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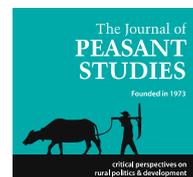
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Food Sovereignty Agenda of Transnational Rural Social Movements in the UN Global Governance

Mauro Conti

International Institute of Social Studies (ISS)
Kortenaerkade 12, 2518AX
The Hague, The Netherlands

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Abstract

This paper provides a perspective on the struggle of the Transnational Rural Social Movements for Food Sovereignty in the United Nations system for the Global Governance of Food Security and Nutrition. A major achievement of this struggle was the reform of the CFS, which has become a much more inclusive platform for different actors – governments, international organizations, UN agencies, civil society organizations, social movements, and the private sector – enabling to work together to ensure food security and nutrition for all. The paper analyses the implicit assumptions of this strategy as it (a) acts in the UN interstate system by defining the obligations limiting the sovereignty of the States; it implies (b) the recognition of the legitimacy of Nation States formation; and (c) the framing of the struggle for Food Sovereignty as part of a more general struggle for People's Sovereignty; and gives the opportunity to Corporations to position themselves as stakeholders in the (d) discussion and (e) implementation of the UN system decisions and tools for the Global Governance.

Introduction

The Food Sovereignty global movement emerged in part as mobilization in resistance to the WTO's Agreement on Agriculture concluded in Marrakech on April 1994 and its imposition of multilateral regulations on domestic agriculture policy.

The increasing vertical and horizontal integration of value chains in international trade, including agricultural commodity trade, was mostly the result of other agreements as the General Agreement on Services or the Agreement on Trade Related Investment Measures, concluded at the same time, in Marrakech in 1994. Indeed, other policy decisions – as the deregulation of financial markets; the end of government interventions in agricultural markets; the proliferation of stand-alone investment agreements, hybrid trade-investment agreements, and several other policy decisions – created the regulatory framework and economic conditions for global value chains to expand (Burnet, Murphy, 2013).

In opposition to the creation of the WTO and the coming into force of the Uruguay Round Agreement on Agriculture, the Transnational Rural Social Movements¹, composed of Organizations of Small Scale Food Producers, united with other CSOs under the banner of Food Sovereignty to become an alternative to the expansion of capitalist agricultural production and neoliberal globalization of agricultural markets, thus reasserting the primacy of agriculture. As one of the responses, Transnational Rural Social Movements internationalised their struggles for Food Sovereignty also in the UN system to advocate the Right to Food Approach in the Global Governance of Food Security and Nutrition, opposing the attempt to have a neoliberal market-oriented governance of agricultural production and trade, at the expense of peasant and small-scale food producers. The Food Sovereignty Movement aimed

to provide answers at different levels – not just the international level, but local and national levels too. History shows that each phase of political development has a corresponding institutional form: France's response to the Industrial Revolution was the nation-state; the WTO is the expression of this phase of the liberalization of world trade (Bové, Dufour 2001)

Transnational Rural Social Movements have been self-organizing in the space of UN Food Agencies since 1996, calling for a parallel CSOs Forum during the World Food Summit at FAO in 1996, and during the fyl Summit in 2002 (Via Campesina, 2002).

The reform of the CFS - Committee on World Food Security in 2009 was a major achievement of the Food Sovereignty Movement. Following the food price crisis in 2007-2008, CFS became a much more inclusive platform for different stakeholders – governments, international organizations, UN agencies, civil society organizations, social movements, and the private sector – to work together to ensure Food Security and Nutrition for all. The reforms were designed to redefine the CFS' vision and role to focus on the key challenges of eradicating hunger; expanding participation in CFS to ensure that voices of all relevant stakeholders are heard in the policy debate on food and agriculture; adapting its rules and procedures with the aim to become the central UN political platform dealing with food security and nutrition; strengthening its linkages with regional, national and local levels; and supporting CFS discussions with structured expertise through the creation of a High Level Panel of Experts (HLPE) so that the decisions and the work of the CFS are based on hard evidence and state of the art knowledge.

