

People's Tribunal on Hunger, Food Prices and Landlessness

7-9 May 2015

Women's Jail, Constitution Hill, Johannesburg

Report



SAFSC

SOUTH AFRICAN FOOD
SOVEREIGNTY CAMPAIGN

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Acknowledgements

The South African Food Sovereignty Campaign (SAFSC) would like to thank, most importantly, those who gave testimony at the tribunal on often painful daily experiences of hunger and landlessness. It took courage for many of those giving testimony to stand up and tell those present about their daily struggles. These testimonies were testament to the injustice of our food system and of South African society more broadly, but they were also testament to the strength and will of the hungry and landless to struggle for a better and more just food system. The tribunal must therefore be seen as one step in building the campaign for food sovereignty in South Africa.

We would also like to thank the judges that gave of their time to sit for 3 days to listen to the testimonies and give feedback and overall symbolic power and guidance to the tribunal.

Those who attended and participated in the tribunal must also be acknowledged for their involvement and commitment to the South African Food Sovereignty Campaign and their efforts at campaign building in their communities.

The finance to run this tribunal was made possible by Oxfam, Bertha Foundation, and the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, to whom a sincere thanks is extended.

Lastly, we thank all those who worked on the logistics for the tribunal, including transport logistics, catering, venue coordination, and note-taking for pulling the tribunal together and making it such a success.

1. Introduction

At a historic Food Sovereignty Assembly, from 28th February till 1st March 2015, over 50 organisations representing the hungry, the landless and the exploited of our country – involved in agrarian, water and land transformation, environmental justice, small scale farming, cooperatives, the solidarity economy movement, waste pickers, the unemployed and activists campaigning against increasing food prices – gathered in Johannesburg to plan the initiation of the South African Food Sovereignty Campaign and Alliance.

We came together at the Assembly through our shared understanding that we have a crisis-ridden corporate and globalised food system that is responsible for worsening social, health and climate challenges, and which is coinciding with increasing state failure in relation to regulating our food regime and ensuring much needed agrarian transformation.

Moreover, the climate crisis is worsening, without any genuine solutions coming to the fore from the South African state, the corporate-controlled food system and the United Nations. Climate shocks are already impacting negatively on our food system with volatile food prices, droughts, heavy rainfall and flooding. This necessitates advancing food sovereignty, to ensure our food and water needs are not compromised and ordinary citizens have the means to meet food production and consumption needs on their terms in the midst of the climate crisis.

Thus the South African Food Sovereignty Campaign (SAFSC) was launched as a network of organisations to campaign for food sovereignty in South Africa. The Assembly decided that the two issues related to food sovereignty that the SAFSC should campaign on in 2015 are food prices and landlessness. Hence the People's Tribunal on Hunger, Food Prices and Landlessness was held as part of this process in Johannesburg from 7-9 May 2015 to surface the voices of the hungry and landless in the struggle towards food sovereignty. This report briefly summarises the proceedings and voices of the tribunal, as a source of information for campaigning.

2. Objectives of the People's Tribunal

The tribunal aimed to achieve the following:

- Place the food corporations and the state on trial for perpetrating a crime against humanity: the hunger suffered by 14 million South Africans and the food insecurity of 46% of the population;
- Highlight how the corporate controlled system food system and capitalism in general is undermining the constitutional right to food by denying the existence of a food sovereignty alternative;

- Enable grassroots voices to speak truth to power;
- Provide a rallying point for mass mobilisation before, during and after to expose the horrors of the South Africa food system and to peacefully confront its perpetrators with factual evidence.
- Build the South African Food Sovereignty Campaign as a grassroots driven campaign.

3. Structure of the People's Tribunal

The purpose of a tribunal such as this one is to be like a mock court, where perpetrators are put on trial; those who suffer at the hands of the perpetrators give evidence against them; 'expert' witnesses give testimony about the perpetrators, the overall system, broader trends and structural influences; and the panel of judges listen to the testimonies and participate in drafting a verdict at the end of the court case/tribunal. The aim of a tribunal such as this one is largely symbolic, to be a space where those who suffer under the current unjust food system can air their voices, and where the injustices and those responsible for them are exposed. The information generated during the tribunal will be used for campaigning and for spreading awareness about the problems with our food system and the need for food sovereignty.

For three days, 21 testimonies by the hungry and landless were given. Those giving them stood up at the front of the audience and told their stories, while the panel of judges sat to the side to receive and take note of their testimonies. 10 testimonies were also given by 'expert' witnesses, those who may not necessarily suffer from hunger or landlessness but who research and are able to offer particular insights about the food system to help inform the verdict and contextualise the testimonies being given. Based on the testimonies throughout the tribunal a verdict was drafted and then presented at the end by the panel of judges. This verdict will now be used as another campaigning tool in the SAFSC.



The panel of judges consisted of:

- Pregs Govender – Deputy Chairperson, South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC)
- Ntokozo Mbhele – National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) and United Front (UF)

- Dr Dorie Moodley – Hindu Maha Sabha
- Phumzile Mzaro – Bulungula Incubator
- Jayshree Pather – Right2Know Campaign

Key corporations that control the food sector and who we were essentially putting on trial were invited, but did not attend (see photo above).

4. Day 1: Hunger

Testimonies from the Hungry

1. Andy Boo – Unemployed People’s Movement (UPM), Grahamstown

I am not working. There are times that I would like to buy something for myself but I can’t just because I am not working. Sometimes I don’t eat just because I’m hungry, but I eat because someone next to me is hungry. I don’t have the ability to buy food for myself.

In my culture, as a young boy, I was supposed to be the one who’s providing. But it’s my sisters who are providing. Most of the time I feel ashamed of myself and degraded, because I’m the one who was supposed to be providing.



When it comes to diet, it is a norm for us to eat supper of potato and rice, to eat in the morning what we have left from yesterday. So we do not eat healthy food at all. There are times when I would pray for rice and potato, because that’s what I would usually eat.

I’m not able to buy healthy stuff for myself because the food prices are high and because I’m not working. You’ll find this food we are eating may lead us to sicknesses. If I eat pap and cabbage every day, my food is not balanced. If I have a sickness, I must eat balanced food, vegetables must be on the plate. The foods we buy are not assisting our immune system to fight the diseases that we get, because you eat pap, you eat rice, and potato. This might lead us to a lot of diseases and we are not able to find proper food to assist our immune system.

I did some research about the science behind food, and I found out that even the food we claim to be healthy is not healthy at all, because of the chemicals that are used on it.

2. Nosinto Happiness Mcimela – Nqamakwe, Eastern Cape

First I want to highlight the causes of the hunger. When I spoke to my community, I sat down with them and asked them what they think are the causes of hunger. Hunger is the middle name of the country we are living in, South Africa, and the people in this community have lost hope.

The people do not have jobs and depend on government grants that don't make any difference in our lives, because the cost of living is sky high.

There is plenty of vacant land, standing unattended. The pain of seeing that land makes people even more hungry. Most of the youth lack education, and those who are fortunate leave to live in other provinces.

