



# Our World Is Not For Sale. Stop Corporate Globalization.

**To:**

Trade Ministers and Agriculture Ministers

**Cc:**

Ban Ki-moon, Secretary General, United Nations

Jacque Diouf, Director General, FAO

Pascal Lamy, Director General, WTO

Robert Zoellick, President, World Bank

Dominique Strauss-Kahn, Managing Director, International Monetary Fund

Angel Gurría, Secretary General, Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)

## **The WTO's Doha Round Will Not Solve the Global Food Crisis – Time for Real Solutions**

Dear Minister,

The global food system is in crisis. Millions of people can no longer afford or access the food they need, increasing global hunger and malnutrition. The world's governments need to act now. But the answer does not lie in deeper deregulation of food production and trade. We, concerned non-governmental organizations and social movements, urge you to reject the claims by the leaders of the World Trade Organization (WTO), World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), that concluding the Doha Round is a solution to the current crisis.<sup>1</sup>

We believe the Doha Round as is currently envisioned will *intensify* the crisis by making food prices more volatile, increasing developing countries' dependence on imports, and strengthening the power of multinational agribusiness in food and agricultural markets. Developing countries are likely to lose further policy space in their agriculture sector, which would in turn limit their ability to deal with the current crisis and to strengthen the livelihoods of small producers.

The inability to manage the current food crisis is an illustration of the failure of three decades of market deregulation in agriculture. We need a new model for the trading system that puts development, employment and food security objectives at the centre. We are calling for real solutions that will stabilize food production and distribution to meet the global demand for healthy, adequate, and affordable food. Governments must start to take a long-term view of the challenges facing agriculture. The recent report of the International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge, Science and Technology for Development [IAASTD], endorsed by 57 countries, says, "Modern agriculture has brought significant increases in food production. But the benefits have been spread unevenly and have come at an increasingly intolerable price, paid by small-scale farmers, workers, rural communities and

the environment.” Support has to be directed at a different model of agriculture that can sustainably meet the needs of a growing population.

The WTO’s Doha Round and other bilateral and regional trade agreements currently under negotiation will not solve the food crisis, for the following reasons:

**1.** Existing WTO and bilateral and regional trade agreements push across the board liberalization, which worsens volatility of food prices. This leads to increased dependence on international markets and decreased investment in local food production. Trade liberalization has eroded the ability of a number of developing countries to feed themselves, for example, Mexico, Bangladesh, Indonesia and Mali. The removal of tariff barriers has resulted in dumping of heavily subsidized commodities in developing countries, such as Ghana, Kenya, the Philippines, Jamaica and Honduras, while undermining local food production.

Developing countries have turned from net exporters of food to net importers of food.<sup>2</sup> Two-thirds of developing countries are net food importers and are extremely vulnerable to volatile world food prices. The current proposals under the Doha Round will increase countries’ dependence on food imports while further eroding their ability to feed their own populations.

**2.** High food prices provide enormous benefits to transnational agribusinesses and commodity cartels that control the trade in food and agriculture. One of the largest global grain traders, Cargill, announced in April 2008 that its third quarter profits rose 86 percent to US\$1.03 billion, in the midst of the global food crisis.<sup>3</sup> Bunge saw its profits in the last quarter of 2007 increase by 77 percent compared with the same period in 2006. Archer Daniel Midland’s (ADM’s) profits in 2007 rose by 65 percent.<sup>4</sup> The Doha Round will strengthen the position of transnational companies in agricultural markets, who thrive on market deregulation.

**3.** The Doha negotiations do not tackle the major challenges facing the global food system, which include climate change, natural resource depletion, the quadrupling of oil prices, the lack of competition in world commodity markets, financial speculation and the rapid expansion of unsustainable agrofuels production.

We believe what is needed to solve the food crisis is the following:

**1.** Governments and communities need to have a range of tools at their disposal to build resilient food and agricultural systems that are ready for the challenges that lie ahead. This includes a greater emphasis on policies that increase food sovereignty, encourage local investment in local markets, support sustainable small-scale farming, safeguard local production from dumping, implement genuine agrarian reform, and allow trade instruments such as quotas and tariffs. Some of these instruments are being proposed

by a group of 46 developing countries—known as the G33—in the WTO’s negotiations on Special Products and Special Safeguard Mechanism.

