Towards Food Sovereignty

we can build another food system

ASEED EUROPE
Six principles of food sovereignty:

1. Focuses on Food for People: Food sovereignty stresses the right to sufficient, healthy and culturally appropriate food for all individuals, peoples and communities, including those who are hungry or living under occupation, in conflict zones and marginalised. Food sovereignty rejects the proposition that food is just another commodity for international agribusiness.

2. Values Food Providers: Food sovereignty values and supports the contributions, and respects the rights, of women and men, peasants and small scale family farmers, pastoralists, artisanal fishers, forest dwellers, indigenous peoples and agricultural and fisheries workers, including migrants, who cultivate, grow, harvest and process food; and rejects those policies, actions and programs that undervalue them, threaten their livelihoods and eliminate them.

3. Localises Food Systems: Food sovereignty brings food providers and consumers together in common cause; puts providers and consumers at the center of decision-making on food issues; protects food providers from the dumping of food and food aid in local markets; protects consumers from poor quality and unhealthy food, inappropriate food aid and food tainted with genetically modified organisms; and resists governance structures, agreements and practices that depend on and promote unsustainable and inequitable international trade and give power to remote and unaccountable corporations.

4. Makes Decisions Locally: Food sovereignty seeks control over and access to territory, land, grazing, water, seeds, livestock and fish populations for local food providers. These resources ought to be used and shared in socially and environmentally sustainable ways which conserve diversity. Food sovereignty recognises that local territories often cross geopolitical borders and advances the right of local communities to inhabit and use their territories; it promotes positive interaction between food providers in different regions and territories and from different sectors to resolve internal conflicts or conflicts with local and national authorities; and rejects the privatization of natural resources through laws, commercial contracts and intellectual property rights regimes.

5. Builds Knowledge and Skills: Food sovereignty builds on the skills and local knowledge of food providers and their local organizations that conserve, develop and manage localised food production and harvesting systems, developing appropriate research systems to support this and passing on this wisdom to future generations. Food sovereignty rejects technologies that undermine, threaten or contaminate these, e.g. genetic engineering.

6. Works with Nature: Food sovereignty uses the contributions of nature in diverse, low external input agroecological production and harvesting methods that maximise the contribution of ecosystems and improve resilience and adaptation, especially in the face of climate change. Food sovereignty seeks to heal the planet so that the planet may heal us; and, rejects methods that harm beneficial ecosystem functions, that depend on energy intensive monocultures and livestock factories, destructive fishing practices and other industrialised production methods, which damage the environment and contribute to global warming.

Source: Nyéléni 2007 - Forum for Food Sovereignty
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## Glossary

CAP - Common Agricultural Policy of the European Union  
CSA - Community Supported Agriculture  
EU - European Union  
FAO - Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations  
GMOs - Genetically Modified Organisms  
IMF - International Monetary Fund  
IPCC - Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change  
Platform ABC - Platform Aarde-Boer-Consument  
PAL - Platform Andere Landbouw  
US - United States  
WTO - World Trade Organisation
1. Introduction

At the Nyeleni forum in 2007 the global peasant movement formulated the principles of food sovereignty. Why did they do that, what does it mean and look like in practice? This brochure will give you some answers about the concept of food sovereignty. To highlight its importance as a viable alternative to industrial agriculture first the causes of the problems in the current agriculture and food system will be explained. Then an explanation of the concept of food sovereignty follows. Special attention is paid to the developments in Europe and in the Netherlands that are relevant to food sovereignty. The brochure also provides practical information on several farming methods that are compatible with food sovereignty and offers simple ways in which one can contribute to achieving food sovereignty.

2. Consequences of industrial agriculture

‘The economists...divide all human activities between ‘production’ and ‘consumption’. Anything we do under the head of ‘production’ is subject to the economic calculus, and anything we do under the heading of ‘consumption’ is not. The farmer is considered simply as a producer who must cut his costs and raise his efficiency by every possible device, even if he thereby destroys - for man-as-consumer - the health of the soil and beauty of the landscape, and even if the end effect is the depopulation of the land and the overcrowding of cities. There are large-scale farmers, horticulturists, food manufacturers and fruit growers today who would never think of consuming any of their own products. ‘Luckily, they say, ‘we have enough money to be able to afford to buy products which have been organically grown, without the use of poisons.’

E.F. Schumacher

This observation by British economist E.F. Schumacher still rings true nearly forty years after his collection of essays titled Small Is Beautiful: Economics As If People Mattered was published as the industrial model of food production continues to be prevalent in the world today. This model is strictly economical as it is based on the assumption that maximising profit is the main priority. Natural resources and food have become commodities in a world obsessed with trade. The rules of trade are largely determined by powerful state and non-state actors. The system stimulates the constant increase in agricultural, livestock and fisheries production together with overconsumption. It relies heavily on the use of technological advances in the form of machines, fertilisers, biotechnology because they are believed to be able to further increase productivity. Despite what the proponents of the current food system claim, the system is not sustainable and this statement can be supported not only by philosophical reasoning but also by empirical evidence.

- Hunger and malnutrition

Hunger is the world’s number one health risk and it remains an immediate reality for 925 million people, 98 percent of who live in developing countries.¹

Iodine and iron deficiency, which can be easily prevented, each affect around 2 billion people worldwide. 10.9 million children under five die in developing countries each year. Malnutrition and hunger-related diseases cause 60 percent of the deaths. The problems of hunger and nutrition have a gender aspect to too. Women make up a little over half of the world’s population, but they account for over 60 percent of the world’s hungry.

