



THE RAM'S HORN

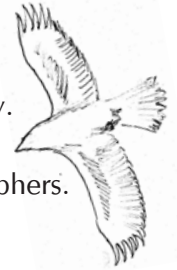
A MONTHLY NEWSLETTER OF FOOD SYSTEM ANALYSIS

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Thanksgiving Grace

The earth is resilient. It is complex beyond our imagining.
Our hands dig into the soil. It is porous, crumbly, full of life, sticky and wiggly.
It grows without us, despite us, around us.
The sheep call for new pasture, the corn calls for compost. The hawks call for gophers.
We stand there, trying to see the patterns, trying to fit within them
As our hands open to the earth, food flows out.



For the earth's diversity, we are grateful.
For the skilled hands that bring us food, we are grateful

We commit ourselves in this moment to move from exploiters to protectors.
We will protect our soil, our water, our air.
We will protect wildlife, microbes, and farmland
We will support and protect all that which gives us life.

– Rebecca Kneen



Food Sovereignty & Supply Management

Here and there around the world one can find a small cottage tucked into the middle of a large urban development, testimony to the refusal of the owner to vacate as demanded by the developers. In the same way, some people have consistently refused to go along with the move to 'modern' production agriculture which took off after World War II. These people insisted on continuing to farm using only those resources readily provided by nature, from beneficial insects to cover crops and crop rotations, but it was not until the 1980s that the term "alternative agriculture" was applied, with its indirect critique of what we now know as industrial agriculture.

I have a mental image of the green cover of a substantial book, published by the very establishment National Academies Press in 1989 with its bold lettering "Alternative Agriculture". The authors were the Committee on the Role of Alternative Farming Methods in Modern Production Agriculture of the National Research Council in Washington.

The official description of the book at nap.edu/catalog.php is: "More and more farmers are adopting a diverse range of alternative practices designed to reduce dependence on synthetic chemical pesticides, fertilizers, and antibiotics; cut costs; increase profits; and reduce the adverse environmental consequences of agricultural production. *Alternative Agriculture* describes the increased use of these new practices and other changes in agriculture since World War II, and examines the role of federal policy in encouraging this evolution, as well as factors that are causing farmers to look for profitable, environmentally safe alternatives."

Since then, as Ram's Horn readers well know, there has been a dramatic, and growing, split between industrial monoculture production agriculture, with its ever bigger and more powerful machinery, increasing dependence on chemical life support systems

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(agrotoxins), synthetic fertilizers, and costly genetic engineering, and, on the left end, the highly biologically diverse practices and practitioners that are coming together under the name of agro-ecology. If there is a gathering of strength in ecological agriculture and the organic-local food movement, manifest in the amazing growth of local and regional food growing and distribution projects, so there has also been a gathering of corporate strengths in the form of cartels of five or so of the largest players in each sector of agrotoxins, grain handling, biotechnology and seeds. Not to be overlooked is the fact that a few of the corporate giants are members of two or three cartels – Monsanto, for example.

As a consequence, we now must differentiate between corporate food sovereignty, state food sovereignty, and peoples' food sovereignty.

Willfully, indeed cheerfully in Canada's case, neoliberal states have been ceding their sovereignty to corporate interests through the mechanism of trade agreements – CETA, the trade agreement between Canada and the EU, is just the latest – and the provision of subsidies and regulatory and tax generosity. As a result, there is little point in urging the state to recognize people's sovereignty of their food.

In agriculture, food sovereignty can be seen in the institutions farmers have developed to protect their interests, such as the organic standards, where farmers agree to adopt certain practices in order to be identified with an agreed set of values. Or supply management, where authority is ceded to a body which takes responsibility for establishing fair practices, including financial return.

More generally, one might say that representative democracy also requires the ceding of authority to a government in the interests of the broader society and the public good – in theory, anyway. Under the rule of Harper, however, Canadians are beginning to see that it is not the broad public good which is being served. The destruction of the Canadian Wheat Board, the consistent support of export-oriented industrial agriculture, and trade agreements like CETA which blast holes in supply management, all benefit only the corporate sector.