“Hunger is the middle name of the country we are living in...”

You need tractors, equipment, seeds and more to do agriculture. People lack education and training on agriculture. People also complain about local government, who is so distant from them and always not available for them. You find relatives working in those offices, and the disgusting word ‘corruption makes’ you feel very hungry.

Some people in the community start businesses, but the people in the community are unemployed and rely on grants. They take credit at these small businesses once they've used up their grants. Then the business can't survive because the people can't pay.

Let's look at the possible solutions. As an activist, I started to motivate people to start cooperatives to not only fight but win the battle with hunger. People were delighted. If we can get basic education and training, we can succeed and work to feed ourselves. People are motivated by the workshops. It takes ages for them to register.

There are other causes and solutions too, but I'm just highlighting the most important. People on the ground trust this house to bring difference and change to the people on the ground. People in my community are tired of walking around and asking questions. They want to roll up their sleeves and build the answer.

3. Marcus Solomon – Children's Resource Centre, Cape Town

Tribunals have a long history in the history of struggles. The expectations we have of the tribunal are great, because a tribunal is not a research council, it's a **mobilising tool**. We should look at holding tribunals for children where children actually give testimony as well.

The Children's Resource Centre was established to build a movement of children, of which there are over 20 million in this country. For children, the future is now. There can be no future if you don't have a present. If you don't have food now, you can't have a future.

There has been much research, and much has been done about providing children with information about what to eat. But children are only given food to survive. There's **very**

“For children, the future is now. There can be no future if you don't have a present. If you don't have food now, you can't have a future.”

little nutrition in that food. what is emphasized is just the food that children need to survive, not the food children need to live a healthy life, physically, emotionally, spiritually. I'm hoping food sovereignty will begin to address that issue. **The food industry, government and all the feeding schemes are not addressing the nutritional value of food.** If the newborn baby doesn't have food for the first three years, forget about a future.

Children are not able to learn because they don't have the mental capacity to do so in schools because of lack of nutrition. **We are sitting with a disaster of unimaginable consequences for our country,** even worse than HIV/AIDS.

The Children's Resource Centre has made efforts to address the issue of food: we've set up children's gardens, took 3 companies to court (Pioneer, Famous Brands and Tiger Brands). The courts have failed us, and so has the commission dealing with prices. **There are children in prison for stealing bread, but the directors of these three companies are still in these positions, earning big salaries.** They are crooks. It's the food industry that is responsible for the terrible sicknesses of our children. **We want the consumer commission to investigate the food industry,** for the content of food.

60% of our children don't have access to food. But also the **importance of food and social interaction** is lost to our children. The food industry of the elite spends money on food festivals – our kids are passive participants in the consumption of food. Our kids see festivals and conferences and ask why can't we have these things. **Food is an important ingredient in becoming a full human being.** You don't just need food to survive. **Obesity in the ranks of the poor is because they eat all the wrong food.**

The tribunal must get the findings people themselves have expressed so they can act on it. The oral health of our kids is an important indicator, please investigate. We need to **go beyond food for survival** of our kids, it's an important ingredient for their learning, for growth, for sports etc.

“Food is an important ingredient in becoming a full human being.”

4. Yoliswa Peggy Stemele – Hungry household, Eastern Cape

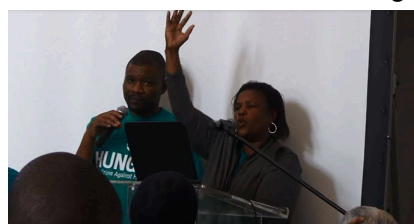
After my husband was retrenched from work, then hunger came to my house. I then started to think of how to get rid of this hunger. I started cutting aloe, we get the juice out of it and sell it. Those who buy from us also sell it. We take that juice into 5 litres. It's very difficult to fill 5 litres, especially in winter. Where there is no water we sell it for R60 per container. When it's mixed with water it goes to R45. We do this to have something to eat at home. We wake up very early at 5:30 and prepare left-over food for the children. I managed to pick some chillies sometimes so that we have something to eat now. My mother helps me take care of my kids. She also doesn't have much income because she is a domestic worker. It is painful when you get home and your kids are hungry- you can't even think. When you leave your children at home, you worry about what you will bring when you come back. Even at supper time, your children notice the others next door eating. **You let them play outside to see if the neighbour will prepare something for them to eat.**

“It is painful when you get home and your kids are hungry – you can't even think.”

I am unemployed, I try hard to make a living. Even the groceries that were handed out are nowhere to be found. The councillor does not come to our assistance. We don't know if he sends the message to the government. Sometimes you even want to get rid of your children, or even that god takes you away.

5. Thumeka Makgwanqa – Sikala Sonke Women's Organisation, Marikana

In January last year there was a strike that continued for 6 months. In the first 3 months, we hoped that things were going to get better. After the 3rd month, hardship came and we decided to organise ourselves for a march. **Children had to go to school without food** and come back and not eat again. Their uniforms were torn and their shoes had holes. They



would go dirty and come back dirty. Because **there was no soap**, we'd go next door and ask for a piece of soap, use it to wash and take it back next door. **If there was cabbage, we'd cut it into 4 pieces and share with the neighbours.** We would forget about rice, forget about meat. The help we received came from the Gift of the Givers and other people around Johannesburg – Wits and University of Johannesburg helped with donations. But the help was not much as the population of Marikana is 30,000. **It became normal to see someone digging in the rubbish bins.** Sometimes we found ourselves doing the same, because we wanted the striking workers to get the money they asked for. **It's painful to go underground, dig for gold, and then only those above ground who wear ties are the only ones who benefit.**

Our government has an alliance with Lonmin. **If the government were serving the people, people wouldn't go to bed hungry.** Government says a better life for all. One lady's shack in Marikana was burnt down. They promised marikana would be transformed, but nothing has changed. We went to SASSA to ask for help for the woman whose shack was burned and they gave us blankets and a tent, no food. She was promised R600 but what can she do with that when she has nothing in the house, no furniture? But when they are campaigning for votes, they come with big trucks and take people who are better off.

"If government were serving the people, people wouldn't go to bed hungry."

We have some land where we want to plant for ourselves. We occupied that piece of land by force. They told us to go to the chiefs for permission but the chiefs don't own that land, it belongs to God, not the chiefs.

We are struggling. The people in high positions are getting better off but our situation worsens. Towards the end of the 6 months it was getting very difficult, even workers were on the verge of giving up. But they endured the pain, even though they couldn't get the 12500 they were looking for. **The amount they were paid before the strike was not enough to sustain them through the month.** That is why I say it is the workers who go underground to get the gold but then the employers take the money overseas. Let the minerals in the ground belong to the people of South Africa!