It is hard not to blame the current capitalist and technology intensive food and agriculture system for these problems. This system, which has been imposed on agriculture in the developing world by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), stimulates mass production and trade. It is not surprising that the large agrifood businesses have been registering record profits in recent years. Even though there is enough food in the world as a whole to feed everyone, the majority of the hungry are too poor to afford it. And most of the hungry are subsistence farmers who cannot compete after being exposed to the global market. Small-scale community farmers continue to be phased out and displaced by a small number of larger, more technology-advanced ones. Of great importance is also the fact that a high percentage of the food crops continue to be replaced by profit-generating feed and biofuel crops.

• **Environmental and biodiversity problems**

Intensive methods of agricultural production are among the causes of various environmental problems such as soil degradation and salinisation, loss of biodiversity, yield decline, exhaustion of sweet water reserves, and deforestation. The data could not be more striking. Industrial agriculture is responsible for 70% of fresh water use. Monoculture farming is the main reason for the loss of biodiversity in agriculture. Only 20 crops provide 90% of the world’s food today. According to the Guardian newspaper, up to 40% of the world’s agricultural land is seriously degraded due to heavy use of chemical fertilisers. If unsustainable chemical farming continues at the present rate, the one third of the world’s agricultural land that is already seriously degraded will increase by further 40 million hectares by 2050.

• **Climate change and energy use**

Industrial agriculture is also among the main drivers of climate change, which in turn is a
serious threat to agriculture in general. Some herbicides and pesticides, for instance, especially those containing nitrogen, stimulate micro-organism activity which leads to higher decomposition rates of weeds and plants, thus reducing return of organic matter to the soil. Nitrogen oxide (N2O), a Greenhouse gas emitted through the application of fertilisers, which is 300 times more potent than carbon dioxide in changing the climate. Apart from contributing to global warming, it has also been proved to cause serious damages to the soil. Agricultural soils are responsible for 75% of global N2O emissions. Reports confirm that the growing of monocultures and the excessive use of chemicals have increased the release of CO2 from the soil, deplete the soil and contribute to climate change. According to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), agriculture is responsible for 10–12% of total global anthropogenic emissions and almost a quarter of the continuing increase of greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions. Lastly, the whole food production system runs on fossil fuels – most evidently, the large majority of the crops are meant for export and thus travel long distances around the world, production of fertilisers, pesticides and herbicides is highly energy intensive, and so is the processing of food. The average food item journeys some 1300 miles before becoming part of a meal. Industrial agriculture has created the absurd situation whereby between production, processing, distribution, and preparation, 10 calories of energy are required to create just one calorie of food energy.

**Socio-economic problems**

Capital and technology intensive agriculture disrupts traditional rural livelihoods by causing unemployment, indebtedness and poverty in rural communities. Agriculture should be the long-term solution to hunger and malnutrition but many of the people in rural areas in developing countries who are suffering from hunger do not have access to land or cannot make use of the land to meet their food needs. Small-scale farmers all around the world are vulnerable. Many of them have abandoned their lands because they cannot stay afloat in adverse conditions such as cheap imports, constant change of prices, food dumping, debts from trying to be a part of the industrial food production, competition from bigger producers, obligation to pay royalties to patent owners and others. Most of those producers have migrated to the urban areas and have contributed to the spread of slums on the outskirts of cities. A rising number of farmers see no way out of those conditions but committing suicide, with 250,000 farmers estimated to have taken their lives in the past 15 years in India alone.

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Many small-scale farmers in recent years, particularly in the South, have been forced off their farms by aggressive Western investors who look to monopolise the land (through leases or outright purchases) and spread the cultivation of profitable cash crops for export. This ongoing practice, known as land-grabbing, often has been accompanied by violence and coercion and has been patronised by international financial institutions and local governments. And although environmental degradation and changing climate exacerbate the situation, often the suffering of farmers is directly caused by powerful corporations.\textsuperscript{17}

3. Causes of the problems in the food system

There are two structural causes of the current problems in the food system and of the spread of industrial agriculture:

1) It is controlled by and protects the economic interests of the developed countries, which promote trade liberalization and the adoption of an export-model of agriculture. The agricultural sector of developed countries is set up to produce surpluses which are shipped to developing countries. For instance, it is paradoxical that Mexico, the country where maize was first domesticated, is now dependent on US imports of maize.\textsuperscript{18}

In the 1980s the North started imposing the export model on developing countries. They were promised financial aid on condition that they participate in the structural adjustment programmes designed by the World Bank and the IMF. In other words, these countries were forced to become a part of the trade-based neoliberal global order in which they must export cheap resources for and import cheap subsidised agricultural commodities from the North. The World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the IMF also forced governments to sell their food reserves and privatise their food production which made them even more dependent on imports.\textsuperscript{19}

Meanwhile, this Western export model normally goes hand in hand with large-scale monoculture type of agriculture. In many places small family farmers were ousted from their land and local markets were destroyed to make way for industrial agriculture.