We ask ourselves, what to do about the Harper tyranny when Parliament, the body that is supposed to represent our interests, has allowed itself to be totally marginalized? How do we act as citizens when we are being compressed into the role of mere consumers – of goods and services, and of political activity. Food sovereignty has been defined as the *right* of people to control their own food systems. Clearly, claiming such a right in a context where the authority responsible for fulfilling that right is working hard to destroy the elements of genuine food sovereignty that exist, is fruitless. Rather, we need to continue the multitudinous and many-faceted initiatives that are busily growing in the cracks of the industrial food system.

To think about this more clearly, we might benefit by paying attention to traditional oriental philosophy:

“The Mandate of Heaven (Pinyin: Tia-nmXng) is a traditional Chinese philosophical concept concerning the legitimacy of rulers. Heaven would bless the authority of a just ruler, but would be displeased with a despotic ruler and would withdraw its mandate. The Mandate of Heaven would then transfer to those who would rule best.

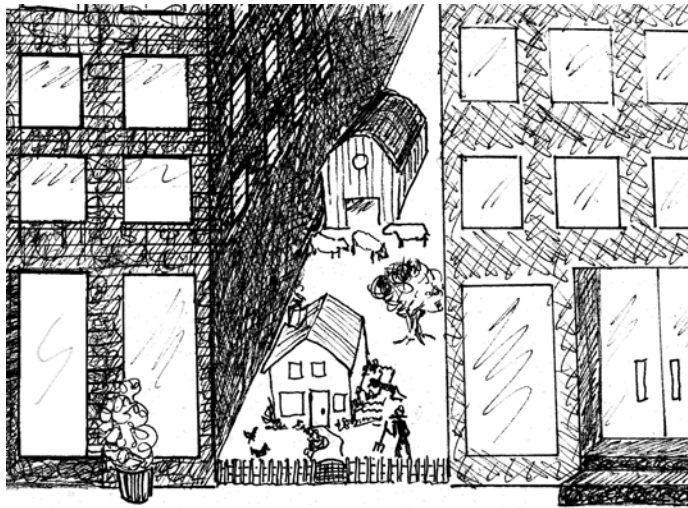
“The Mandate of Heaven was a well-accepted idea among the common people of China, as it argued for the removal of incompetent or despotic rulers, and provided an incentive for rulers to rule well and justly. The concept was often invoked by philosophers and scholars in ancient China as a way to curtail the abuse of power by the political rulers.

“The Mandate of Heaven had no time limitations, instead depending on the just and able performance of the ruler. When people were resisting an oppressive ruler, they would use the slogan Minshim Chonshim (the people are heaven). And, of course, kings in China, Japan and Korea went to great lengths to prove that they had the heavenly mandate.”

– from the *Tyranny of Rights*, quoting Yong Bock Kim

Food sovereignty is being called for and asserted by peoples around the world who seek to gain control over and exercise responsibility for their food, whether as peasant farmers or urban eaters, within a clear context of social and ecological values. That is, what is sought is not individual control, but collective, social control, for the common good. This is the mandate of heaven, which is no longer visible on Parliament Hill. It may just be that representative democracy does not represent the common good.

– **B.K.**



High Price of Buying Votes

Washington State will vote on Nov 5 on Initiative 522 which, if passed, would require labelling of all foods containing ingredients made from genetically engineered crops as well as labelling of genetically engineered seeds and seed products sold in the state. The Grocery Manufacturers Association, which represents more than 300 food, beverage and consumer companies and is the largest donor to the “No on 522” campaign, has violated state campaign finance laws in its attempt to block the measure, according to a lawsuit filed on October 23 by the state’s attorney general. He said that the group illegally collected and spent more than \$7 million while shielding the identity of its contributors. (Monsanto alone is said to have contributed more than \$4 million.)

The Attorney General’s office said the group set up a “Defense of Brands Strategic Account” within its organization and asked members to pay assessments that would be used to oppose the labelling initiative. The association then financed opposition efforts while illegally shielding contributors’ names from public disclosure, the attorney general said. The attorney general’s office said it would seek a temporary restraining order asking for a court order requiring the association to immediately comply with state disclosure laws and said it would seek civil penalties. Opponents of the measure were said to have raised \$17.2 million, while proponents of the measure had raised \$4.8 million.