6. Kumkani Ntsika ka Vathuza – Student, Wits University (written submission read by Mandla Mdebele)

I need to survive and it is completely impossible to get through anything without food. I do not have anything to eat most of the time. At Wits there is **no feeding scheme** arranged by the university. The **price of food the university makes available is too expensive.** Most days I **have to attend lectures and study long hours with an empty stomach.**

The effect of not having food goes beyond not being able to concentrate. It is also a social issue. And you worry about failing and that the university won't take you back after you fail, because you had no food. The **pressure to succeed** for the sake of the family changes your character. **Having no food leads you to lack self-esteem.**

"Having no food leads you to lack self-esteem."

At Wits, the hardest thing to do is to exist. The **dining halls throw away lots of food every day, despite the university's knowledge that a huge number of black students go hungry** and sleep in libraries because they cannot afford to pay.

This year I have depended on friends for food. I have also gone to the food bank, they have been helpful but don't always have food. They give out food that has to be cooked, but if you are as busy as I am you don't have time to cook. That is, even if you find a place to cook, since **most people who don't have food don't have a place to stay.**



I depend on jobs from the university to get money. I am also a photographer and get some money from that. Otherwise I spend my days around my friends, hoping someone will give me or make food.

'Expert' Testimonies on Hunger

1. Nokutula Mhene – Oxfam Campaigns Advisor

Poverty and hunger is an injustice that can be overcome. My input is based on the research study conducted by Oxfam, *Hidden Hunger in South Africa: The Faces of Hunger and Malnutrition in a Food Secure Nation*, based on research in Limpopo, Eastern Cape and Western Cape. We **wanted to tell the human stories** of hunger, because usually people talk about food insecurity, yet we still sit with a huge crisis. We thought we should call it hunger.

South Africa produces enough calories to feed its 53 million people, and there are policies in place to address hunger, **yet one in four faces hunger** due to various factors including inequality. Another 25% is at risk of hunger, which means any sudden shock to their status quo would then leave them hungry.

Women and children bear the brunt of hunger – fewer women are employed than, and more women rely on grants. In a **household, food is usually allocated to men** first, then to children and only last to women.

Hunger is more than a feeling of emptiness and pain, it touches on **dignity**, forces a state of **hopelessness**.

Nokutula then showed a video of a case study of Alzette Anelize Vooges' household. She is 23, a single mother with a family of 4 who live on R6 a day. She says that the vitamins that a person must get from food, they don't get. The longest they went without food was 7 days.

We live in a country where the right to food is enshrined in the constitution yet you have people going without food. What has brought us to this stage? There are **four key drivers of hunger**:

a) The supermarket revolution – the food industry is dominated by a few corporations, and they continue to drive food prices, nutritional value, and food availability in shops. The retail sector has grown, supermarkets have opened in communities where they have pushed out smaller traders. 5 retailers hold 60% of market share. These retailers sell unhealthy, processed foods. Only 32% of the market is supplied by informal traders. In rural areas, when shops open, the transport costs go up and people are squeezed.

b) Rising food prices are not met by rising incomes. Average income in SA is R3500 per month. The bread basket is just over R1300. Low income households must spend 50% of income on food. People sacrifice food requirements to pay other costs such as housing, electricity and school fees.

c) Food wastage – almost 1/3 of food produced is wasted across the value chain. Value of food lost is R61.5bn per year, 10 times the Department of Agriculture's annual projected budget for 2014/15. **Food losses and waste are a consequence of the way a food system functions.**

d) Lack of access to productive resources and water – high cost of access to water, water use rights, lack of access to land. Only 17% of South Africans supplement their food by growing their own crops.

Community coping mechanisms – households cope by skipping meals, reducing food variety, eating expired food, and borrowing from loan sharks.

Government responses – Piece-meal policies that don't speak to each other. There are 17 policies that seek to address hunger. Yet 26% of population is hungry. Last year a new national food and nutrition security policy was gazetted, and then an implementation plan was developed. These were done in secrecy with no consultation. The policy excludes big business from its obligations.

We need a Right to Food Act, legislation that will ensure that the right to food and food sovereignty is realised.

2. Benny Obayi, Child Welfare SA (Edenvale)

Child Welfare SA was established in 1924 and is an umbrella body that represents 151 child welfare organisations in the country. We assist hungry children through soup kitchens that are attached to community organisations.

Of 151 organisations that we work with, only 66 provide food support services to children. From April 2014 to March 2015 those 66 organisations provided support to 167,323 children, of whom 23,814 children received food support (14%). When there is no food support, these children go without food.

Some of the experiences we see are **teenagers breaking into homes to steal food; children who stop schooling due to lack of food; and children stop critical medication due to lack of food**. These reports come from social workers.

Food support (soup kitchens, food parcels) are the only coping mechanism for many children, but this is not sustainable because of funding challenges for NGOs.

We have tried to set up **food gardens** but there have been **challenges**, including lack of land, lack of support to maintain gardens (funding is once-off to start garden), access to resources such as seedlings and fertiliser, lack of viable markets for those who wish to sell produce to sustain the garden, and they can't compete with big supermarkets if they want to make a profit. Inability to sustain food gardens programme is a major hindrance for the organisation to address child hunger.

Children seek food assistance because of: neglect, abandonment, abuse, and being orphaned. There is no sustainable food support programme in the communities.

Key issues include that we need a meaningful **discussion on household empowerment** programmes; there is a need for **engagement on small scale and subsistence farming**, and government support. We need to **review the social grant system** as it's not meeting needs of children, **perhaps something like food aid system**. **Big corporates should support** small scale farming.

3. Haidee Swanby – African Centre for Biodiversity (ACB)

ACB has been following the genetic modification (GM) situation for 10 years, making submissions on GM permit applications, and engaged in policy in South Africa and the rest of Africa. We are not allowed to access a lot of the information because we're told it's confidential business information, even though it is about products that the public consumes.

Some myths about GMOs are that they'll solve hunger, increase yields, decrease chemical use, and boost farmer income. We've been growing GM Bt maize, Bt cotton and RR/HT soya in SA since 1998. The 4 GM crops are: Soya, cotton, maize and canola. These are **commodity** crops, not

“South Africa is the only country in the world that has allowed its staple to be genetically modified.”

food security crops that are directed for the nutrition of households.

South Africa is the only country in the world that has allowed its staple to be genetically modified. GMOs have been banned, restricted or labelled in many countries but not in South Africa. Patents for GM crops belong largely to Monsanto.

This has contributed to concentration in the maize value chain. **Ten companies control South Africa's maize value chain.** Monsanto and Pioneer (Dupont) own the seed. Storage is dominated by 3 companies, NWK, SenWes and AFGRI. Milling is controlled by Tiger brands, Pioneer foods and Premier foods, then traded by Louis Dreyfus and Gargill. It is then sold through 5 major retailers, who set conditions along the chain. Given this concentration there are many examples of collusion in pricing.

All of the main maize meals are high in GM content (tested by ACB). By the time the maize is milled in a huge miller, and bleached, there are almost **no nutrients** are left. Thus **government requires fortification** of maize.