**2.** The volatility of agricultural prices must be addressed through national policies and global actions to avert food crises and to ensure small producers a reliable and steady income. Well-managed public stocks need to be re-established. Such stocks provide an important buffer against price volatility and food insecurity. Speculation and extremely high prices forced upon consumers by traders and retailers must be controlled. At the WTO, the African group has a long-standing proposal on the need to allow commodity-producing countries to make agreements among themselves in order to stabilize prices. This proposal deserves further attention.

**3.** Governments should establish safety nets and public distribution systems to prevent widespread hunger. Governments have to provide financial support for the poorest consumers to allow them to eat. Governments must use the maximum of available resources within the State and from the international community.

**4.** A reform of the food aid system to respond more rapidly and to allow greater flexibility in the delivery of food aid. Instead of dumping surplus agricultural production as “in kind” food aid, donors should provide cash to governments and aid agencies to buy local food.

**5.** Developing countries should not commit to financial services liberalization in the context of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) or bilateral and regional trade negotiations, as this can adversely impact farmers’ access to financial services such as insurance and credit.

We look forward to discussing these issues further with you, and to seeing real solutions to the global food crisis.

Sincerely,

### ***International and Regional Networks***

<i>Organization</i>		<i>Presence In</i>
1.	Action Aid International	International
2.	Africa Europe Faith & Justice Network (AEFJN)	Africa and Europe
3.	Africa Trade Network (ATN)	Africa

4.	Asian Peasant Coalition (APC)	Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Nepal, Malaysia, Mongolia, Pakistan, Philippines and Sri Lanka
5.	A SEED	Europe
6.	ATTAC	Argentina, Austria, Chile, France, Germany, Japan, Morocco, Norway, Spain, Poland, Flanders (Belgium), Hungary, Italy, Switzerland
7.	Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action	Jamaica, St. Lucia, Trinidad and Tobago
8.	Consejo de Investigaciones para el Desarrollo de Centroamérica (Council of Research for Development of Central America - CIDECA)	Central America
9.	Coordinadora Latinoamericana de Organizaciones del Campo (Latin American Coordination of Rural Organizations – CLOC)	Latin America
10.	East and Southern Africa Small Scale Farmers Forum (ESAFF)	Africa
11.	Economic Justice Network (EJN) of the Fellowship of Christian Councils of Southern Africa	Southern Africa
12.	Friends of the Earth International	International
13.	Friends of the Earth	Europe
14.	Fundación América Latina	Latin America
15.	Focus on the Global South	Thailand
16.	Global Network Latin America	Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Mexico, and Peru
17.	Grupo de Agricultura y Comercio de la Alianza Social Continental (Working Group on Trade and Agriculture of the Hemispheric Social Alliance)	Latin America
18.	International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements (IFOAM)	International
19.	International Gender and Trade Network	International

20.	International Metalworkers Federation	East and Southern Africa, South and Southeast Asia, Latin America and Caribbean
21.	International Presentation Association of Presentation Sisters	International
22.	International Union of Food Workers	International
23.	La Via Campesina	International
24.	Mesa de Coordinación Latinoamericana de Comercio Justo	Latin America
25.	Oxfam International	International
26.	Pesticide Action Network (PAN)	International
27.	Public Services International	Europe, Asia-Pacific, Inter-Americas, Africa & Arab countries
28.	Red de Acción en Plaguicidas de América Latina (Network on Pesticides, Latin America - RAPAL)	Latin America
29.	Southern and Eastern African Trade Information and Negotiations Institute (SEATINI)	Kenya, Zimbabwe, Uganda
30.	Third World Network	Malaysia, Africa, Geneva, China
31.	The International Movement of Catholic Students Asia Pacific	Asia Pacific
32.	The World Alliance of Reformed Churches	International
33.	UBUNTU	International
34.	Women in Development Europe (WIDE)	Europe
35.	World Young Womens Christian Association	International

### ***National and Sub Regional Networks***

<i>Organization</i>		<i>Presence In</i>
36.	Acción Ecológica	Ecuador
37.	ACSUR Las Segovias	Spain
38.	Advocates for Safe Parenthood	St. Lucia