– *New York Times*, 17/10/13

Protests Halt Monsanto Project

Monsanto has put the construction of its plant in Malvinas Argentinas, Córdoba, on hold due to the ongoing roadblock in front of the construction site which has provoked clashes between protesters, workers and the police. According to the corporation, the protests, which have been going on for almost two weeks, put the necessary conditions for work in jeopardy and generate possible health risks. The workers had, therefore, been asked not to come in to work. The protesters are calling for the construction of the seed plant, set to be the largest in South America, to be stopped due to concerns over the health risks and contamination that the plant’s activity could cause to the locals. Monsanto, however, has claimed that their company promotes ‘sustainable agriculture’ and insists that this plant will be a replica of their existing one in Rojas, Buenos Aires province, which has been running without problems for 16 years.

– *Argentine Independent*, 1/10/13

Meanwhile, “The weekly newspaper for agribusiness” reports that a Federal District Court Judge in Mexico issued an injunction halting the planting and selling of genetically modified corn in the country effective immediately. The import of GM corn from the U.S. into the country has already been approved by the Mexican government.

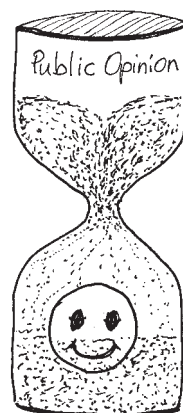
Judge Jaime Eduardo Verdugo J. of the Twelfth District Court for Civil Matters of Mexico cited “the risk of damage to the environment” as the determining factor in the final ruling. The ruling ordered the Mexico’s Secretary of Agriculture and Secretary of Environment to “suspend all activities involving the planting of transgenic corn in the country and end the granting of permission for experimental and pilot commercial plantings.”

The court ruling occurred approximately two years after the Mexican government temporarily postponed the expansion of GM corn testing by international seed companies such as Monsanto, DuPont Pioneer, Syngenta, PHI Mexico and Dow AgroScience.

Last July, 53 citizens and 20 civil associations filed suit to prevent field trials of GM Corn planned in Mexico by seed companies. – <http://feedstuffs.com/story-mexican-judge-rules-ban-gm-corn-planting-45-103629>

No GM Pulses, Thank You

A big headline in *Western Producer*, the weekly farm paper covering the Prairies, stated: “Pulse exporter adamantly against GM crops”.



The article quoted Murad Al-Katib, president of Alliance Grain Traders, one of the world’s largest pulse (peas, lentils) processing firms, saying he wants nothing to do with genetically engineered pulses. “Some people view me as having my head in the sand on the GM issue, but the consumer of the world today is expressing a preference for non-GMO products and the consumer, to me, drives every decision I make in my business.”

Al-Katib said he has talked with senior executives of major US food companies who say the anti-GM food movement is spreading beyond the traditional hotbed states of Washington and California. He said there is a lot of resistance to GM crops in some of the big growth markets and “I don’t see that changing in the near term. As a result of that, I want to keep my head in the sand.”

– *WP*, 19/9/13

Roundup Remains

Soybeans in Argentina have the highest levels of residues from spraying with the herbicide glyphosate ever found. In April 2013, the independent research organization Testbiotech took samples of soybeans from fields in Argentina in regions that are known for the cultivation of soybeans genetically engineered for resistance to glyphosate (mostly Monsanto's Roundup). Nearly all Argentina's soybeans are GE, but there are very few publications measuring the actual load of glyphosate residues post-harvest, as this one did. The samples were analysed in a laboratory at the University of Buenos Aires.

The results showed a surprisingly high content of residue of up to almost 100 mg/kg. In seven of the eleven samples the level was higher than the international maximum residue level (MRL) of 20 mg/kg allowed in soybeans products used for food and feed. The results were confirmed in a second analysis. Aware that these results were alarmingly high, Testbiotech decided to publish its findings despite the small number of samples. Testbiotech believes the high level of residues from spraying found in the soybeans indicates that they were not grown under conditions conforming to environmentally friendly agricultural practice. The dosage of glyphosate used in the fields concerned is likely to be much higher than recommended. Such high dosages could have been due to increasing weed resistance to the herbicide glyphosate which is also reported in Argentina.

Over-usage of glyphosate mixtures can have a negative impact on the environment and rural communities. A high level of residues from spraying can also impact health at the food and feed consumption level.