The price of maize seed keeps increasing: the cost of yellow GM maize seed went up by 35% between 2008-2011, and GM white maize seed went up 30% in same period. Because all of it is controlled by 2 companies, there's no choice for farmers. It's calculated that in the current market a farmer need a minimum of 500 hectares to profit from growing maize. On a 1300 hectare GM maize farm, **only 8 people are employed.** Elsewhere in Africa that would be 1000 family farms.

Monotonous diets based mainly on starches are **linked to food insecurity** through the lack of dietary diversity. But government is promoting corporate agriculture, which leads to monotonous diets.

“Food production must be in the hands of the people for flourishing local economies – food sovereignty!”

Genetic modification in our food system is leading to corporate concentration, subject to corruption, produces low quality food, and destroys livelihood opportunities. Food production must be in the hands of the people for flourishing local economies – food sovereignty!

After the tribunal proceedings, participants travelled to the offices of the *Sunday Times* and *Business Day* to picket over the role of the corporate media in promoting the interests of the corporate and fast food industry. A memorandum of demands was read out but not accepted (see Appendix for the MoD).



5. Day 2: Hunger and Rising Food Prices

Testimony from the Hungry

1. Khwezi Mabasa (COSATU) – The Working Class and the Food Crisis in Post-Apartheid South Africa

Khwezi Mabasa works for COSATU and gave an overview of the food crisis and how it affects workers. **South Africa is the most unequal society in the world:** the Gini coefficient, which is a measure of inequality, increased from 0.64 in 1995 to 0.74 in 2010. The top 10% of richest households in South Africa account for over half of the nation's income. This inequality is accompanied by race, class and gender divisions and inequalities.

This also means that South Africans have unequal access to essential services such as health, housing, water, electricity and, of course, food. The main cause of inequality in the post-apartheid era is implementation of neo-liberal economic policies. As a result, 46% of the population is food insecure. Broken down, this means a situation where 28.3% are at risk of going hungry and 26% experience hunger on a daily basis.

There is a direct relationship between income and access to food. But the share of wages in national income has declined since 1994. The median wage in South Africa is R3033, which is well below the ILO recommended minimum living level of R4500. We have an increase in precarious work and a continuation of apartheid/colonial wages. The average male farm worker earns R667 per month, while an average female farm worker earns R458 per month. **Commercial farm workers are the lowest paid workers in the formal economy.** Even with increased minimum wage for farmworkers of R105 per day after the Western Cape strikes, they still **cannot afford a balanced daily food plate.** The cost of a basic food basket rose from R394 in 2010 to R486 in 2012. Farm workers and the working class usually spend 40% or more of their income on food, so increases in food prices hit them especially hard. The retail sector also exploits workers, through paying service workers low wages and the use of labour brokers.

What is the cause of the food crisis? Broadly it is neoliberalism, including privatisation, deregulation, trade liberalisation (the opening up of the economy to external competition and the increase of imports and exports) and the withdrawal of the state from sectors of the economy. Government has attempted to address this crisis through various food and nutrition policies, but these have failed because there is an **incorrect analysis of the cause** of the food crisis in South Africa – the problems are reduced to production shortages or social security issues. But there are deeper issues around **control over the food system**. But **South Africa grows and imports enough food for everyone**. The challenge is therefore distribution.

The key issues that we have in the food system in South Africa are therefore: **exorbitant food prices** charged by the food industry; failure of agrarian reform leaving people with **insufficient access to land and water** (most live in former Bantustans and under tribal authorities who deny some people access to land, especially women); **economic concentration** in the food value chain (from commercial farms which rely on industrial agriculture and chemicals, to anti-competitive processors to retail sector dominated by 5 companies).

What do we see as the solution? Food Sovereignty. Food security doesn't raise the deeper questions of people's control over the food system, the questions of who produces food, how it is produced, etc. We need to: 1) give landless people and farm workers control over the land 2) promote localization of production and consumption 3) Promote environmental justice and sustainability 4) challenge neo-liberal and industrial policy and end economic dominance of transnational corporations 5) restructure the political economy to decommodify food. The right to food must be central in agricultural policy. Also, promote organic forms of knowledge sharing and capacity building, to build people's power. We need to fight for a just transition towards an eco-socialist society: we must recognise we are one with nature and we must have control over the global commons.

“What do we see as the solution? Food Sovereignty. Food security doesn't raise the deeper questions of people's control over the food system, the questions of who produces food, how it is produced, etc”

2. Ntombikayise Mtembu, Farm Dweller, Mooiplaas, KwaZulu-Natal

I am from a new organisation called Siyaphambili eMajuba Farm Dweller Association, which consists of farm dweller from three municipalities. In the rural area where I come from, when I need to buy mealie meal or cabbage I have to **travel about 35km which costs R45 round trip**. So to buy bread that costs R10, it actually costs R55. This situation makes people in rural areas even poorer. This makes it very difficult to live. Other families have to be taken care of, like widows and children. As we are gathered here at this SAFSC event,

we should look at a few issues together. I want us to look at the situation, **is it really the freedom we wanted with such high prices of food and hunger? Is it freedom if we must consume GMO food?**

“Is it really the freedom we wanted with such high prices of food and hunger?”

The community sent me because they need assistance – they want to advise the government on how they want to live, what foods they want to consume. They want **assistance in terms of fencing and tools. People don’t want to just be fed by government, they want government to listen to people’s needs.** The farm workers have taken government to court about their land, they want to tell government what they want to do with the land.

As we sit here, we should define the saying: *kunzi ngenile ematholeni*, roughly meaning ‘the bull is with the calves.’ In **rural areas, school children drop out to go to work on the farms**, so they can support their families. When we met in February for the food sovereignty campaign assembly, people said there was a lot of unused land. At Dunhouse, we have planned to use the unused land. We would like to know where the unused land is so we can work there. If we have the means, we can work the land and feed our communities.

3. Patrick Sekhuta – Small Scale Farmer, Giyani, Limpopo

I am from Duvadzi Youth Organic Agricultural Cooperative, which falls under a secondary cooperative of the farmers’ area association. Most farmers in our association are using agro-ecological methods, which protects the environment and is much cheaper for farmers. Dzumeri Area Association has about 12 primary cooperatives producing and selling to Joburg and Pretoria fresh produce markets. But our principal customers are the local community and street vendors. In those towns in our area, **street vendors sell products from local small scale farmers.** Even in local shops, like **Pick n Pay, the products are from our farms, but the prices are very high in the shops while the shops pay farmers almost nothing.** This is a big problem: we as small scale farmers can produce food and sell it at affordable prices to people, but the big retailers sell at high prices and we get little support to be the primary food providers of our country.

“Most of the farmers in our association are using agroecological methods.”

Two big issues for us as small scale farmers are land and water. Many years ago we were pushed off the fertile land, where there’s water, to dry land. The **government is not assisting us** to address the lack of water, but we are still producing. They only help with production inputs like fertiliser and pesticide, but we are doing agro-ecological farming so we don’t need those things. There’s **no communication**, the government just comes and dumps these things at

your farm. Government doesn't consult about what you might need, or when. They come and dump seedlings even if the land isn't prepared.