The World Bank has admitted that structural adjustment programmes not only did not help develop the agricultural sectors of developing countries but also had dire environmental and economic consequences and were one of the causes for the world

\textsuperscript{17} GRAIN (2010) Land Grabbing in Latin America. At http://www.grain.org/article/entries/3995-land-grabbing-in-latin-america (02-02-2012).
food crisis of 2006-2008. Nevertheless, it continues to promote corporate agriculture as the solution to food production problems of the developing world.\(^{20}\)

2) Multinational corporations play a key role in determining (trade) policies on food and agriculture. Today’s corporate food regime is characterised by the monopoly market power and mega-profits of agrifood corporations, speculation with food prices, globalised meat production, and growing links between food and fuel. Virtually all the world’s food systems are tied into today’s corporate food regime. This regime is controlled by a far-flung agrifood industrial complex, made up of huge monopolies like Monsanto, Syngenta, Cargill, Nestle and Walmart. Thanks to property rights and favourable neo-liberal trade rules agribusiness firms are on course to monopolise the whole food chain — a small number of them already own the majority of the existing seed varieties, agrochemicals and food production and dominate the global food market. Land in the South has also been increasingly privatised and has fallen into the hands of a few powerful players.

There are several other more recent causes that have a bearing particularly on the food crisis of 2006-2008:

- The increasing importance of agrofuels, often misleadingly called biofuels, meant that a lot of crops would no longer serve as food but as feedstock for agrofuels.
- The expansion of the middle classes in India and China and the increase in meat consumption in these countries required more crops to go for feeding of livestock than for human consumption.
- Speculation with food commodities also plays a part. For instance, after importing countries became dependent on cheap food from abroad prices of foodstuffs were artificially driven up by speculators.\(^{21}\)
- Climate change is one of the results of industrial agriculture but in turn it also has a negative impact on the food system.
- The conversion of farmland into urban real estate.

4. Solutions

It is clear that moving towards a sustainable and fair food system that is rich in biodiversity requires radical changes in the ecological, political, social and economic spheres that conform and determine agriculture. Current mainstream solutions to the problems with agriculture and food production, offered by international institutions and governments are failing, and adherence to a set of principles, based around an ever-greater concentration on trade-based food security, is inadequate to tackle the problems. To counter the existing system we do not need new markets, new products, and more government. What is required, and is already happening in communities and social networks around the world, is a new form of evaluation of agricultural technology and the food system as a whole in terms of their consequences for the environment and quality of human association.\(^{22}\)

5. Food sovereignty

‘Attempting to liberate the oppressed without their reflective participation in the act of liberation is to treat them as objects that must be saved from a burning building.’

Paulo Freire

The organised peasant and indigenous-based agrarian movements have long argued that the export-led, free-trade based, industrial agriculture model of large farms must be dismantled and have embraced the concept of food sovereignty as an alternative. The term food sovereignty was first introduced in 1996 by La Via Campesina, the largest international movement of family farmer, fisher(wo)man, farm worker, landless peasant, forerster and indigenous groups in the world, which works at the local, national and international levels. The concept aimed to counter the existing concept of food security. The juxtaposition of the two terms helps explain what food sovereignty is about.

One of Food and Agriculture Organisation’s (FAO) definitions of Food Security reads:

‘Food security [is] a situation that exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life.’

One of the most recent definitions of food sovereignty can be found in the Nyeleni declaration adopted by La Via Campesina in Mali in 2007:

‘Food sovereignty is the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems. It puts the aspirations and needs of those who produce, distribute and consume food at the heart of food systems and policies rather than the demands of markets and corporations. It defends the interests and inclusion of the next generation. It offers a strategy to resist and dismantle the current corporate trade and food regime, and directions for food, farming, pastoral and fisheries systems determined by local producers and users. Food sovereignty prioritises local and national economies and markets and empowers peasant and family farmer-driven agriculture, artisanal fishing, pastoralist-led grazing, and food production, distribution and consumption based on environmental, social and economic sustainability. Food sovereignty promotes transparent trade that guarantees just incomes to all peoples and the rights of consumers to control their food and nutrition.'

It ensures that the rights to use and manage our lands, territories, waters, seeds, livestock and biodiversity are in the hands of those of us who produce food. Food sovereignty implies new social relations free of oppression and inequality between men and women, peoples, racial groups, social classes and generations.\textsuperscript{24}

The above quote by Brazilian educator Paulo Freire perfectly illustrates the difference between the two approaches, albeit in stronger terms. Simply put, the concept of food security prescribes that policies and practices are needed with regard to the food system, which will guarantee a healthy living condition for every person on earth. It treats peoples and countries as mere consumers and receivers of goods but it does not say anything about the functioning mechanisms of the food chain and the participation of the actors in it.

Food sovereignty, on the other hand, promotes commonsense principles of community autonomy, cultural integrity and environmental stewardship and sets three goals - equity, sustainability and direct democracy. Food sovereignty comes to replace the “one size fits all” approach with the right of every country, people or community to decide about its agricultural and food policies, as long as it does not affect the sovereignty of other countries. Thus, every country would be protected against the discriminating global trade rules of the WTO. The term food sovereignty itself was coined by the organisations representing smallholder farmers in La Via Campesina.