Similar problems with the application of high dosages of glyphosate are also likely to occur in countries such as Brazil and the US where these genetically engineered soybeans and other glyphosate resistant crop plants are grown on large scale, and an increasing number of herbicide resistant weed species are being reported.

Testbiotech recommends close monitoring of herbicide applications in those regions where the herbicide resistant plants are grown. This monitoring should cover residues in soil and water as well as in blood and urine samples from farmers, rural communities and livestock. Further, any soybean products containing residues from spraying which are used as food and feed should be subjected to many more controls.

The health risks and the environmental impact of glyphosate and its mixtures needs to be reassessed.

There should be a substantial reduction in the high maximum residue levels currently allowed in food and feed products. Agricultural practice should also be changed, switching from growing herbicide resistant plants to agriculture practice that supports crop diversity and biodiversity in the fields as well as in the rural areas.

– *testbiotech.de/en/node/926*

Drugs for Production Animals

Zoetis is the former animal science division of pharmaceutical giant Pfizer, sold off by Pfizer earlier this year. The premium price that Pfizer received for Zoetis, investors say, is because it's the only opportunity "for investors who want to bet solely on a big player in animal medicine. . . The company gets two thirds of its sales from medicine aimed at livestock and other creatures that we eat – 'production animals' as they're inelegantly called."

– *GM, 28/9/13*

More agribusiness consolidation

Agrium, already the biggest farm input retailer in the USA (fertilizer, agrottoxins, seed), has won approval from the Competition Bureau for its purchase of 210 Viterra outlets in Canada from commodities trader Glencore, which purchased Viterra last year. This will bring Agrium's retail stores total to 275 in Canada.

– *WP, 12/9/13*

Cargill Updates

Cargill has begun to build a \$200 million sunflower oil crushing plant to process up to 640,000 tons of sunflower seeds per year in the Volgograd region of the country, the heart of Russia's sunflower growing region. It will produce edible oil and sunflower meal for animal feed. Cargill has already invested about \$1 billion in Russia's agribusiness sector.

The company established a beachhead in Russia soon after the demise of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s and built a sweeteners plant in Efremov, 200 miles south of Moscow, which has now become a large complex producing animal feed, malt and vegetable oils. Earlier this year Cargill opened a \$40 million chicken processing plant there to supply McDonalds.

– *Cargill.com, ST,20/9/13*

Meanwhile, Cargill's vision of its future may be deduced from the fact that its new CEO, David MacLennan, has a career in financial services and commodities trading.

AGROPOLY:

A handful of corporations control world food production

In just 18 pages, *Agropoly*, published by **Econexus** and **Berne Declaration**, shows how a handful of companies have come to dominate the agro-industries for:

- animal feed production: one third of agricultural land goes to produce animal feed;
- livestock breeding: in chicken breeding, for example, the top 4 companies have 99% market share of the genetics;
- seed production: the top 10 seed corporations have a 75% market share of the commercial market;
- commodity production, processing, trade and retail:

the revenues of the three biggest supermarket corporations are larger than the GNP of many states;

- fertiliser and pesticide manufacture: the latter also controlled by seed corporations.

One result is that many local breeds and food crop varieties have already been lost to us and the decline continues.

This consolidation is relentless, with governments shaping policies to suit corporations and their investors, not citizens. *Agropoly* highlights the pressing need to act now, working with peasant farmers and small-scale food providers to develop inclusive and just food regimes that provide nutritious food for all.

Below is an excerpt from Agropoly. The full text is available for download at <http://econexus.info/>

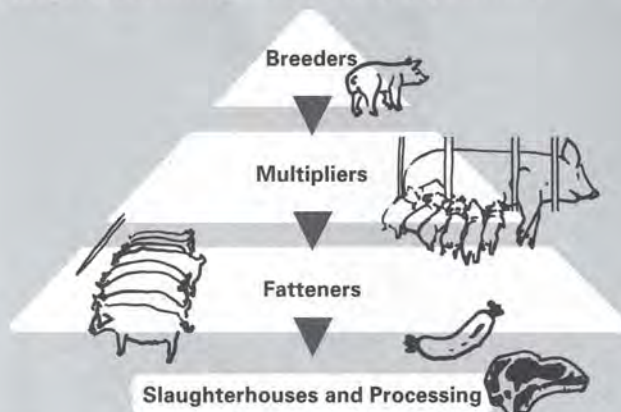
Livestock breeding

With the development of biotechnology and the privatisation of public breeding institutions, a new industry has emerged, which does not describe its work as "cattle breeding" or "pig breeding" any longer, but as "livestock genetics".