We are staying on communal land, and we need more land. Sometimes you need **financial assistance** to expand, but it's very difficult because we don't have title deeds.

The DTI (Department of Trade and Industry) encourages us to register cooperatives. But when we apply to the cooperative incentive scheme, they don't respond. I submitted in October and still haven't had a response. It's very difficult to get assistance, unless you pay a bribe to get your application processed. The Department of Agriculture has some good programmes, like CASP (Comprehensive Agriculture Support Programme), but if you are not connected, it's very difficult to access those funds. We rely on fuel and electricity to pump water and the **price of electricity** is very high. The **prices of seeds** are also very high. The challenge is getting your products to the market in City Deep, Johannesburg, the **transport and packaging costs are too high**. You end up owing the market, after you pay for transport, storage, and the agent. Their prices are fixed, so you can't negotiate. **We don't have control over the prices of our products.**

"We, the small scale farmers, keep on working so that we can feed the nation."

The Department of Agriculture is supposed to be there to assist us. It seems that they think if we graduate from subsistence to commercial farmers, maybe they won't have jobs. The commercial farmers are able to tell the department what to do. They know nothing about agro-ecology.

We, the small scale farmers, keep on working so that we can feed the nation. Most of the food that we eat is not from the commercial farmers. In Limpopo, the commercial farmers are growing fruit, not staple foods. Small scale farmers can feed our country!

4. Simon Mbatha – National Spokesperson, South African Waste Pickers Association (SAWPA)

The waste pickers collect the recyclables from the waste system. People call things waste but which are actually useful resources. SAWPA was formed in 2009 to fight for recognition of what we do. Economically, waste is a resource; paper, glass, plastic, steel, are resources. They are extracted, manufactured and then thrown in the waste. We recover these resources to make a living.

We've had challenges, we have needed to change the mindset of our communities. People don't see wastepickers as workers, so they stood up to represent themselves and don't let anyone else represent them.

Economically, the pricing system is a problem. Presently waste pickers recover resources, **when we sell them prices are not regulated**. When the resources are raw, the prices are regulated. When we return the resource back to the system, prices are not regulated. The **system doesn't see us as valuable workers**. When the resources are in our hands, they are not regulated but once they are with the companies again, they are seen as resources again. Waste contributes to climate change. **Wastepickers help to reduce emissions** (from extraction, transportation and manufacturing) and waste through their efforts, but they are not recognised.

The UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) is trying to get foreign countries to dump their waste in developing countries for incineration, in a way that displaces waste pickers. But waste pickers provide livelihoods for their families, they may have matric but the system doesn't provide jobs so they find alternatives for themselves to make a living. The solidarity economy movement is there to raise voices that aren't heard and must be rooted at the grassroots level.

5. Umthetho Mkhungo – Siyavuna Abalimi Development Centre: Empowering Rural Organic Farmers

Why is there nobody from the corporations here? Why are the chairs reserved for Pick n Pay, Monsanto etc empty? We keep talking but the people who are making a huge impact on South Africa are not engaging with us. We must confront them.

Siyavuna Agri-SCIP (Sustainable Community Investment Programme) deals with poverty, food insecurity and low levels of economic participation. The programme started seven years ago with a baseline study in a Kwanositha community and most people highlighted agricultural resources (unused land, fruit trees). It focused on agriculture but the same principles can be applied for other resources or sectors.

The challenge is that when households spend money on bread, milk and so on at retailers in towns, the **money doesn't circulate in the community**, it goes out of the community to farmers elsewhere, retailers, and so on.

So we were looking for an alternative to support small scale farmers and the community by building local production and consumption. We working in Ugu district on the KZN South Coast with 10 communities and 680 small scale farmers. The farmers belong to the cooperative which buys their produce from them and sells it. Each community has 1 farmer

association, 1-4 collection points for produce, and 1 local champion (community field worker) per collection point.

The mission is to **train and mentor emerging organic farmers** for food security, **developing successful micro-enterprises** through farmers associations and cooperatives that market under the Kumnandi brand.

Siyavuna guarantees fair prices to farmers, **purchases everything** if it's of the right quality, and **collects** once a week. Siyavuna collects, packages and sells under Kumnandi brand. The cooperatives are owned by the farmers, not by Siyavuna, which is a support organisation. We hope to increase the programme, but we need more resources.

Siyavuna provides farmers with 3 days of training, after which they join the local farmer association and are a member of a **participatory guarantee system** (PGS). Now the coop can buy from each farmer at a fair price. The produce then goes to an agri-hub for branding and packaging. The cooperative therefore provides a market and income for small scale farmers and shows what some of the solutions to high food prices and small farmer challenges can be. There are challenges faced, however, like infrastructure, getting youth involved, and the impacts of climate change.

6. Gerry Hlopane – South African Informal Traders Alliance (SAITA)

I have personally experienced hunger. When I was young and stayed with my grandmother in Evaton we had very little to eat. Hunger is cruel. Even as an adult I experienced hunger between 1995 and 2006 when I was unemployed. It got so bad in my area that the Sedibeng SMMEs Forum developed a scheme to identify poor families and give them food parcels. When you enter the home of a poor family, you can smell hunger.

95% of informal traders are unemployed, they sell to try and earn something to eat. About 5% are employed but need to supplement their income. SAITA members are mostly street traders and those selling at taxi ranks. Most of the **street traders are there just to survive, selling enough to buy bread**. When food prices go up, they experience greater hunger. It's difficult to organise street traders because it's a survivalist activity. Trading on the streets is hard work, in all different kinds of weather, but the traders stay because they need something to eat.

“When you enter the home of a poor family, you can smell the hunger.”

Informal traders borrow money to buy their stock, then council officials or police come and confiscate the stock (e.g. in the clean up last year in Johannesburg), then they lose everything, including money they borrowed. The government is not making it easy for informal traders. If you try to claim your stock back, they ask for fees far higher than

value of stock. However, government is finally starting to recognise informal traders as we organise and push them to do so.

7. John Manana- Worker, NUMSA member, recently retrenched

On a weekly basis, on my salary, I used to earn R28 per hour or R1120 a week. But it was R900 and something after deductions. We were subjected to shorter hours due to business reasons, so then it was R680 per week, so then only R2700 per month most of the time. You can see the challenge for food. I usually buy 2 loaves of bread per day for my younger brothers, which becomes R150-160 per week on bread alone. Ordinarily I try not to eat red meat, and when I do I opt for braai packs because they're less expensive, and I target specials. I pay R250 electricity. I used the train for R157 per month. I woke up around 4:00, started work around 7. I would take many measures to try and cope with the expense of food. I would opt to buy vegetables from the vendors around the trains, for R3 to R5 a packet, even if there's no meat, I would mitigate that with vegetables and other things. Out of R250 per week I'd buy milk, sugar, etc. So that **40-50% of my salary was spent on food**. Workers would buy bread, and just eat that all year with Rama (margarine) at work – they wouldn't even bring a lunch box. **So they don't get a balanced diet.**

I have observed a **rise in the consumption of junk food**. In township terms, your bunny chows with fried chips and poloni inside. **It is rare to find people eating a full meal with vegetables**, cabbage, and so on. **That is only eaten at funerals**. It used to be only those coming from far who ate at funerals but now nobody is missing the food at funerals.