CFS' new roles are coordination at the global level, policy convergence, support and advice to countries and regions, and development of a global strategic framework for food security and nutrition. (FAO, 2009).

¹ In this paper, Transnational Rural Social Movements defines the social movements organized at supranational level –as the world economic system - related to food production in the *rural* areas (geographic area that is located outside towns and cities) which include Peasants, Fisher Folks, Pastoralists,

The echoes of the reform of the CFS and of the renewed focus on Food Security and Nutrition are reflected in the conclusions of the 2011 Activity Report of the UN Special Rapporteur for the Right to Food, recommending that:

WTO members should redefine how food security is treated in multilateral trade agreements so that policies to achieve food security and the realization of the human right to adequate food are no longer treated as deviations from but as recognized principal objectives of agricultural trade policy. Food security is presently treated under the WTO as the grounds for exceptions for a very limited range of trade liberalization commitments. A more appropriate reframing of agricultural trade rules would explicitly recognize that market-determined outcomes do not necessarily improve food security and that the purpose of agricultural trade rules should be to facilitate food security enhancing policies, even though this may require limiting the pace of trade liberalization in some sectors and/or granting States additional policy flexibility in pursuit of internationally recognized food security objectives (De Schutter 2011).

According to the FAO Director General, *the reform of the CFS is considered a highly successful experience, and it can and should show the way forward for replicating and deepening inclusive processes for multi-stakeholder dialogue in other United Nations*²

Following the successful reform of the CFS, in April 2013 the FAO Council approved a new *FAO Strategy for Partnerships with Civil Society Organizations*, recognizing that

CSOs in all its various forms - social movements, member-based organizations, non-governmental organizations and formal and informal associations - has demonstrated its ability to mobilize, campaign and launch initiatives that seek social justice, respect for human rights and a life with dignity without poverty and hunger. But besides their work on advocacy, civil society organizations have technical and grassroots knowledge that is both context specific and globally important. Their concerns and work often coincide with FAO's work and mandate. (FAO, 2013)

and promoting

11. [...] that the views of small farmers, fishers, women, youth and others are brought to the policy, normative and technical discussions convened by FAO. In this regard, where provided for by a decision of the Member States, relevant civil society networks may be invited as observers by FAO to meetings of the Technical Committees (e.g. COFI, COFO, COAG) or governing bodies - in coordination with the Chairpersons and secretariat of said bodies. (FAO, CL 146/8)

Many UN Food Agencies' documents and discussions recognize the crucial role played by Small Scale Food Producers Organizations participating in the UN policy dialogue to guarantee a full ownership of the decisions taken and their effective implementation.

The Food Sovereignty Movement strategy to internationalise the struggle in the UN systems advocating for the Food Sovereignty agenda and Human Rights Based Approach managed in less than 20 years to open a space for CSOs in the UN system, starting from the UN Food Agencies based in Rome. Still, the implementation of the strategy to come has some implications in the construction of a coherent vision of the role of Transnational Rural Social Movements in the Global Governance of Food Security and Nutrition. The framework to analyse this strategy will be the world system theory of Arrighi, with a specific focus on agriculture and food systems through the lens of the Food Regimes proposed by Mc Micheal.

1. The role of United Nations and the interstate system

² <http://www.fao.org/news/story/en/item/201836/icode/>

Reading the concrete institutionalization of the idea of a world government in the Roosevelt's project of the United Nations Arrighi wrote

After the Second World War, every people, whether "Western" or "non-Western," was granted the right to self-determination, that is to say, to constitute itself into a national community and, once so constituted, to be accepted as a full member of the interstate system. In this respect, global "decolonization" and the formation of the United Nations, whose General Assembly brought together all nations on an equal footing, have been the most significant correlates of US hegemony. [...]