After the US seed corporation Pioneer developed hybrid maize, it also developed the hybrid chicken that grows bigger and faster. Thus, normal breeding could not compete any longer and chicken breeding, already highly concentrated, became more so.

Between 1989 and 2006, the world's number of suppliers of poultry genetics in the broiler sector was reduced from eleven to four companies; in the laying hen sector from ten to three companies. Just three companies supply the world market for turkey genetics, and worldwide only two companies breed the ducklings and day-old chicks that are flown around the world packed in cartons for fattening and egg production factories.

The pig fattening industry pyramid



Industrial pork production is divided into various stages. The breeders deliver young sows and the semen of hybrid ("terminal") boars to the multiplier farm. These "closed systems" prevent further breeding by the multiplier farm and include eartags, which store the animal's performance data and remain the property of the breeder. The multiplier farm sells the piglets to the fattening farm. Fattening is often contract-based production for processing companies. Increasingly, in-house veterinarians replace independent veterinarians.



Market leader The few remaining poultry genetics companies are run by families and do not publish business figures. In 2005, the world's largest pig breeder and the world's largest cattle breeder merged to form Genus plc (UK). In 2010, the company achieved a turnover of almost half a billion US\$. Genus has substantial market shares in almost all industrial countries and increases its profits through a licensing model. Thus, Genus generated 13% growth in profits while many of its customers made losses during the crisis in 2008/2009. The basis of the profit is the hybrid breeding of pigs. The multiplier farmers have to buy animals from the breeder continually. The corporation does not sell animals from the pure breeding strains which are crossed to produce the hybrids.

New Immigrants/Investors

The Atlantic Coast fisheries were developed to ship fish to Britain; the Prairies were settled to provide grain to Europe. But check the labels on just about anything in the stores: China has replaced the old colonists as the dominant economic power. So we should not be surprised to learn that there is a new wave of immigrants to Canada from China – not to build railroads but to farm for export.

Western Producer has a story about Howard Yong, who immigrated to Manitoba last year and is now setting up a company – WYNN Agricultural Investment Management – to create a special region of Chinese-owned farms on the east side of Lake Manitoba. Yong looks forward to the day when Chinese people own dozens of farms in the area which are each part of an integrated agricultural operation, including exporting beef to China. – WP, 5/9/13

Was Colonialism Ever More Cynical?

“A dangerous international game is being played in the name of assisting Africa to feed itself. What is portrayed as charitable largesse has more in common with reinvigorating neo-colonialism than feeding Africans. This is in fact a misanthropic, multi-pronged raid by the G8 to control African commodities, land and seeds.” – Glenn Ashton, *South African Civil Society Information Service*, 27/6/12

This item is drawn from corporate press releases dated 18 May 2012, as well as a Government of Canada press release of that date. The ‘information’ in them is really more meaningful now than it was a year ago as the assault on Africa to eliminate traditional small scale diverse agriculture has gained in scope and aggressiveness, but is not reported as the unified capitalist recolonization that it is. The first modern colonization was, of course, the 19th century colonization and introduction of monoculture cropping (peanuts, cotton) for export introduced by Great Britain.

The corporate press releases from Monsanto, Syngenta, DuPont, Bayer and BASF all proclaimed their support of The New Alliance for Food and Nutrition Security which will, according to the Canadian government press release, allow African partners, G-8 countries, other donors and the private sector to create new and innovative partnerships that will “drive agricultural transformation, improve nutrition and unlock sustainable economic growth in Africa”.

Prime Minister Harper took advantage of the opportunity to align himself with President Obama and the CEOs of the partner corporations and to boast, “As a continuation of our international leadership on food security and agriculture, we are pleased to support the New Alliance for Food and Nutrition Security.”