39.	Africa Action	USA
40.	African Forum on Alternatives	Senegal
41.	Agricultural Missions, Inc.	USA
42.	Aitec	France
43.	Alianza Social Continental Capítulo	Peru
44.	Alianza por Litorales Manglares Aguas y Suelos (ALMAS)	Venezuela
45.	Anti Debt Coalition (KUA)	Indonesia
46.	Alliance of Progressive Labor (APL)	Philippines
47.	Nationale des Consommateurs et de l'Environnement du Togo	Togo
48.	Asia Pacific Forum on Women Law and Development (APWLD)	Thailand
49.	Asian Farmers' Association for Sustainable Rural Development (AFA)	Philippines
50.	Artisanal Fishers Association	South Africa
51.	Asociación Nacional de Economistas y Contadores de Cuba	Cuba
52.	Asociacion Napguana	Panama
53.	Australia Fair Trade and Investment Network (AFTINET)	Australia
54.	Banana Link	United Kingdom
55.	Bangladesh Agricultural Farm Labour Federation (BAFLF)	Bangladesh
56.	Bangladesh Sramajibi Kendra (BSK)	Bangladesh
57.	Bhartiya Krishak Samaj (National Farmers' Movement – BKS)	India
58.	Biios Iguana A.C. de Colima	Mexico
59.	Brot Fuer De Welt	Germany
60.	Budgetary and Human Rights Observatory (BAHRO)	Egypt

61.	Campaign for the Reform of the World Bank (CRBM)	Italy
62.	Canadian Council for International Co-Operation	Canada
63.	Canadian Foodgrains Bank	Canada
64.	Canadian National Farmers Union	Canada
65.	Center for Encounter and Active Non-Violence	Austria
66.	Centre for Civil Society Economic Justice Project (University of KwaZulu-Natal)	South Africa
67.	Center for Women's Studies, Catholic University of Our Lady of the Ascension	Paraguay
68.	Central Unica dos Trabalhadores (National Labor Federation – CUT)	Brazil
69.	Centre du Commerce International pour le Developpement (CECIDE)	Guinee
70.	Centre for Education and Communication (CEC)	India
71.	Centre for Research on Multinational Corporations (SOMO)	The Netherlands
72.	CENTINELA	Venezuela
73.	Centro Cultural Pachakamak Ayni	Ecuador
74.	Centro de Formación Guayana	Venezuela
75.	Centro de Politicas Publicas para el Socialismo (CEPPAS)	Argentina
76.	Centro de Estudios Sobre Tecnologías Apropriadas (Center for the Study of Appropriate Technology)	Argentina
77.	Center for Fair and Alternative Trade Studies	USA
78.	Centre National de Coopération au Développement (CNCD-11.11.11)	Belgium
79.	Christians for Justice and Peace	Colombia

80.	CIDSE	Belgium
81.	French Committee for International Solidarity (CFSI)	France
82.	Central Geral dos Trabalhadores do Brasil (National Workers' Federation – CGTB)	Brazil
83.	Centro de Investigación y Promoción Franciscano y Ecológico (Center for Franciscan and Ecological Investigation and Promotion – CIPFE)	Uruguay
84.	Center of Concern	USA
85.	Citizen for Social Justice and Development	Pakistan
86.	Ciudadanos Por La Integracion	Peru
87.	Coecoceiba-FOE	Costa Rica
88.	Colectivo de Lesbianas Feministas Josefa Camejo	Venezuela
89.	Collectif Stratégies Alimentaires	Belgium
90.	Colectivo Rebelión	Mexico
91.	Comhlamh	Ireland
92.	Comitè de Solidaritat amb els Pobles Indígenes dZ Amèrica	Spain
93.	Committee for Asian Women (CAW)	Thailand
94.	Commission for Filipino Migrant Workers (CFMW)	The Netherlands
95.	Common Frontiers	Canada
96.	Confederation of Labor and Allied Social Services (CLASS)	Philippines
97.	Consumers Association of Penang	Malaysia
98.	Coordinador Consumidores por el Desarrollo	Peru
99.	Coordination Sud, French Platform of Development NGOs	France