In comparison with free-trade imperialism, the institutions of US hegemony have considerably restricted the rights and powers of sovereign States to organize relations with other states and with their own subjects as they fit. National governments have been far less free than ever before to pursue their ends by means of war, territorial expansion, and to a lesser but none the less significant extent, violations of their subjects' civil and human rights. In Franklin Roosevelt's original vision of the postwar world order these restrictions amounted to nothing less than a complete supersession of the very notion of state sovereignty (Arrighi 1996, pg 67-68)

The security for the world had to be based on American power exercised through international systems. But for such a scheme to have a broad ideological appeal to the suffering peoples of the world, it had to emanate from an institution less esoteric than an international monetary system and less crude than a set of military alliances or bases. (Schurmann 1974: 68)

In this view, the United Nations were creating for the first time a world government impossible in previous centuries. Even during the XVIII-XIX centuries, the United Kingdom built an Empire through the expansion of the world market system and created an international capitalistic system, but without the vision and political ambition to extend at the global level the construction of a world government.

After the Second World War, the Truman Doctrine of the Cold War Order and *developmentalism* replaced the vision of Roosevelt, institutionalizing US control over world money and over global military power as the primary instruments of US hegemony. The United Nations either became supplementary instruments wielded by the US government in the exercise of its world hegemonic functions or, if they could not be used in this way, were impeded in the exercise of their own institutional functions. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank played little role in the regulation of world money in comparison with, and in relation to, a select ensemble of national central banks, led by the US Federal Reserve System. It was only with the crisis of the US hegemony in the 1970s and, even more so, in the 1980s that for the first time the Bretton Woods organizations rose to prominence in global monetary regulation

In the agricultural perspective of cycles of accumulation, the U.S.-centered food regime³ (1945-1970) *pivoted on the contradiction between global integration and the coherence of national farm sectors. During this time, the U.S. deployed food aid to secure its geo-political perimeter in the Third World, in which Third World states depended on western foods to provision reconstructed urban diets (McMichael 2004).*

In the context of the international regulatory institutions, the Food Sovereignty Movement since its first steps was in dialogue with the multilateral processes in the UN system.

The United Nations use a system of governance based on the 'one country, one vote' representational mechanism and are the space of definition of the Human Rights. Even if most of the actors in the Food

³ The 'food regime' concept defines an historically specific geo-political-economic organization of international agricultural and food relations. Food regimes corresponding to British and U.S. hegemonic eras were embedded in dominant state-building models organizing a particular structure of food production and consumption relations on a world scale (Friedmann and McMichael 1989)

Sovereignty Movement share the analysis of Arrighi and the world-system theory, the UN system is not seen as homogeneous, and the World Bank, IMF and FAO are considered in a different way. Especially FAO, CFS and the other UN Food Agencies are the appropriate fora in which governments should determine the rules by which to govern global Food and Agriculture.

Transnational Rural Social Movements raise their voices and bring their agendas in the UN interstate system, assuming that the decision power remains in the hands of the UN bodies composed by Governments, which are accountable at national level for their decisions.

According to this analysis, the participation in the UN interstate system is influencing the discussion on the international regulations limiting the national sovereignty, but with a limited negotiation power, almost dependent from the support of some allied governments on specific issues, thanks to the consensus rule and the ban of vetoes in the decision making process. At the same time, the participation of the most relevant actors in the food production in the UN system is legitimating the processes deciding on Global Governance limiting the regulatory powers at national level. The selective use of some of the UN systems processes are not oriented to counter balance other UN agencies, but almost to counter balance Corporate Sector, WTO, Free Trade Agreements etc. through international regulatory frameworks based on Human Rights.

2. The Role of Nation States

At the end of these different phases in the functioning of the UN interstate system and limitation to the exercise of national sovereignties, Nation State itself and national sovereignties are clearly in question.