Monsanto’s President Hugh Grant announced his company’s support of the New Vision for Agriculture Initiative, the Grow Africa Partnership and the G8’s New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition through a \$50 million commitment over the next ten years “to support sustained Africa agricultural development and growth. . . As a company committed to improving lives through agriculture, we stand ready to work together with African leaders to turn their ideas into action with the sense of urgency and scale needed to deliver local solutions to meet our global challenges,” said Grant.

Monsanto’s commitment will also go to continued support of Tanzania’s Kilimo Kwanza (Agriculture First) initiative focused on the Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania. “Plans include improved access to financial services through a partnership with Opportunity International, continued work with Tanzanian scientists through the Water Efficient Maize for Africa project to introduce new maize hybrids suitable for Tanzania and strengthening of agro-dealer networks to provide more choice to farmers.”

For its part, Syngenta announced a commitment to build a \$1 billion business in Africa over the next 10 years, reflecting the company’s belief that Africa has the resources not only to feed its growing population, but also to become a major world food exporter. Mike Mack, Chief Executive Officer, said: “Africa has become one of our strategic growth regions and our aspiration is to contribute to the transformation of African agriculture.”

Syngenta will make cumulative investments of over \$500 million in support of this undertaking. These include “the development of distribution channel networks, logistics and local production facilities, in collaboration with local partners, [which] will increase access to technology for both smallholders and large scale farms. The target over the 10 year period is to reach over 5 million farmers and to enable productivity gains of 50% or more, while preserving the long term potential of the land.”

In other words, most of the money will go toward infrastructure development that serves the commercial interests of the corporations as they extend their sales of fertilizers, seeds and agrottoxins to increase ‘productivity’ and dependency.

The **Alliance for Food Sovereignty in Africa** has issued the following statement on Approval of Harmonised GMO Policy:

The Alliance for Food Sovereignty in Africa is alarmed at the approval in September, 2013, by the Council of Ministers of the Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA) of "Draft Policy Statements and Guidelines for commercial planting of GMOs, Trade in GMOs and Emergency Food aid with GMO content." The COMESA Policy aggressively promotes the wholesale proliferation of GMOs on the African continent by way of commercial plantings, commodity imports and food aid and flouts international biosafety law.

We are outraged that the COMESA Policy supports the undermining and displacing of more than a decade's worth of international, regional and national biosafety policies and legislation. It intends to do this by usurping *inter alia*, the biosafety policy space of the Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety, regional policies on food aid and the sovereign rights of COMESA member states.

Why the need for this harmonised policy if not to bypass international and national biosafety regulations . . . because the biotechnology industry, agribusiness, free trade proponents and the food aid industry are extremely frustrated by their inability to penetrate the markets in Africa.

It is our view that this policy . . . is a US funded initiative that seeks to transform biosafety into a free trade agenda. . . Civil society and small scale farmers have been left out of the process.

. . . African governments have historically been extremely proactive in drafting international biosafety policy and have shown a deep commitment to safeguarding the interests of all Africans, especially African farmers, in international negotiations. . . It seems that African governments have done an about turn and are seemingly willing to sacrifice their sovereignty, and the safety of their people and environments to free trade – going to the extent of even flouting an international Biosafety agreement, which they have all ratified.

– 8/10/13

Who Will Feed Us?

*ETC Group has published what it is calling a 12-page 'poster' in PDF called **Who Will Feed Us? The Industrial Food Chain or the Peasant Food Web?** Here is the accompanying essay:*

The Food Systems We Don't Know We Don't Know

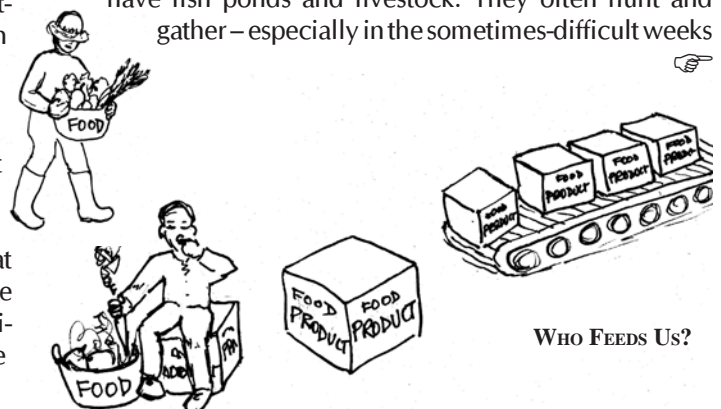
Fifty years ago, at the first World Food Congress in June 1963, the UN was told that, "We have the means, we have the capacity, to wipe hunger and poverty from the face of the earth in our lifetime – we need only the will." Fifty years after policymakers committed to end hunger they need to sort out why governments don't have the means, the capacity, or the will to end hunger.