100.	Coordination Andhra Pradesh Vyavasaya Vruthidarula Union (APVVU)	India
101.	Corporate Europe Observatory (CEO)	The Netherlands
102.	Daughters of Mumbi Global Resource Center	Kenya
103.	DECA Equipo Pueblo	Mexico
104.	Departamento de Pastoral Social Diócesis de San Carlos de Bariloche	Argentina
105.	Ecologistas en Acción	Spain
106.	Earth Spirituality	USA
107.	Economic Justice Network	South Africa
108.	Economic Justice and Development Organization (EJAD)	Pakistan
109.	Ecoportal.Net	Argentina
110.	El Movimiento Popular y Social Organizado de El Salvador en las Comunidades de Fe y Vida COFEVI y su Pastoral Ecumenica	El Salvador
111.	Enda Tiers Monde	Senegal
112.	Espacio DESC	Mexico
113.	Enginyeria Sense Fronteres-Catalunya	Spain
114.	El Grupo Por Una Agricultura Alternativa Y de Alerta Ante La Transgenesis (Alternative Agriculture and GMO Alert Group - AGALAT)	Panama
115.	Ethical Development Action (EDA) of Cork	Ireland
116.	Fair	Italy
117.	Family Farm Defenders	USA
118.	Farmer Solidarity Project	USA
119.	Federación de Obreros Universitarios	Venezuela
120.	Federación de Sindicato de Profesores Universitarios (FENASINPRES)	Venezuela
121.	Federación de Trabajadores de la Harina (FETRAHARINA)	Venezuela

122.	Federación de Trabajadores de la Industria Gráfica (FETRAIG)	Venezuela
123.	Federación de Trabajadores de Telecomunicaciones (FETRATELECOMUNICACIONES)	Venezuela
124.	Federación de Trabajadores del Sector Eléctrico (FETRAELEC)	Venezuela
125.	Federación de Trabajadores Universitarios (FETRAUVE)	Venezuela
126.	Federación Nacional de Sindicatos de Trabajadores de la Salud (FENASIRTRASALUD)	Venezuela
127.	Federación Nacional de Trabajadores del Sector Público (FENTRASEP)	Venezuela
128.	Federación Regional Única de Trabajadores Campesinos del Altiplano Sur FRUTCAS de Uyuni	Bolivia
129.	Federación Unitaria de Trabajadores de Petróleo y Gas (FUTEP)	Venezuela
130.	Farmer and Nature Net (FNN)	Cambodia
131.	Fondazione Neno Zanchetta	Italy
132.	Food & Water Watch	USA, Europe
133.	FoodSPAN	Ghana
134.	Food First/Institute for Food and Development Policy	USA
135.	Foro "Corriente de Opinión Ciudadana"	Argentina
136.	Frente Democrático Campesino (FDC)	Mexico
137.	Friends of the Earth	Malaysia
138.	Friends of the Earth	England, Wales and Northern Ireland
139.	Fundación de Estudios, Acción, y Participación Social de Ecuador	Ecuador
140.	Fundación Hijos del Maíz	Spain
141.	Fundación Solon	Bolivia

142.	FUNDAMAYA	Guatemala
143.	Galway One World Centre	Ireland
144.	Ghana Trade and Livelihoods Coalition (GTLC)	Ghana
145.	Global Compliance Research Project	Canada
146.	Global Exchange	USA
147.	Global Youth Network for Economic Justice (GLOYONEJ)	Indonesia
148.	Globalization Watch Hiroshima	Japan
149.	Gret	France
150.	Grassroots International	USA
151.	GroundWork, Friends of the Earth	South Africa
152.	Grupo Red de Economía Solidaria del Perú (GRESPE)	Peru
153.	Grupo de Estudios Ambientales	Mexico
154.	Hecho en Buenos Aires	Argentina
155.	IBON Foundation, Inc.	Philippines
156.	ILSA	Colombia
157.	Indian Society For Sustainable Agriculture & Rural Development	India
158.	Informationsgruppe Lateinamerika (IGLA)	Austria
159.	Initiative Colibri	Germany
160.	Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy (IATP)	USA
161.	Institute for Global Justice (IGJ)	Indonesia
162.	Instituto de Regeneración Ecológica	Ecuador
163.	International Forum on Globalization	USA
164.	International Grail Justice in Trade Network	Australia
165.	Japan Family Farmers Movement (NOUMINREN)	Japan