During the past three decades and especially in the context of developing countries, Nation States have been subject to a triple squeeze, namely: 'from above' through globalization, with some regulatory powers being increasingly ceded to international regulatory institutions; 'from below' through the partial decentralization of central political, fiscal and administrative powers to local counterparts; and 'from the sides' through the privatization of some functions (Borras 2010)

The strategy of Food Sovereignty Movement in the inter-governmental bodies of the UN system implies the recognition of the National Governments as legitimate to define the food policies, implicitly recognizing also the Nation States formation, with their colonial origins as political units expanding the connections of the capitalistic economic network at global level

The capitalist world economy [...] came into existence first in Europe in the long sixteenth century and subsequently has expanded in space up to include all other geographic areas of the globe. The relational concept and therefore the real structures of classes and ethnic groups have depended upon the creation of modern states. These states are the key political units of the world economy, units that have been defined and which are circumscribed by its location within the interstate system. And this system has served as a changing political superstructure of this world-economy (Arrighi, Wallerstein, Hopkins, 1989 p. 24).

After the II World War, the Nation States switched their role from territorial expansion to strengthening the competition in their national boundaries in order to intensify *the density and connectivity of global economic networks, which, in turn, undermined the ability of themselves to influence / control economic activity even within its borders* (Arrighi, Wallerstein, Hopkins, 1989, p 28).

Arrighi defines *US hegemony accumulation cycle (1945-70)* in which the role of the Nation States was to favor the capital accumulation through the TransNational Corporations avoiding to impose any constraint to their operations.

Food regimes corresponding to [...] U.S. hegemonic eras were embedded in dominant state-building models organizing a particular structure of food production and consumption relations on a world scale (Friedmann and McMichael 1989)

The WTO, as the material expression of the state/capital nexus, continues this process of subordination by capital on behalf of its member states. The WTO is not a state, rather a disembodied executive, but on a world scale. Its crises revolve around the issue of representation, and, therefore, power. Comprised of member states, the WTO not only instrumentalizes the competitive and hierarchical relations among those states, but it also denies civil society full representation. (McMichael 2004)

In order to analyze the strategy of the Food Sovereignty Movement at national level with the world systems theory lens we should start from the Anti-systemic Movements, which are composed by social movements and national liberation movements, both of them historically aiming at assuming the control of the State. In most of the cases, once achieved the control of the government, the interstate system constraint on the national sovereignty did not admit a social change, especially in the disconnecting the national economic system from the world economic system of capital accumulation which developed as an onion with successive layers in a logic center-periphery.

The conflict is between territorial political power and extra-territorial economic power.

On one hand, once the Anti-systemic Movements arrive at the national government, it has a positive function in supporting the advocacy in the UN Systems, due to the consensus rule. On the other side the participation of the Social Movements in the UN systems strengthen the legitimacy of interstate systems in limiting the sovereignty of Nation States and excluding the social change once the national government is supporting the Social Movements agenda. It is still to be explored if the selective participation in the UN systems, advocating the Food Sovereignty agenda only in few UN agencies for, could be effective in not indirectly supporting the programs of other UN agencies like World Bank or IMF, considering the strong interconnection in the UN systems and funding.

Another secondary contentious effect is the lack of clarity on the jurisdiction of the different level of government that the international regulations are creating.

In this context of power shared between local, state, federal governments, as well as international actors, civil society organizations face the problem of the balloon — when you squeeze it over here, it pops out over there. That is, when an advocacy initiative focuses on a particular branch or level of government, one can pass the ball to another. When one criticizes a state government agency, it is very easy for them to pass the buck, by blaming the federal government above, or the municipal governments below them. . . So who's got the ball here? This dilemma for civil society organizations is deepened by the lack of transparency at all levels of 'public' decision-making and policy implementation. (Fox, 2001: 2,)

An example is given by the implementation of CFS *The Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests* at European level: since the jurisdiction on Land remains at national level, the European Commission rejected the Food Sovereignty Movement requests for a Directive on Land. At the same time, the different EC directives and regulations are indirectly creating a regulatory framework for Land Tenure.

According to a strict interpretation of the EU Treaty, there is no competence of the EU on land, neither exclusive nor shared (Part 1, Title 1 of the TFEU). Land, as a territory, remains in the hands of the Member States for whom this issue is directly linked to national sovereignty.