Food sovereignty politicises the food system for two reasons - first, because it questions power and decision-making and puts the accent on democratic participation, and second, because it aims to create a social change by transforming the food system. Food sovereignty entails a fundamental shift away from the industrial and neo-liberal paradigm for food and agriculture (see Table 1). Food sovereignty promotes the localisation of the agriculture and food production and it recognises that a) today there are still many diverse, local food systems throughout the world, particularly in developing countries; and b) most of the world’s food is grown, collected and harvested by over 2.5 billion small-scale farmers, pastoralists, forest dwellers and artisanal fisherfolk. This food is primarily sold, processed, resold and consumed locally, with many people deriving their incomes and livelihoods through work and activities at different points along the food chain— from seed to plate. Such localised food systems provide the foundations of peoples’ nutrition, incomes, economies and culture throughout the world.\textsuperscript{25}


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Dominant Model</th>
<th>Food Sovereignty Model</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>Free trade in everything</td>
<td>Food and agriculture exempt from trade agreements</td>
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<tr>
<td>Production priority</td>
<td>Agroexports</td>
<td>Food for local markets</td>
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<tr>
<td>Crop prices</td>
<td>“What the market dictates” (leave intact mechanisms that enforce low prices)</td>
<td>Fair prices that cover costs of production and allow farmers and farmworkers a life with dignity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market access</td>
<td>Access to foreign markets</td>
<td>Access to local markets; an end to the displacement of farmers from their own markets by agribusiness</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subsidies</td>
<td>While prohibited in the Third World, many subsidies are allowed in the US and Europe – but are paid only to the largest farmers</td>
<td>Subsidies that do not damage other countries (via dumping) are okay; i.e. grant subsidies only to family farmers, for direct marketing, price/income support, soil conservation, conversion to sustainable farming, research, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>Chiefly a commodity; in practice, this means processed, contaminated food that is full of fat, sugar, high fructose corn syrup, and toxic residues</td>
<td>A human right: specifically, should be healthy, nutritious, affordable, culturally appropriate, and locally produced</td>
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<tr>
<td>Being able to produce</td>
<td>An option for the economically efficient</td>
<td>A right of rural peoples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunger</td>
<td>Due to low productivity</td>
<td>A problem of access and distribution; due to poverty and inequality</td>
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<tr>
<td>Food security</td>
<td>Achieved by importing food from where it is cheapest</td>
<td>Greatest when food production is in the hands of the hungry; or when food is produced locally</td>
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<tr>
<td>Control over productive resources (land, water, forests)</td>
<td>Privatised</td>
<td>Local; community controlled</td>
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<tr>
<td>Access to land</td>
<td>Via the market</td>
<td>Via genuine agrarian reform; without access to land, the rest is meaningless</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seeds</td>
<td>A patentable commodity</td>
<td>A common heritage of humanity, held in trust by rural communities and cultures; “no patents on life”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rural credit and investment</td>
<td>From private banks and corporations</td>
<td>From the public sector; designed to support family agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dumping</td>
<td>Not an issue</td>
<td>Must be prohibited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monopoly</td>
<td>Not an issue</td>
<td>The root of most problems; monopolies must be broken up</td>
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6. Sustainable agriculture

Sustainable agriculture is an essential element of food sovereignty and it can come in many forms. Agroecological agriculture is one of the alternatives to industrial agriculture that is in line with the food sovereignty concept. Agroecology as a science applies 'ecological concepts and principles to the design and management of sustainable agricultural ecosystems'. It promotes traditional and local farming methods that vary from region to region but share the same guiding principles: reduce chemicals and all external input methods, use renewable resources, conserve the soil and all natural resources, create synergies between plants and animals, focus on biodiversity, empower people. Agroecology cannot be reduced to organic farming methods. Its principles can be applied to conventional, organic or integrated crops. In addition to that, not all organic farming is agroecological. For example, a monoculture organic farm is not as sustainable as a polyculture one and it would also yield less.

Scientific research shows that agroecological farming techniques outdo industrial ones in terms of yield productivity and therefore hold great promise for tackling hunger and malnutrition if total output is considered rather than yield from a single crop. Yield advantages can range from 20 percent to 60 percent, because polycultures reduce losses due to weeds (by occupying space that weeds might otherwise occupy), insects, and diseases (because of the presence of multiple species), and make more efficient use of the available resources of water, light, and nutrients. But agroecology is not only concerned with increasing harvests, it also sets the goal to achieve that in an environmentally sustainable and socially just way. It emphasises the advantages of small-holder farms over large ones, relies on the knowledge and innovation of small farmers and places the initiative into their hands. It aims to make agriculture and food

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28 Ibid.
accessibility to the poorest and most marginalised communities in the South. Agricultural systems based on agroecological principles are more diverse and are therefore more resilient to environmental shocks and climate change and have a higher adaptive capacity. Moreover, agroecology is in fact a viable solution to environmental problems like climate change. This method of production can cool the earth as it brings organic matter back to the soil, keeps carbon in the soil and uses organic manures instead of toxic chemical fertilisers. There are several other approaches that are more or less akin to agroecology. Organic agriculture, permaculture and biodynamic agriculture are three of the most widespread that have great potential as an alternative to industrial agriculture.

Organic agriculture is a production system that sustains the health of soils, ecosystems and people. The principal guidelines for organic production are to use materials and practices that enhance the ecological balance of natural systems and that integrate the parts of the farming system into an ecological whole. Organic farming excludes the use of synthetically compounded fertilisers, pesticides, plant growth regulators such as hormones, livestock antibiotics, food additives, and genetically modified organisms. Nevertheless, organic products can be unsustainably produced on large industrial farms or through techniques such as monocropping. Also, organic agriculture is now a huge market, particularly in the North, and the interest of multinational corporations in it is growing. There is a high risk of it becoming as unsustainable and export-orientated as most of current conventional agriculture.