People also have **arrangements with spaza shops**, to get bread or mealie meal on **credit** and pay later. Mostly pensioners, but also those getting low wages and facing challenges will do this.

"It is rare to find people eating a full meal with vegetables, cabbage, and so on. That is only eaten at funerals."

Amongst the workers, you'd see people form a group or collective to **buy food together to mitigate the price of food**. And many people need to **borrow to buy food** to sustain themselves for work.

We see a rise of struggles and protests against service delivery but the food issue is a real challenge. **What does it mean when a society is composed of 27 million that are subjected to poverty?** What does it mean when 16 million mitigate poverty through social grants? **That questions the nature of our democracy.**

8) Siviwe Makayi – Ntinga Ntaba Ka Ndoda, Keiskammahoek, Eastern Cape

I am from a youth organisation called Ntingani Loocha, which is linked to Ntinga Ntaba ka Ndoda, in 13 villages in Keiskammahoek. Our aim is to deal with issues of young people. We started youth camps, courses, sports festivals and study times.

We assist students because of hunger. For grade 12 to register for exams they have to pay R600, the total amount is R1600, after R1000 for food. So 6 villages sat and discussed how to assist the students, and decided to provide money to assist. We asked the people from the villages about **hunger**, and what we could do to assist. The people said they wanted to **start organic farming**. We requested training from east London, did 7 days training and then started our garden. We **started coops in 4 villages**, with about 5 members in each village. Sitting at home we couldn't provide assistance.

We also **started a recycling coop**, got training from Collect All in East London. We heard that the Community Works Programme (CWP) would assist us. The money given by CWP is not enough, it's only R540, and you can't do anything with that amount of money. Even after starting the recycling coop we still struggled. But it's important for us to stand up and start doing things for ourselves.

'Expert' Testimonies on Rising Food Prices and Hunger

9. Katherine Joynt, Wits University – Rising Food Prices: Causes, Consequences and Solutions.

Poor households can spend up to 80% of their income on food, so food price increases hit the poor hardest. Between 2013-14 there was a 12.4% increase in a basic food plate of maize, brown bread, white sugar, tea and milk. Food basket is on average about 49.6% of poorest households' income, but only 1.9% of wealthiest households' income. Hunger is therefore deeply linked to inequality and poverty.

There are six reasons why food prices are increasing:

1. **Corporate greed** – wages are low, consumers pay high prices, corporates make **massive profits** (Sasko bread alone made R825 million profit). **Illegal price fixing**

agreements also increase bread prices, like when the big 4 bread companies increased bread prices and got caught in 2007-08.

2. **Corporate concentration** – a small number of very large companies dominate and control the bread industry. Four retailers sell 55% of food in SA. Small producers and shops find it hard to compete with these giants. Then with less competition, prices are higher.
3. **Neoliberal capitalism** – rejects government regulation and interference in the economy. No price regulations. Neoliberalism values privatisation and a global free market. Free market works on supply and demand. When food supply decreases globally, food prices go up. South Africa's staples like maize are strongly linked to the global market and so when their global price increases, so do staples in South Africa.
4. **Climate change** – shifts in rainfall and temperature patterns make it more difficult to grow food, and so can increase food prices. This will affect the poor in sub-Saharan Africa the worst.
5. **Biofuels** – many staple foods such as maize and wheat are being converted into biofuels instead of being used as food. 40% of maize grown in the US is converted into biofuels, decreasing global supply of food, so prices go up.
6. **Increasing oil and chemical prices.** Industrial agriculture relies heavily on oil (diesel) and chemicals (fertilisers, pesticides, herbicides), and transport foods over long distances. As oil prices increase, food prices increase.

There is a food and hunger crisis in South Africa and the **problem is not about availability but affordability and inequality.** We

“We need popular control of the food system, socialised means and forms of production, self-sufficiency and a localised food system.”

waste one third of food produced in South Africa. The food system is broken.

We need an alternative, food sovereignty – the right to healthy food that is culturally appropriate and produced through ecologically friendly and sustainable methods, and

right of people to decide their own food and agriculture systems. We need an ethical and just system: popular control of the food system, socialised means and forms of production, self-sufficiency and a localised food system. **We can build alternatives through popular education, demonstrations and mobilisations, and challenge the corporations** (try to boycott the junk food and the companies that don't pay living wages or engage in price fixing; demand that corporates pay better wages). We should **challenge the government** to implement agrarian reform, better labour inspections and address inequality. We should promote existing and **build local alternatives**, e.g. cooperatives, local seed banks, community gardens, cooperative bakeries, etc.

10. Imraahn Mukaddam, Consumer Action Network, Western Cape

Imraahn started his input by showing a short video clip by Feeding in Action that illustrates the inequality of our food system: the average day's eating of a young girl from a poor household compared to that of a boy from an affluent household. It illustrates again the ways in which inequality permeates our food system. Imraahn emphasised how this is the reality that we live in.

I come from a merchant class. My family have always been business people in working class communities and worked to serve these communities. I had a community bakery and bread distribution business which was reasonably lucrative, distributing bread on behalf of Albany, Blue Ribbon and Sasko. In 2006 we were informed of price increase. It was uncyclical. I had been in the industry for 12 years, and this was odd. That increase was out of the blue and got us all worried. What was most remarkable was the fact that all the big bakeries were increasing the price by the same amount. So we made a complaint about the bread price increase to the Competition Commission, and we took it forward.

The outcome is that they were found guilty and fined massively. Money paid by them was over a billion rand, but it went to state coffers. None of it was used for damages suffered by consumers themselves. So, we took the bakeries that were implicated to court in a case of class action. We went to four different courts to eventually get a case. Finally we took it to the Constitutional Court. This was a victory for communities.

Through this process I came to understand the way that capitalism ravages small businesses and the poor. We were confronted with the most brutal type of capitalism. But we have this wonderful concept of the solidarity economy that has actually existed in various ways for a long time. It speaks to taking control of our communal economies and not taking the money out of our communities. There is a situation we have in our communities where all of a sudden spaza shops have become predominant economic drivers in our communities.

They are now competing through cooperative buying methods, combining purchasing power, sharing knowledge on products etc. These are important alternatives. They have positive impacts on communities. Can you buy R2 coffee at Shoprite? Half a loaf of bread at Shoprite? Malls on every corner take away jobs because they don't really employ locally. They are destroying local economies.

“Through this process I came to understand the way that capitalism ravages small businesses and the poor. We were confronted with the most brutal type of capitalism. But we have this wonderful concept of the solidarity economy that has actually existed in various ways for a long time.”

Class action can be an important tool for social change. You get together around a common cause and have a representative, and outcome is applicable to all of us. The case for alcohol is an example of how class action can be used to challenge social problems and bring about social change. The Consumer Action Network

is proposing a class action against alcohol producers to sue them for reparations for the impact it has on children. As a result, shebeens won't be able to sell liquor to pregnant women. Class actions is a tool to bring about social change. Bring all stakeholders in and use courts effectively as a site of struggle as we did with the bread case.