However, our observations regarding the workings of various EU frameworks show that these frameworks exert a substantial influence over land in the EU depending on whether land is considered as a commodity (subject to rules governing the internal market), as natural capital (subject to

environmental policy), as farmland (subject to CAP regulations) or as a living space (subject to Territorial Cohesion policy). We argue that, taken together, these sectorial policies amount to a de facto EU land framework. (European Parliament, 2015)

3. Food Sovereignty and People's Sovereignty

The Food Sovereignty agenda appears officially for the first time in 1996, but it is in 2007, during the *Forum for Food Sovereignty, in Nyéléni* (Selingue, Mali) that the Transnational Rural Social Movements from all over the world will find a common understanding of the Food Sovereignty concept.

The final declaration of the Nyeleni Forum reads that 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 [...]

Without entering a deeper analysis of the concept of Sovereignty, considering the longstanding philosophic debate, the way in which Transnational Rural Social Movements use the term Sovereignty in the Nyeleni declaration, and in their narrative in general, can be assumed in the framework of Rousseau's concept of democracy.

The interest and the importance of the political thought of Rousseau for democracy are in his theory of sovereignty: only the general will of the people is sovereign, i.e. holds in right the legislative power and *sovereignty cannot be represented for the same reason that it cannot be alienated; it consists essentially in the general will, and the will does not admit of being represented" (Rousseau, 1997 p. 114)*

Shortly, in the Social Contract there is a sovereign consisting of the whole population that constitutes the general will and is the legislative power within the state. While the government is distinct from the sovereign. This division is necessary because the sovereign cannot deal with particular matters like applications of the law. Doing so would undermine its generality, and therefore damage its legitimacy. Thus, government must remain a separate institution from the sovereign body. When the government exceeds the boundaries set in place by the people, it is the mission of the people to abolish such government, and begin anew.

These elements are included in the McMichael (2013) historical perspective of the struggles of the Food Sovereignty movement in the Food Regime: while

'Food Security' claims of a privatizing trade regime [...] 'Food sovereignty' politicized this naturalized claim for market rationality in global food provisioning by counter-posing a historic claim for food self-reliance as a sovereign right of peoples: in effect challenging the operating principles of the food regime.

Three issues stem from this strategic intervention. First, food sovereignty is centered on the 'right to food.' Second, food sovereignty drew attention to the deceit of feeding the world with the claim of providing food security through a marketplace in which only a minority of the world's population participates. And third, food sovereignty's politicization of agri-food policy includes demands for a democratic resolution to the question of food security, anticipating a broader political alliance focusing on ecological and public health (cf Lang and Heasman 2004).

The 'Food Sovereignty' initiative thus outlined a critique of the institutional structuring of the current, corporate food regime at the same time as it reformulated conditions necessary to food security – rooted in a restatement of the social contract appropriate to an era of ecological crisis

In the narrative of the Food Sovereignty Movement, it is possible to trace the seedling for a restatement of the Social Contract through, which is difficult to find in the actual applications of sovereignty in the Nation States formation.

The Declaration of Human Rights is not, however, opposed to, and so does not limit, the sovereignty of the nation-state in the way a principle of nonsovereignty would oppose a principle of sovereignty. No, it is one sovereignty set against another. Human rights pose and presuppose the human being (who is equal, free, self-determined) as sovereign. The Declaration of Human Rights declares another sovereignty; it thus reveals the autoimmunity of sovereignty in general (Derrida, p.88 2003)

and at the same time

One cannot combat, /head on/, all sovereignty, sovereignty /in general/, without threatening at the same time, beyond the nation-state figure of sovereignty, the classical principles of freedom and self-determination. . . . Nation-state sovereignty can even itself, in certain conditions, become an indispensable bulwark against certain international powers. (Derrida 158)

It is in this circular tension among different sovereignties and levels of governance that the Food Sovereignty Movement should strategize on how to exercise the transformative power of its narrative and practices.

4. Corporate capture

The CFS reform was based on the multi-stakeholder approach in order to bring at the same table the different actors of the food systems committed to deal with the UN mandate.