Permaculture was developed in Australia as a way for food production systems to mimic natural ecosystems. It respects nature and works with it, rather than against it to cultivate land, plants, animals and people by fostering mutually beneficial (and thus sustainable) relationships between them. Originally derived from the words ‘PERMAnent agriCULTURE’, permaculture has gone beyond its roots in looking at strategies to create sustainable food growing methods to become a worldwide movement encompassing all aspects of how we as human beings can live harmoniously in relation to our Earth and its finite resources- A PERManent CULTURE. Permaculture seeks to make the best possible use of all the components of a system and does not use

any external outputs. It can be practiced in rural and urban areas and can be either subsistence farming or market-orientated. Permaculture is already giving excellent results in parts of Africa, Asia (India, China, Vietnam, Nepal) and South America.

Biodynamic agriculture emphasises the holistic development and interrelationships of the soil, plants and animals as a self-sustaining system. It has much in common with organic agriculture. It excludes the use of artificial chemicals on soil and plants and favours that of composts and manure. What is very specific about this approach is that it adds a spiritual aspect to agriculture. Biodynamics try to understand human beings and nature from a spiritual point of view and also incorporate the astronomical calendar in farming practices.

7. The role of social movements

No matter which farming method is employed, it alone is not enough to tackle hunger, poverty and loss of biodiversity unless the root causes of these problems, namely international trade liberalisation and corporate control, are confronted too. Therefore it is essential that sustainable agriculture and rural communities be supported by social movements in their struggle to change the food system. This is a political struggle to change policies and legislation at the national and international levels. Some of the policy shifts that the food sovereignty movement aims to achieve are listed below.

At the national level:

- Equitable land reform and redistribution of surplus land to tenants within a rights-based approach to environment and development.
- Protection of the knowledge and rights of farmers and pastoralists to save seed and improve crop varieties and livestock breeds.
- Policies that guarantee fair prices to producers and consumers
- Re-introduction of protective safeguards for domestic economies to guarantee stable prices covering the cost of production
- Re-direction of subsidies towards supporting smaller-scale producers and food workers
- Increase in funding for, and re-orientation of, public sector R&D and agricultural/
- food-sciences extension towards participatory approaches.

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• Broad citizen and non-specialist involvement in framing policies.
• Clear and accurate labelling of food and feedstuffs, with binding legislation for all companies to ensure transparency, accountability and respect for human rights, public health and environmental standards.

At the international level:
• Re-orientation of the end goals of trade rules and aid so that they contribute to the building of local economies and local control, rather than international competitiveness.
• Supply management to ensure that public support does not lead to over-production and dumping that lower prices below the cost of production, harming farmers in both North and South.
• Restrictions to the concentration and market power of major agrifood corporations and cooperation for more effective antitrust law enforcement.
• Transformation of the current international investment law regime by challenging corporate investor rules.
• An international Convention to replace the current Agreement on Agriculture (AoA)
• and relevant clauses in other agreements of the World Trade Organisation (WTO).

8. Food sovereignty: North and South

The implications of the current food system are not the same for the North and for the South, but they are deeply interconnected and what is happening in the North affects the South and vice versa. Hunger is an immediate reality for around 900 million people, most of them in the Global South, but much of it caused by the trade rules and industrial practices created in the North. A good illustration is the meat industry in the Netherlands which relies on enormous amounts of soya imports from South America.

Some of the newly industrialised countries like China and Brazil are now pursuing agricultural policies similar to those of Western countries, i.e. large-scale, chemical intensive cultivation of monoculture crops, openness to trade, stimulation of agricultural research and technological innovation. Brazil’s Western-style agricultural production, called the ´Brazilian model´, is touted as a success story and a benchmark for all developing countries by certain scholars and journalists.36 For all its praise, the Brazilian model carries all the shortcomings of industrial agriculture, carefully concealed behind some positive short-term economic results. This model neglects

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the environment and threatens the livelihood of the country’s own population and agricultural producers and those everywhere else on the planet.\textsuperscript{37} The mere fact that Brazil has the power and policies of Western countries is not a virtue in itself. It is noteworthy that onslaught against sustainable agriculture in developing countries is often helped by local political and/or economic elites in the South.

Meanwhile, people in both the South and the North are victims of the industrialisation of food production due to diminished quality of food and environmental destruction. Moreover, farmers all over the world are experiencing similar problems – they cannot decide about trade and agricultural policies and are largely dependent on bank loans and state subsidies. As mentioned earlier, the upscaling in agriculture is continuing and smaller farmers are disappearing even in the North.\textsuperscript{38} In general, industrial agriculture in Western countries survives mainly because of the huge state subsidies it receives. Food sovereignty is an approach that offers practical solutions for farmers and citizens in both the North and South.

\section*{9. Food sovereignty in Europe}

As things stand, the European Union (EU) is helping the expansion of the industrial model of agriculture through its Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). The CAP encourages intensive large-scale farming and the excessive use of pesticides and fertilisers. Though smaller in numbers, larger farmers, just like in other countries in the North, get the lion’s share of public subsidies at the expense of smaller ones. Thus one quarter of the farmers receive three quarters of CAP money.\textsuperscript{39} It is also trade orientated and tolerates surpluses. The agricultural production that is not consumed in the EU is dumped (sold at low prices) in developing countries which distorts markets in those countries. Meanwhile, due to high protectionist tariffs, producers from the South are at a disadvantageous position when they export to the EU.

The food sovereignty movement in Europe is growing, especially after the successful forum in Austria in August 2011. The European movement for Food Sovereignty and another Common Agricultural Policy (FoodSovCap) was launched in March 2009 after years of networking between European and national organisations of civil society working on CAP and food sovereignty. Most notably the movement aims to change the Common Agricultural Policy into a legitimate, fair, sustainable, mutually supportive European agriculture and food policy and to put food sovereignty and agroecological farming at the heart of food and agriculture policies in Europe.

