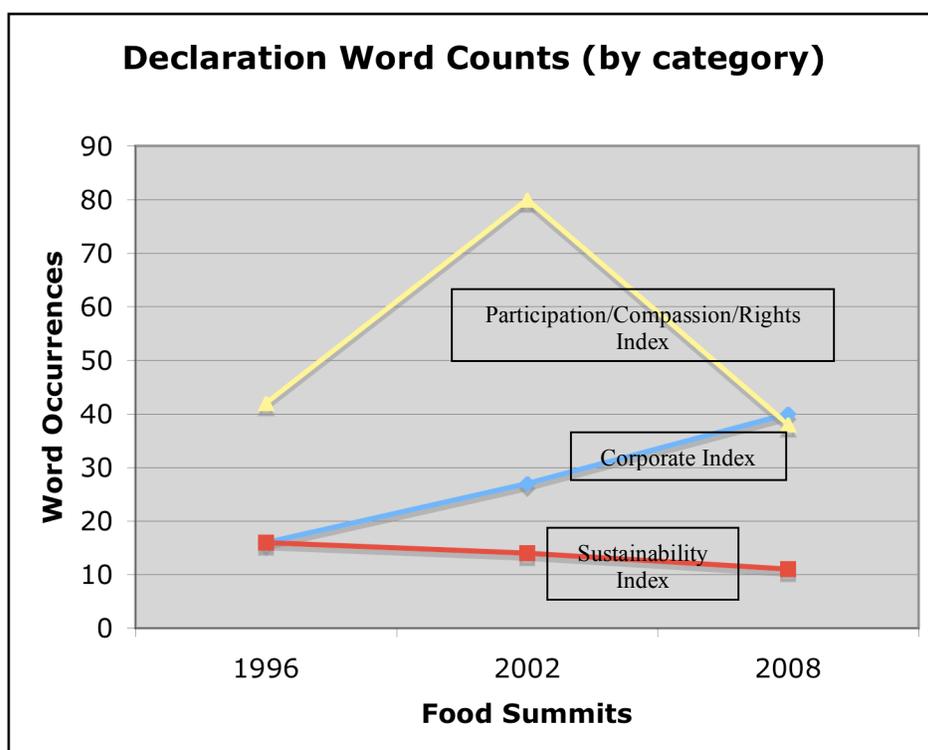
Cheap talk – Diplomatic language at the three food summits

Word Counts <i>(entire text of declarations)</i>	1996 <i>(1,192 words)</i>	2002 <i>(3,407 words)</i>	2008 <i>(1,742 words)</i>
The Compassion Index:	10	29	6
Poor/Poverty	5	8	1
Hunger/Hungry	4	17	3
(Mal/Under)nourish(ed/ment)	1	3	2
Famine	0	1	0
The Corporate Index:	11	16	20
Invest(or/ment)	2	6	6
Trad(e/ing)	6	5	7
Private	2	4	4
Market(place)	1	1	3
The Economic Index:	5	11	20
Production	2	6	9
Consum(ption/er)	2	1	0
Distribution	1	4	0
Price(s)	0	0	11
The Sectoral Index:	12	16	12
Nutrition	2	4	0
Fish/Marine/Aquaculture	5	3	0
Forest/Tree/Silviculture	4	2	2
Crop/Farm	1	3	0
Livestock/Animal	0	4	1
Bioenergy/biofuel	0	0	9
The Sustainability Index:	16	14	11
Sustain(able/ability)	11	13	8
Environment(al)	4	1	2
Divers(ity/ification)	1	0	0
Biodiversity	0	0	1
The Participatory Index:	11	11	13
Women/Women farmers	1	4	0
Participat(ion/ory)	4	1	3
Producer(s)/small holder/small scale/ farmer	2	1	5
Fisher(s)/men/folk	1	0	1
NGO/CSO	1	3	3
Gender	1	2	0
Indigenous /Traditional	1	0	1
The “Technical” Index:	4	13	7
Irrigation/Water	0	3	0
Technology	0	1	5
Research	2	4	1
Nutrient/Soil	0	1	0
Pest/icide(s)	2	1	0
Seed/Yield	0	0	1

Biotechnology	0	3	0
The Institutional Index:	6	26	18
Private sector /private investment/agribusiness	2	4	5
Government(s)/ intergovernmental	4	9	9
FAO	0	10	2
WTO	0	3	2
Public sector	0	0	0
The Rights Index:	21	40	19
Inequitable Peace/Conflict	0	0	0
Human Right(s) /to food	4	1	1
Land tenure	0	0	0
Food security	17	39	18

Table 2

Word Occurrences (entire text)	1996 (1,192 words)	2002 (3,407 words)	2008 (1,742 words)
Corporate /Economic	16	27	40
Sustainability	16	14	11
Participation/Compassion/Rights	42	80	38



Multinationals Trump Multilateralism

¹ For background, see ETC *Communiqué*, “Food’s Failed Estates = Paris’s Hot Cuisine...Food Sovereignty à la Cartel?” On the Internet: http://www.etcgroup.org/en/materials/publications.html?pub_id=673

² Bretton Woods refers to the institutions established in 1944 (in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire) to regulate the international monetary system – principally the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, based in Washington, D.C.

³ <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>

⁴ Lester Brown is quoted in “Food Prices, World Hunger Up As Ethanol Use Surges – Study,” *Dow Jones Newswire*, January 29, 2008.

⁵ http://www.oxfam.org.uk/applications/blogs/pressoffice/2008/06/another_inconvenient_truth_bio.html

⁶ FAO, Press Release, “Agriculture in the Near East likely to suffer from climate change,” Rome/Cairo, 3 March 2008. <http://www.fao.org/newsroom/en/news/2008/1000800/index.html>

⁷ Personal communication with Planet Retail, Germany.

⁸ FAO Food Outlook, Global Market Analysis, “Food Price Index,” May 2008.

<http://www.fao.org/docrep/010/ai466e/ai466e16.htm>

⁹ FAO Food Outlook, Global Market Analysis, “Market indicators and food import bills,” May 2008.

<http://www.fao.org/docrep/010/ai466e/ai466e15.htm>

¹⁰ Bio-Economic Research Associates, *Genome Synthesis and Design Futures: Implications for U.S. Economy*, (A Special Bio-era Report Sponsored by the U.S. Department of Energy), February 2007, p. 91.

¹¹ The panel members were Pat Mooney of ETC Group, the vice president for BP’s renewable energy division, and the former president of Niger who now heads an NGO supporting community energy solutions.

ETC Group is an international civil society organization based in Canada. We are dedicated to the conservation and sustainable advancement of cultural and ecological diversity and human rights. ETC Group supports socially responsible development of technologies useful to the poor and marginalized and we address international governance issues affecting the international community. We also monitor the ownership and control of technologies and the consolidation of corporate power.

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