In the last years, the Food Sovereignty Movement and more in general Civil Society Organizations, claimed that this multi-actor approach slightly turned to *multistakeholderism* in which the difference between public and private interests are blurred and no distinction is made on the role of the different actors/stakeholders.

Many CSOs (Friends of the Earth, La Via Campesina, FIAN, SID,...) denounced that Governments and international public institutions such as the UN are increasingly advancing their corporate agendas, particularly in the areas of climate change and biodiversity, since companies are using greenwash and lobbying as important elements of how companies are actually influencing public institutions.

Civil society concerns are asking to counterbalance the growing weight that the private sector has acquired on policy making in the recent years in the UN system and to put back the right-holders at the front in governance model.

Since the Rio summit in 1992 business rhetoric has increasingly spilled over into the international political arena, namely the United Nations. Corporations have been positioning themselves as part of the solution to global challenges, such as climate change and eco-destruction, poverty and hunger'. (...) 'High priorities of TNCs have infiltrated crucial areas such as food and nutrition. Big food industry and agribusiness already, and heavily, influence this policy arena, including the type of solutions that should be sought to tackle malnutrition'. (Fian, 2015)

In the CSOs perspective, the human rights agenda is at risk to be gradually pushed out of the international agreements, assuming a market-oriented narrative led by the Corporate Sector, transforming *rights into needs and needs into markets* (SID).

The CFS Reform, led by the Food Sovereignty Movement, opened up a huge space to participate in the policy dialogue for Civil Society Organizations, but at the same time, also an institutional space for the Private Sector was set up. Initially the roles of Private Sector Mechanism and Civil Society Mechanism were clearly differentiated: the former had just one slot in the Advisory Group and in

Plenary, while the latter had 4 slots in the Advisory Group and in plenary. Furthermore, CSM has a say in the election of the members of the CFS High Level Panel of Experts. In fact, CSM was meant to bring the voice of the most affected constituencies in the CFS discussion, and 10 over the 11 constituencies forming the CSM are composed by Small Scale Food Producers, Indigenous Peoples, Consumers and Rural Workers. In the last workflows of the CFS (Task teams, High Level Fora, etc.) and more in general in the FAO multi-stakeholder dialogues that are popping up after the success of the CSM, there is a clear tendency to give the Corporate Sector and Civil Society the same representation. The resources to participate in the UN processes are clearly despair, and once the major products of the CFS discussion (like the Tenure Guidelines) were approved, the attention to the UN Food Agencies in Rome increased. In the last year the CFS registered a major engagement of the different stakeholders, before anyone else the Corporate Sector, which has been available to pay high memberships fee to the Private Sector Mechanism to have access to space of lobbying with the governments⁴. The risk of conflict of interests and major capacity of the Corporate Sector to use the spaces, due also to the difficulties in funding the whole work of the CFS and of similar processes, that are making their agendas more attractive in order to fundraise from private institutions.

5. Co-optation of the implementation processes

Food Sovereignty Movement is also denouncing the risk of co-optation of the implementation process of the recommendations and products approved in the UN system. In fact, there is a confrontation also for the interpretation of what has been approved, and the attempt to reduce Human Rights based approach to Rights, that in the end are Property Rights.

The Civil Society clearly denounced the proliferation of manuals to support the implementation of CFS Tenure Guidelines (VGGT) that oriented to the business interests of the Corporate sector and not focusing on the rights and needs of the most marginalized

The Tenure Guidelines provide States with crucial guidance about how to deal with these complex issues in accordance with their international human rights obligations. The above-mentioned guides, on the other hand, start from the wrong premise: they are built around the risks that private and corporate investors encounter in acquiring land, fisheries and forests. Companies and private investors are invited to use the Guidelines in order to manage and reduce economic, financial and reputational risks; to ensure a smooth flow for their business activities; and to get a “competitive advantage” by improving their “overall supply-chain efficiency, reliability and market share” (Quotes from Interlaken Group Guide/Brochure)

By focusing on the interests of companies and private investors, and not on the rights of the most vulnerable and marginalized (as explicitly stated by paragraph 1.1 of the Tenure Guidelines), these guides transform the Tenure Guidelines into a tool for business and corporate social responsibility (CSR). (Fian 2015b)