The \textit{Nyeleni Europe} process was launched in 2010, where many organisations of the Foodsovcap network were involved. In the same year, the “European food declaration” was produced, with which more than 300 organisations from all over Europe call for a deep reform of EU policy for food and agriculture. To be even more effective, the European movement for Food Sovereignty and another Common Agricultural Policy

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{Ibid.}
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merged with the Nyeleni Europe process in 2011 for the European Forum for Food Sovereignty in Krems, Austria in August 2011. The forum, attended by more than 400 people from 34 European countries, produced the ‘Food sovereignty in Europe Now!’ Declaration which calls for putting of food sovereignty at the centre of the EU’s Common Agricultural and Food Policy; the removal of the EU Biofuels Directive; and global governance of international agricultural trade located in the FAO and not the WTO.40

There are already many active organisations and movements, employing different approaches, who contribute to the fight against industrial agriculture and for food sovereignty in Europe. The field liberation movement, for example, opposes cultivation and importing of GMOs in Europe and patenting of life through non-violent removal and replacement of GMO plants in open fields. The movement is also involved in building activist networks and raising awareness of these issues.41 Reclaim the Fields avidly embraces the principles of food sovereignty. It consists of active local groups in several European countries. The movement supports the struggles of La Via Campesina and stresses the importance of access to land and regaining democratic control over food systems. Therefore groups are often involved in land occupations as a way to reclaim industrial land for food production. Reclaim the Fields groups are active in building networks, organising camps, debates and direct actions.42

A lot of effort in Europe is directed towards preserving seed diversity in Europe. Various NGOs, coalitions of farmers and small business are contributing to seed sovereignty via seed saving and seed exchange. Larger seed meetings and seed swapping events with participants from across Europe are also taking place more often in different European countries. More than 40 members from 17 organisations from 12 European countries took part in the international seed action days in Brussels in April 2011 as part of the Seed Campaign and more such events are happening in 2012. The Seed Campaign was started in 2008 and consists of organisations from across Europe working on food and agriculture issues. The Campaign has several goals: protection of peasants’ right to produce, propagate exchange and sell seeds; support for regional seed varieties; prohibition of genetic modification technologies in agriculture; prohibition of patents on plants and animals; a new agrarian policy that stimulates ecological production instead of energy intensive industrial production and monocultures.43 Throughout Europe there are organisations like Coordination Nationale pour la Defense des Semences Fermieres, that are united in the massive

40 More information at http://www.nyelenieurope.net/ and http://nyelenieurope.net/foodsovcap/
41 See http://fieldliberation.wordpress.com/
42 See http://www.reclainthefields.org/node/329
43 See http://www.seed-sovereignty.org/EN/
Save our Seeds coalition. Worth mentioning are also initiatives like the Court of Eden, a non-profit gene and biodiversity bank containing one of the largest collections of traditional and indigenous agricultural plant varieties of Europe, and the Kokopelli collective, which save and sell old seed varieties and give trainings about how to grow and produce seeds.44

10. Food sovereignty in the Netherlands

Agriculture in the Netherlands is totally based on imports and exports. It is a small country with a dense population, but still it is the second exporter of agriculture products (after the US). Commodities come and all kind of food products leave the country again. The Dutch government and many mainstream farmers organisations are very proud on their high-tech, highly specialised production system for the world market. But this system is not sustainable, neither for the environment, nor for society. It dictates scale enlargement at production level, forcing family farmers out of business. It is exploiting the Global South and the huge amounts of pesticides, manure and transport are polluting the country. At the same time this system is also vulnerable in times of peak-oil and worldwide financial, economic and social crises.

But change is becoming more visible by the day. There are already certain practices in the Netherlands that are in line with the food sovereignty paradigm and can serve as alternatives to the current food system. These include Fresh Food Co-ops (VersVoko’s), Community Supported Agriculture (CSA), better known as Pergola’s in the Netherlands, city gardening, seed swapping and others. This section gives examples of such initiatives in the Netherlands.

One of the most active initiatives in the food sovereignty field in the Netherlands is Platform Earth-Farmer-Consumer (Platform Aarde-Boer-Consument - ABC).45 The Platform, consisting of two Dutch farmers’ unions and some working groups and organisations, lobbies together with other organisations for alternative agricultural and food policies at the national, European and international levels. It promotes the Nyeleni Europe forum and its proposals for a better Common Agricultural Policy.

Platform ABC is also part of the Platform for Another Agriculture (Platform Andere Landbouw (PAL). The platform for Another Agriculture is a wider group “consisting of members of 25 organisations and others”, which discussed food and agricultural issues on 8 October 2010 in Utrecht. The gathering produced the declaration of Utrecht; agriculture 2013, a document which calls for regionalisation, food sovereignty, market regulation and healthy soils.

• VersVoko’s

The VersVoko’s (fresh food cooperatives) are collective initiatives that allow people to get fresh (organic) food. How does it work? A group of people get together and arrange the regular delivery of fresh produce from nearby farmers. The most important aspects of a VersVoko are as follows:

45 See http://aardeboerconsument.nl/home/english
• Collaboration between socially and environmentally aware consumers and producers. The initiative allows for a direct and spontaneous interaction between the two main elements of the food system.
• Do it yourself – the people make the decisions and share the work and the costs.
• Healthy – consumers receive seasonal produce with no preservatives and pesticides.
• Socially responsible - producers are guaranteed an honest price for their effort to produce food adhering to high environmental standards, while consumers pay a little extra to receive high-quality food.
• Environmentally friendly - no chemicals are used in the production process. In addition to that, the CO2 footprint of VersVoko initiatives are reduced to the minimum due to the fact that this locally produced food only travels short distances and does not require the packing of food sold in supermarkets.
• Economically beneficial – The initiative gives farmers a fair price and helps them stay afloat.
• Change in the current food system - this initiative also means less trade of food commodities, and as a result, less environmental destruction and exploitation of farmers in the Global South.