We don't know we don't know for two related reasons: first, because we have spent half a century immersed in the largely uncontested presumption that the prevailing Western model of food production, processing and consumption is inevitable; virtually everything we think about our food security is based upon this premise; second, we have become dependent upon the limited statistics and interpretations volunteered by agribusiness. Even as we are told that "agribusiness as usual" is unstoppable, less and less information about the reality of markets and market share is made public. . . As a result, policymakers accept that increases in meat and dairy consumption, obesity, and the need for fertilizers and pesticides are unchallengeable realities. The demands of "paying customers" are sacrosanct; the demands of the hungry are negotiable.

So, is everything "black and white"? Do policy-makers only have a choice between the Industrial Food Chain and the Peasant Food Web? Not necessarily; peasant producers often participate to varying degrees in both systems. But, there is a clear distinction in starting premises: one perspective is that the current Western production paradigm – based on multinational agribusiness – is the only credible starting point. The other perspective is that smallholder producers (i.e., peasants) must be at the center of all local, national and global food policies.

Peasant Food Web?

Many prefer to talk about "farmers" or "smallholder producers" and are concerned that "peasants" is patronizing or pejorative. We use "peasant" to describe all those who produce food mostly for themselves and their communities whether they are rural, urban, or peri-urban farmers, ocean or freshwater fishers, pastoralists, or hunters and gatherers. Many peasants fit all of these categories. Small farmers often have fish ponds and livestock. They often hunt and gather – especially in the sometimes-difficult weeks



before harvest. Many peasants move back and forth between city and countryside. When we say "Web" we are talking about the complex of supportive interconnections shared by peasants and communities. Conversely, the "Chain," although complex, locks in each link and rarely takes into account the "hidden harvest" gathered seasonally from forests, roadsides and savannas. The bounty from urban farming (crops, fish and livestock) is seldom considered. The mix of peasant food sources renders statistical estimates difficult. To complicate things further, peasants grow around 7,000 crops but industrial food chain "bean counters" focus on about 150 crops. The world does not have accurate figures.

The Peasant Web works hard not to waste food or the resources to produce food. Where there is "loss" it is almost exclusively due to problems of storage or transportation – not from overconsumption, cosmetic concerns or neglect. Food that is deteriorating is often rescued for livestock or fertilizer. Would this were true for the Chain!

Neither is the Web a pseudonym for agroecology, organic farming, permaculture, or any other production system. Peasants make their decisions about synthetic fertilizers or pesticides for economic, environmental, or access reasons and some use chemicals for their commercial produce and avoid them for their own consumption. The bottom line is, however, that much/most of what peasants produce is *de facto* "organic."

Industrial Food Chain?

It is also hard to calculate what food is produced – and how much is consumed – in the Chain. Much has been written about the food waste that comes from discarding cosmetically imperfect fruits and vegetables; from the problems of long-distance transportation; from good quality foods discarded by supermarkets; and the amount that consumers throw away after purchase. Statisticians have spent less time estimating the quantity, health cost, and opportunity cost of overconsumption. The calculation is complicated: how much of the 80% of the world's agricultural land and fertilizers that goes to animal feed – that turns into meat and dairy products – becomes "waist" as some consumers eat several times the amount recommended by health authorities? We conclude that the Chain delivers only about 30% of the food that people both eat – and need. The Chain is not capable of reaching those who are hungry and malnourished.

Fifty years later, we must recognize that peasants have the capacity and the will to feed the hungry – they need only the means: Food Sovereignty.

www.etcgroup.org/content/poster-who-will-feed-us-industrial-food-chain-or-peasant-food-webs

www.etcgroup.org/sites/www.etcgroup.org/files/030913_ETC_WhoWillFeed_AnnotatedPoster.pdf



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