11. Colleen Vogel, Wits University – Climate Change and Food Prices

I have worked on the climate change assessment reports of the Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), but I also work with communities in trying to use science to make a difference in the communities in which I work.

We need some sense around what climate change means, otherwise we don't have power. We need to be empowered. We also need to understand food as a system. You can't make huge differences if you are fighting for a singular approach. A big current and coming impact of climate change in South Africa will be drought. The worrying thing is that the current government has never had to deal with droughts like we had in the 1980s. The social impacts are massive. When I was doing research in a drought-hit community in the 1980s one young boy in the household I was interviewing collapsed. I asked him what happened and he said it wasn't his turn to eat the previous day.

In southern Africa it is going to become hotter and dryer. However, rainfall patterns will also be very different in different parts of the country. Western Cape might get dryer, for example, while Eastern Cape might get increased rainfall. We have found that when its going to rain it's going to rain hard, because the number of rain days is going to get less. This is not good for agriculture. We'll have more severe storms in the Eastern Cape. If Western Cape gets dryer and hotter, what does this mean for informal traders and livelihoods? What it means, is that unless you have access to refrigeration, you are going to have problems. If you don't have access to cooling, your produce will go off and you are going to lose food. There will also be increased flooding, with implications for food production. Climate change is therefore a critical issue to consider in hunger and food sovereignty.

12. Vuyo Bitkitsha, NUMSA – The Impact of Food Prices on Workers

The impacts of food prices on wages is significant, given the extent of poverty in South Africa, even of those who are employed and earn wages. Africa is the richest in terms of resources but the poorest continent. Where do the wealth and riches go to? Hunger and poverty is a symptom of a bigger problem, of capitalism.

On average food prices increase by 6.5% over the years and the increase in wages of workers are less than that. Prices of food are constantly going up, milk is more than 12%, veggies and sugar 9%.

Half of NUMSA workers earn less than R4 850 a month. An average NUMSA member salary across all sectors is R2160. From that salary a NUMSA member has to cater for an average of three unemployed dependents. On average a NUMSA members spends a quarter (25%) of her/his salary on food. Food prices have increase by 75% since 2007, but salaries have only increased by 69%.

Rising electricity prices also pose problems for food prices. First, with most of our food produced through industrial inputs like fertilisers, food prices will increase because of the increase price of electricity used to manufacture these inputs. Second, electricity is needed for the working class to cook their food. Already electricity is one of the big items that they spend their budgets on, so increased energy prices can lead to households having to spend less on food. Energy and food are intertwined very tightly, and so those present were informed of the United Front and Civil Society Conference on the Energy Crisis from 2-5 June 2015. The conference aims to unite and strengthen existing struggles and to develop short and medium term responses to the electricity crisis.

These inputs stimulated much discussion and input from the participants as well as the judges. However, due to space limits they are not included here but will be available in the full transcript of the Tribunal. After these inputs the participants left for a picket the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) to protest the role of food corporations listed there in profiteering from hunger. This picket was very successful; the Memorandum of Demands was accepted by management of the JSE and a significant amount of comraderie and solidarity was built around confronting such powers directly over hunger.

6.Day 3 – Experiences and Impacts of Landlessness and Lack of Agrarian Reform

Grassroots Testimonies

The day began with reading of messages of support to the tribunal from Justice and Peace and from COSATU (who also published a media statement in support of the Tribunal). These messages were noted and appreciated by the Tribunal gathering.

1. Matthews Hlabane – Mining Affected Communities United in Action (MACUA)

What is development? And who is this development for? And who said people in rural villages, in isolated villages, want development? Was it the people themselves in the rural villages, or was it somebody somewhere who decided the people were not developed and should be developed? **Who benefits from this development and growth?** Is it the people who live in the communities or is it some people elsewhere with power and resources? What is a better life, if we do not have clean air, if we do not have water, if the soil that produces food is contaminated by mining and the food that we eat is also contaminated? **Food sovereignty is not about just food. It is about our lives, it is about healthy foods, it is about healthy water, it is about our communities living sustainable lives.**

“What is a better life, if we do not have clean air, if we do not have water, if the soil that produces food is contaminated by mining and the food that we eat is also contaminated?”

It is said mining will create better lives. It is said mining will create job opportunities for us. But we still have to define what is a job. If we did not, as communities, define what kind of development we want, if we did not define what kind of jobs we want, we still have to find out. In South Africa, mining companies are given preference over any alternative economic activity. If a community wants to acquire land to produce food, it takes time and the process

is frustrating. Yet it is so easy for a mining company to get access to land, hectares of land. **Where there are mining companies, we see the increase in unemployed people, in poverty and hunger, in dependency.** That is mining.

Each time they talk about mining projects, they are presented as though these are projects for charity. They do not tell us the truth. They are not transparent. Our communities don't see the contracts that have been signed.

Let us focus on one aspect of this mining development. Example of a community that had clean air, clean water, and land to produce food. A better life is not defined by the number of modern buildings and cars that you have, but by those life-supporting requirements. Then the mining company came, bribed the provincial leadership, went to the chief, and gave the community a mining development package. The community said no, we don't want this, because we are losing our land. At the end of the day who benefited? The chief, the provincial leaders. **The community lost the land, they lost their sources of water.** The community was forced into a situation of begging, dependency was created. They had to go to the mine to beg for the jobs. The answer was simple. You do not have the qualifications we require, so we will bus in our workers from Witbank. Then people there began to suffer. The women had to travel far to get water from another village. Conflicts

began to emerge. Then the company started blasting, and the people had to run out of their homes so they would not be at risk if their homes collapsed. That's mining. So why does our country give precedence to mining? Even commercial farmers are troubled by mining.

I come from a province that has much of the arable land of South Africa, that is supposed to provide the country with food. But at the moment 86% of the land in Mpumalanga is targeted for mining. There's an ongoing case in the high court. GlenCore is taking Mr Masamvu in the Witbank Middleberg area. Glencore is a big mining company, taking a farmer who has lived all his life producing food on a piece of land, to court. GlenCo has tried to move Mr Masamvu out of his land. He refuses. Then GlenCore tells him to reduce the number of cattle on his land. He refuses. GlenCore is trying to revive colonial policies. They want to move him off his land, as they have already done with other families in the area, where they have built them new houses.

In the Eastern Cape, the same thing is happening. Community members are being arrested and shot at. Why? Because they are saying they are fine with their land, they don't want mining to come in. **Why must they be shot at and arrested just for saying no to mining?**

These companies say they will do rehabilitation, but **once they have mined** and done their so-called rehabilitation, the **land is no longer suitable for organic farming**. You must buy fertilisers, and lime, and this is expensive.

"If someone takes away the water, turns the soil acidic, puts chemical particulates in the air, then they are taking away life. They are poisoning us in the name of development."