⁴ <http://www.agrifood.net/private-sector-mechanism/support-the-psm> (access 18/01/2016) Membership Levels and Services: Supporting Members – €12,000: Committee engagement and special briefings; 4 meetings per year (AGM in person and three teleconference calls); Monthly newsletters; Ongoing analytical support and tracking on CFS issues; Access to special events; 6 High Level Dinner tickets; Attendance at bilateral meetings with country missions organized for supporting members; Input into reviews and approval of strategic priorities, work plan and proposed budget, resolution of challenges Contributors – €2,500: Committee engagement and special briefings; 4 meetings per year (AGM and three teleconference calls); Monthly newsletters; Attendance at bilateral meetings with country missions organized for supporting members; 2 High Level Dinner participants; Non-Paying Members: Committee engagement, 1 meeting per year (AGM only), Monthly newsletters, Participation in the PSM delegation at plenary or other CFS events NOTE: Participation at the High Level Dinner is not included. Sponsorships: High Level Dinner €25,000, Annual Meeting Sponsor €7,000, Annual Meeting Outreach Cocktails €7,000, Workstream Sponsors €5,000, Contributors €2,500. Additionally, members of the International Agri-Food Network support PSM operations through their annual membership dues

The general tendency is to map and register the Property Rights, also the customary ones, in order to protect the communities, with the final objective of facilitating transactions of land, water bodies and natural resources in general.

The Corporate Sector has misused even the concept of Agroecology (and in some case of Food Sovereignty), in a clear attempt of co-opting the legitimacy gained through policy dialogue.

6. Open issues

Transnational Rural Social Movements reacted to the institution of a WTO reclaiming a strong participation in the UN system in order to strengthen the Human Rights Approach to confront the WTO commodification of Agriculture and Food Systems.

The framework of the analysis is the world system theory of Arrighi (assuming that WTO is part of the closing phase of a cycle of accumulation), which in the field of Agriculture is read as the transition to a Corporate Food Regime (McMicheal).

In this framework, Nation States have reduced their traditional role: National policies are increasingly losing control over the conditions of production, having less and less influence over corporate sector, which operates in interpenetrated markets limiting national sovereignty.

The UN system is the core pillar of this structure of global sovereignty developed as interstate system, functioning as an increasing limit to national sovereignty. This global sovereignty includes two contradictory different tendencies: one is based on the Human Rights Approach, the other is led by the “rationality” of markets.

The political strategy of Transnational Rural Social Movements to participate in the UN system, on one side will strengthen the structures of the new global sovereignty, using it to struggle at national level to influence the national sovereignty, but at the same time weakening the national sovereignty and the capacity of Nation States to preserve their sovereignty and regulation of markets and of the interstate system.

The corporate sector has a similar strategy, participating and influencing both the structures of global sovereignty (using the neutral rationality of markets to offer solutions to the Human Rights Approach) and the national governments.

Some analysis relies on the necessity use the national authorities to confront the rupture of cohesion between economic and politic levels abandoning any form of global governance for a project of a *transnational policy striving to rise to the height of global networks and confine them* (Raulet, 2011)

The strategy of Transnational Rural Social Movements, building alternatives at the grassroots and claiming for public policies recognizing them (at national, transnational and global level), should reflect on the possible tactics at the different level of governance and sovereignty. In order to act in the mid and long term, the analysis of the actual Food Regime accumulation, as a part of a broader phase of cycle of capitalistic accumulation, should help in identifying a broader strategy of Food Sovereignty Movement, including eventual alliances with other social actors.

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About the Author(s)

Mauro Conti is PhD candidate in Policy, Culture and Development at Universita della Calabria. He is graduated both in Economics and in Philosophy at Universita di Roma -La Sapienza, and has Master in Economics and Finance at Venice International University. Since 2011 he is working as policy officer for Centro Internazionale Crocevia, in charge of the International Secretariat of the International Planning Committee for Food Sovereignty.