There are currently several such projects running in different parts of the Netherlands, one of which will be presented here. De Voedselkollektief de Koppelpoort is the VersVoko project in Amersfoort. It is a collective that buys organic vegetables, eggs and cheese produced by nearby growers. It is not an organisation that serves its consumers as each member participates actively and contributes to the collective. Visits to the growers are organised occasionally. Food collective The Koppelpoort promotes local small-scale agriculture and food sovereignty. It gives power back to the farmer and the consumer. It is a just alternative to the supermarkets and the fossil fuel-based supply chain. Production, distribution and consumption are thus ecologically, socially and economically sustainable.46

Vokomokum is one of the two organic food co-operatives in Amsterdam, which includes a VersVoko group. All members are expected to join a work group and do a shift every other month to evenly distribute the workload and to familiarise themselves with the running of the co-op. All fresh products come from farms not farther than 30 kilometres from the centre of Amsterdam.

• Community supported agriculture/Pergola’s

Community supported agriculture (CSA) is a model of food production and distribution in which the consumers and producers share the risks and benefits of food production. It usually involves an association of consumers who support financially one or more

46 Read more about VersVoko’s in the Netherlands at http://www.versvoko.nl/ and Voedselkollektief de Koppelpoort at http://www.voedselkollektief.nl/
farmers for a share of the harvest. Apart from their financial contribution, consumers/members assist the farmer with the management of the farm and can also join in farming activities. They are also responsible for most non-farm tasks.

The first CSAs appeared in Japan, Switzerland and Germany in the early 1960s as public concerns for safety of food were growing. Since the 1990s, a large number of CSAs have spread in North America and Europe. Originally based on Rudolf Steiner’s ideas of biodynamic agriculture, most present-day CSAs continue to be largely associated with biodynamic or organic farming methods. Nevertheless, there are many different variations of both farming methods used and relationship between consumers and growers.

Like VersVoko’s CSAs are an environmentally, economically and socially sustainable model of local food production and distribution. They are democratically run and they significantly decrease the distance between producer and consumer. They can take different forms and can be adapted to different socio-economic contexts. In fact, there are already many examples of community supported agriculture in developing countries.

In the Netherlands, most CSA initiatives, more frequently referred to as Pergola’s, are organic farms. One of these, De Nieuwe Ronde (meaning “The New Circle”), is a CSA farm located in Wageningen. This initiative started in 1998 and has grown to a farm serving 300 households. The basic aim of De Nieuwe Ronde is to use the farmland in a socially, environmentally and economically sustainable manner. As is typical for CSAs, De Nieuwe Ronde consists of a producer and consumers. One of its important characteristics is that the producer (along with a group of supporters) started the farm without any external financial support. The producer took the financial risk for the initial investments. Ideally, this risk should be shared with the association, but the bond of trust needed time to grow first.47

- Many “short chains” across the country

Under the heading ‘Koop van Buurman Boer’ at www.aardeboerconsument.nl you will find both organic and ‘regular’ farmers who supply to nearby urban areas. If they also do the distribution, they get a wider margin, which is more than welcome in these days when farmers get a minimum wage or less. Under ‘hier te koop’ you will find websites with info about veggie bags, farmers’ markets, new concepts such as ‘marqt’ and ‘landmarkt’, etc. www.thegreenbee.nl is a website where you can find the farmers in your area by clicking on your town/village.

City Gardening

City/urban gardening are all gardening practices in a city or a town. In the case of food, city gardening (also called urban agriculture) is the practice of cultivating, processing and distributing food in and around a city or a town. Urban agriculture is becoming more popular in the Netherlands. The benefits of urban gardens are manifold - they adorn public or private spaces, they create a healthy recreational environment, challenge people’s creative powers, renew people’s connection to the soil. They are also a source of healthy local food for urban population and as such they play an important part in the struggle for food sovereignty both in the Global North and Global South and against climate change. There are several alternatives that fall under this category. These practices can be private or public in nature and can vary significantly in scale. They can be done collectively or individually.

Collectively people can set up community gardens.48 These are gardens that are usually on public property and set up together with neighbours. People learn how to grow food together and get to know each other better at the same time.

Another way to grow food in an urban environment is guerilla gardening. Whilst community gardens are usually started in cooperation with local authorities, guerilla gardeners usually take possession of a piece of land without the official permission from the owner. Guerilla gardening can be a one-off planting action like seed bombing or an occupation of land and a more sustained gardening effort. It can be done visibly or under cover. The motivations of guerilla gardeners can also vary but it is now largely employed as a political action for land reform. Guerilla gardening has existed for 30 thirty years now and has spread all over the world.49 An example of this was the SWOMP project in Amsterdam that existed for over three years.50

More individual are ‘volkstuinen’. These are pieces of land people can usually rent to grow their own vegetables (especially for people who do not have a garden of their

48 See www.buurtnoestuinen.nl
49 See http://www.guerrillagardening.org/gglinks.html
50 See swomp.wordpress.com
own). In every city there are places like this but there can be waiting lists for them. Food can also be grown on roofs, balconies, or in windows.