166.	Justice and Witness Ministries, United Church of Christ	USA
167.	KAIROS: Canadian Ecumenical Justice Initiatives	Canada
168.	Kentucky Interfaith Taskforce on Latin America and the Caribbean	USA
169.	Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KMP)	Philippines
170.	La Coordinadora Simòn Bolívar	Venezuela
171.	La Unidad Ecológica Salvadoreña (UNES)	El Salvador
172.	La Articulación Nacional Campesina	Dominican Republic
173.	Labour, Health, and Human Rights Development Centre	Nigeria
174.	Labour Resource Center (LRC)	Bangladesh
175.	La'o Hamutuk (Timor-Leste Institute for Development Monitoring and Analysis)	Timor-Leste
176.	Latin American Solidarity Centre	Ireland
177.	Legal Defense and Education for Women "Vereda Themis"	Mexico
178.	Llamado Mundial a la Acción contra la Pobreza	Peru
179.	Malawi Health Equity Network	Malawi
180.	MASIPAG	Philippines
181.	Marcha Mundial de Mujeres	Argentina
182.	Marcha Mundial de las Mujeres	Peru
183.	Mesa Global de Guatemala	Guatemala
184.	Mennonite Central Committee	Canada
185.	Movement for Land and Agricultural Reform (MONLAR)	Sri Lanka
186.	Movimiento De Trabajadores Alfredo Maneiro	Venezuela

187.	Movimiento Por La Autonomia Sindical	Venezuela
188.	Mujeres Trabajando	Argentina
189.	Mujeres para el Diálogo (MpD)	Mexico
190.	Marcha Mundial de las Mujeres (MMM)	Mexico
191.	National Agricultural Workers Forum (NAWF)	India
192.	National Alliance of People's Movements	India
193.	National Network of Agrarian Reform Advocates	Philippines
194.	OEBV-Via Campesina	Austria
195.	Movimiento de Agricultura Orgánica Costarricense (Costa Rican Organic Agricultural Movement – MAOCO)	Costa Rica
196.	Poverty Eliminationa and Community Education Foundation (PEACE FOUNDATION)	Bangladesh
197.	Peoples' Network against Liberalization of Agriculture (PUMALAG)	Philippines
198.	Planeta Paz	Colombia
199.	Plataforma Agraria	Guatemala
200.	Plataforma Argentina del GCAP	Argentina
201.	Plataforma de Solidaridad con Chiapas, Oaxaca y Guatemala de Madrid	Spain
202.	Platform Aarde Boer Consument (Earth Farmer Consumer)	The Netherlands
203.	Polaris Institute	Canada
204.	Public Citizen's Global Trade Watch	USA
205.	Presentation Justice Network	Ireland
206.	RALLT	Ecuador
207.	Red de Ecologistas Populares	Ecuador
208.	Red de Organizaciones Sociales	Paraguay

209.	Red de Semillas “Resembrando e Intercambiando”	Spain
210.	Red Mexicana de Accion frente al Libre Comercio (Mexican Action Network on Free Trade - RMALC)	Mexico
211.	Red Peruana de Comercio Justo y Consumo Ético (Peruvian Network of Fair Trade and Ethical Consumption)	Peru
212.	Red Sinti Techan	El Salvador
213.	Rede Social de Justiça e Direitos Humanos	Brazil
214.	Red Nacional Género y Economía (REDGE)	Mexico
215.	Resistance and Solidarity against Agrochem TNCs (RESIST)	Philippines
216.	Rural Women’s NGO	Kyrgyzstan
217.	Sandigan Samahang Magsasaka (SASAMAG)	Philippines
218.	SETEM	Spain
219.	Social Enterprise Development Foundation of West Africa (SEND)	Ghana
220.	Sindicato Nacional Fuerza Unitaria Magisterial (SINAFUM)	Venezuela
221.	Sindicato Unitario De La Construcción (SUTAC)	Venezuela
222.	Social Development Network	Kenya
223.	SOS Faim – Agir avec le Sud	Belgium
224.	SOS Faim - Action for Development	Luxembourg
225.	South Asian Network for Social and Agricultural Development (SANSAD)	India
226.	Southeast Asian Council For Food Security and Fair Trade (SEACON)	South Asia
227.	Spire, the Development Fund Youth Group	Norway
228.	St. Lucia National Organization of Women	St. Lucia
229.	Sugar Workers Solidarity Network	Philippines