- **Seed saving and seed exchange**

Seed sovereignty is under threat in the Netherlands with biotech giant Monsanto having already acquired three Dutch seed companies. This has far-reaching implications since the Netherlands are a major seed producer and exporter. In the Netherlands there is the Stichting Zaadgoed (Seed Foundation) that coordinates non-commercial organic plant breeding. The foundation supports concrete breeding projects and seed trials. It also offers courses on organic seed breeding and works on raising awareness about the importance of organic breeding. Bifurcated carrots is a blog about organic seeds and an online platform for exchanging seeds. Others like De Oerakker preserve traditional agricultural varieties.

### 11. Take action!

Here is what you can do to promote food sovereignty.

- Be a conscious consumer - Buy seasonal, locally-produced, organic/biodynamic, and GMO-free food and be prepared to pay a fair price and not simply the lowest. Always demand information about the food you buy. Support your local farmer’s markets or become a member of a CSA or a VersVoko.

- Become a producer yourself – Start your own garden or help with somebody else’s garden. Growing food the right way is a fun and rewarding experience. Make the most of every piece of land in the city or in the countryside. Even if you are an absolute beginner, there is plenty of information and people willing to help you.

- Educate yourself – Internet is an endless source of information but you can also get in touch with involved organisations and people or attend workshops/lectures.

- Join a food sovereignty campaign and take part in actions.

- Mobilise your community – Try to influence local policies towards. Get healthy locally grown food into local school cafeterias and hospitals. Get environmental education and education about food into school curricula. Stimulate the development of local food strategy. Use vacant public spaces to create community vegetable gardens.

- Spread the word and raise awareness – Use the internet or local media to write about food sovereignty in the South and the North. Try to provoke the interest in the topic of as many people as you can.

- Build alliances – Connect the different groups that the food sovereignty movement includes - food producers, farmworkers, consumers, environmentalists, faith communities and more.

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53 See [http://www.zaadgoed.nl/](http://www.zaadgoed.nl/)

12. Suggestions for further reading

Online:
A SEED Europe www.aseed.net
Centre for Organic Agriculture  www.biologischelandbouw.org
Dutch Guerilla Gardening Forum:
http://guerrillagardening.org/community/index.php?board=32.0
European Campaign for Seed Sovereignty: www.seed-sovereignty.org
European Food Declaration: http://www.europeanfooddeclaration.org/
FIAN Interbtional: http://www.fian.org/
Food Crisis and the Global Land Grab: http://farmlandgrab.org/
Food Encyclopaedia: http://www.voedselencyclopedie.nl/
Food First Institute: http://www.foodfirst.org/
Food Movements Unite!: http://www.foodmovementsunite.org/
Focus on the Global South - Reclaiming the Commons Campaign:
http://www.focusweb.org/taxonomy/term/213
Guerilla Gardening: http://www.guerrillagardening.org/
La Via Campesina: http://viacampesina.org/en/
Lekker naar de Boer www.lekkernaardeboer.nl
No Patents on Seeds Coalition: www.no-patents-on-seeds.org
Platform Aarde Boer Consument www.aardeboerconsument.nl
Raj Patel - Blog and Homepage of the Food Sovereignty Activist and Writer:
http://rajpatel.org/
Hof van Twello farm www.hofvantwello.nl
Slow Food Netherlands www.slowfood.nl
Solidariteitsfonds XminY www.xminy.nl
Stichting Zaadgoed www.zaadgoed.nl
The Farmers Foundation www.boerengroep.nl
Transition Towns Netherlands  transitiontowns.nl
Transnational Institute - Agrarian Justice:
http://www.tni.org/work-area/agrarian-justice/agrarian-justice
Van Eigen Erf http://www.vaneigenerf.nl/
Voedsel Teams voedselteams.be
CSAs/Pergola’s:
Amelis’hof http://www.amelishof.nl/ (was de Aardvlo)
De Nieuwe Ronde http://www.denieuweronde.nl/
De Oosterwaarde http://www.oosterwaarde.nl/
De Birkenhof http://www.hetderdeerf.nl/birkenhof.html
De Vrije Akker http://www.devrijeakker.nl/

VersVoko’s:
VersVoko Netherlands www.versvoko.nl
De Pijp http://ttpijp.wordpress.com/
VokoMokum http://www.vokomokum.nl/
Haagse Voedsel Koöperatief http://www.vokodenhaag.nl/
Goei Eete http://www.goeieete.nl/page/doe-mee
VersVoko Groningen http://www.facebook.com/versvokogroningen
Voedselkollektief de Koppelpoort http://www.voedselkollektief.nl/

Films:
Bullshit http://www.peaholmquist.com/bullshit/about.htm
Farmer to Farmer/Van Boer tot Boer http://vanboertotboer.tk/
Killing Fields http://www.feedingfactoryfarms.org/
Mouth Revolution http://www.markberger.com/movie/mouth/mouthifesto.html
Natural World: A Farm for the Future http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xShCEKL-mQ8
Resilient Seed http://vimeo.com/33296184
Seeds of Change: Farmers, Biotechnology and the New Face of Agriculture www.seedsofchangefilm.org
The Future of Food www.thefutureoffood.com
We Feed the World www.we-feed-the-world.at

Books and articles:
Depelchin, J. (2008) ’Hungry for a Voice: The Food Crisis, the Market, and Socio-


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