230.	Taller Ecologista	Argentina
231.	Tanggol Magsasaka	Philippines
232.	The Cornucopia Institute	USA
233.	The Development Fund	Norway
234.	The National Confederation Of Officers Associations (NCOA)	India
235.	The National Union of Students of the Philippines (NUSP)	Philippines
236.	The Oakland Institute	USA
237.	The Trade Collective	South Africa
238.	Tierra Viva	Bolivia
239.	Trade Watch	Italy
240.	Transnational Institute	The Netherlands
241.	Trócaire	Ireland
242.	Union De Comunidades Indigenas De La Zonanorte Del Istmo (Community Union of Indigenous of the Northern Zone of the Isthmus – Ucizoni)	Mexico
243.	Veterinarios Sin Fronteras	Spain
244.	Voice	Bangladesh
245.	Vredeseilanden	Belgium
246.	Washington Biotechnology Action Council	USA
247.	War on Want	United Kingdom
248.	Welfare Association for the Rights of Bangladeshi Emigrants (WARBE)	Bangladesh
249.	Womyn's Agenda for Change (WAC)	Cambodia
250.	World Development Movement	United Kingdom
251.	World View	The Gambia
252.	X minus Y Solidarity Fund	The Netherlands

---

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> At the WTO's General Council and Trade Negotiating Committee (TNC), the Director-General, Pascal Lamy, said "we have all witnessed the financial turbulence we are in and the hikes in energy and food prices that are affecting severely many of your countries. At a time when the world economy is in rough waters, concluding the Doha Round can provide a strong anchor." Mr. Lamy has argued that the continuous expansion of multilateral trade is an insurance policy against market instabilities and financial turbulences. The President of the World Bank and former U.S. Trade Representative, Robert Zoellick, argued in a speech at the Center for Global Development, that a key solution to the food crisis "is to break the Doha Development Agenda impasse." He said, "A fairer and more open global trading system for agriculture will give more opportunities – and confidence – to African and other developing country farmers to expand production." Similarly, Dominique Strauss-Kahn, Managing Director of the IMF, wrote in an opinion in the Financial Times, "no one should forget that all countries rely on open trade to feed their populations. [...] Completing the Doha round would play a critically helpful role in this regard, as it would reduce trade barriers and distortions and encourage agricultural trade." Finally, the Secretary General of the OECD, Angel Gurría, wrote in an opinion piece in the International Herald Tribune, "Governments around the world face weakening economies and soaring food prices. Amid the hand-wringing, an important and immediate step they can take to help would be to agree on a new multilateral trade deal."

See

- [http://www.wto.org/english/news\\_e/news08\\_e/gc\\_chair\\_tnc\\_7may08\\_e.htm](http://www.wto.org/english/news_e/news08_e/gc_chair_tnc_7may08_e.htm)
- [http://www.wto.org/english/news\\_e/news08\\_e/tnc\\_17apr08\\_e.htm](http://www.wto.org/english/news_e/news08_e/tnc_17apr08_e.htm)
- [http://www.wto.org/english/news\\_e/sppl\\_e/sppl88\\_e.htm](http://www.wto.org/english/news_e/sppl_e/sppl88_e.htm)
- [http://www.wto.org/english/news\\_e/sppl\\_e/sppl85\\_e.htm](http://www.wto.org/english/news_e/sppl_e/sppl85_e.htm)
- <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/NEWS/0,,contentMDK:21711307~pagePK:34370~piPK:42770~theSitePK:4607,00.html>
- Financial Times, COMMENT: A global approach is required to tackle high food prices, By Dominique Strauss-Kahn, Apr 21, 2008
- International Herald Tribune, Trade Agreement Needed Now, By Angel Gurría, April 25, 2008

<sup>2</sup> A food trade surplus of US\$1.9 billion in the 1970's was transformed into a US\$17.6 billion deficit in 2000 and a US\$9.3 billion deficit in 2004. Excluding Brazil, the figures are even more drastic: A food trade surplus of US\$1.6 billion was transformed into a deficit of US\$26.1 billion by 2004. The cereal import bill for low-income food deficit countries in 2007 reached over US\$38 billion. According to FAO projections, by the year 2030, the net food trade deficit of developing countries is expected to swell to more than US\$50 billion.

<sup>3</sup> Cited in The Star Tribune.

<sup>4</sup> Making a Killing from Hunger, Grain, April 2008.

---