So who is this development for? If someone takes away the water, turns the soil acidic, puts chemical particulates in the air, then they are taking away life. **They are poisoning us in the name of development**. If this development is correct, why are mining companies using millions to advertise and justify themselves, in billboards, TV adverts? They never tell you that they forced communities to relocate off their land. They never tell you that the mining companies are responsible for the xenophobic attacks, because when the communities rise up, they set them against our brothers from other countries.

2. Norah Mlondoboza – Small Scale Farmer, Inyanda National Land and Rural People's Movement

Inyanda was launched last year December in Port Elizabeth, formed by small scale farmers, rural people, farmworkers, landless, farmdwellers, fishers and others who are suffering. **We formed this movement because we realised that our government has failed to redistribute land back to us. Today we are hungry because we do not**

have land. We formed this movement to force the government to redistribute the land back to us.

Our struggles are:

1. **Land.** Most of our members are from rural areas under tribal authorities. **Tribal authorities** have promoted themselves from being custodians of land to being owners of land, and **refuse to give land to people for farming.** Because we don't have money, they don't give us land. Instead they lease it to white commercial farmers.
2. **We want to practice agroecology.** But when we speak this language to the extension officers who are supposed to help us, they don't understand. They discourage you. The majority of small-scale farmers are old and illiterate, so when the extension officer comes and he says agro-ecology won't work, you have to use chemical fertilisers and pesticides. So the farmers believe the extension officers, who have been to school, and take the chemicals.
3. Another challenge is **water.** The municipality is not ready to give us water to irrigate our farms.
4. **Government support-** when the government speaks of farmers, they are referring to the commercial farmers, they are not talking about the small scale farmers. Yet most of the produce that the commercial farmers are producing is for export. At Johannesburg Fresh Produce Market in City Deep, 80% of the produce is from small scale farmers. **Small scale farmers contribute to GDP, create jobs and reduce poverty but nobody recognises that.** Instead, government imposes Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP). It does not promote our interests – it promotes the use of chemicals and poisonous pesticides. Those chemicals will kill you. The South African government signed the Maputo Declaration, saying they will dedicate 10% of the national budget to agriculture, but they are not doing that. Instead they promote the CAADP.



We are not recognised. When something about agriculture is decided in parliament, only the white commercial farmers are there to influence it. We are not there. **We want to speak for ourselves.** We want to have a space where anything that has to do with funding, or agriculture is decided, we want to be there and speak for ourselves.

We want to make sure that all the small scale farmers are doing agroecology. We are in small plots on communal land. If you

"We want to speak for ourselves."

use chemicals on those plots, the soil will be dead in 10 years and you will no longer be able to produce. We want all our farmers to use agro-ecology or organic **so that we can sustain ourselves**, so that we can produce food from a small plot for a long time.

It is a disgrace that South Africa feeds the nation with GMOs. **We want the government to reverse the 1999 GMO Act.** We don't know what the chemical companies are testing now, and they will use South Africa as a testing ground. **We want to eat food that is healthy** for us.

3. Davine Cloete – Small Scale Farmer and Land Activist

In 2007 I went to agricultural college and then became a small-scale farmer. In 2008 we established the Agrarian Reform for Food Sovereignty Campaign in the Northern and Western Cape. We built this movement because we see that when we fight for the right of our people to get access to land, nobody hears us. We had a big march in Cape Town in 2008. We handed over a memorandum, but nothing happened. We elect the government, but then they stop representing us and become leaders for the capitalist system.



Monsanto is doing a drought tolerant rice trial, on Agricultural Research Council (ARC) land. We only found out from an advertisement in the newspaper. You must read the papers from the back to see the advertisements from the capitalists. Government promised that 30% of the land would go to the people but up to now only 7% has been distributed to the people.

People don't know what is happening at a national level. People are poor in the rural areas and don't get the news from government. People don't speak English, because in that part of the world we were taught to speak Afrikaans. But there are leaders in the community, so we learn to speak English and to debate. We do **popular education** to educate the people to fight the government.

Land is owned by white commercial farmers all around the area. They believe the land belongs to them and farm illegally on that land. In 2011 small scale farmers applied for land and got two farms. Government gives land to people and then lets them fight amongst themselves. They don't give vacant land in the places where people stay to those people. We also need to go and occupy the land. Why are we illegal when we go and occupy vacant land? The land doesn't belong to the white commercial farmers, they took our land without recognising us as farmers. But we haven't farmed the land the government gave us, because they told us there's no infrastructure, no water.

We are part of the national structure so we can **fight in solidarity against the corrupt government**, giving Monsanto and Syngenta land in our places instead of giving us land. **We are also part of Via Campesina**. We use the term agroecology and not organic since we don't have certification or license.

4. Mpho Gift – Rural Women's Alliance, Northern Cape

In the past we focused on HIV/AIDS and not land and food. But many of the clients did not take their ARVs because they were hungry. So we had to activate our involvement in issues of food and land. In my district, **everything is politicised, including food**. The area is surrounded by mines. The mining sector announced that 9 new mines are going to be opened. The mining companies don't employ us, because they say we do not have the relevant skills. The Northern Cape has been without any tertiary institution for such a long time, and now the new Sol Plaatje University only has a faculty of education so we are all going to be teachers.

Because of this, there are high rates of teenage pregnancy and HIV. This is worsened by the mines hiring men from other areas, who leave their families behind.

We are struggling with water in the province. There's no water. A while ago, Zuma launched **Fetsa Tlala** food security programme. There is still **limited information** about this, we are still hearing about the food bank. **We don't see or benefit from those food banks**. In Kuruman, we are affected by **asbestos**. There are still school buildings made with asbestos. We see many consultants come through, saying they will help affected people, collecting fees and then disappearing. People will even sell their cows to pay the consultants, and then they lose the money.

The province has a high level of **foetal alcohol syndrome**, because of the high number of informal shebeens we rely on, so people can buy bread.

Zuma is always talking about the garden projects in his State of the Nation Addresses. But the **Pick n Pay and Shoprite are not in a position to buy from the gardens**. The **land still belongs from the chiefs**, and as a community we are not able to access our land. And you need to be **married to access the land**, that is the first question the chief will ask. I've tried to access land, but the chief would not give to me because I am not married.

There is a **bad attitude towards studying agriculture**. Government puts pressure to study only maths and science. There is also a **negative attitude towards our indigenous food**. People want to go to Shoprite. We are encouraging people to have

background gardens, to facilitate capacity building workshops and human rights workshops.
People do not know their rights.

We blame the government. We don't need more mines. We want to use the land. Let there be **food justice**, we need food sovereignty dialogues and **we also need food preparation dialogues** because people don't know how to prepare it.

"We don't need more mines. We want to use the land."

5. Sindile Baza– Botshabelo Food Producers Forum, Free State

Free State is dominated by white commercial farmers of maize. The Botshabelo Food Producers Forum is a group of producers who came together to speak with one voice. About 17 organisations developed the declaration of the forum.

A key issue we have is the **lack of access to land**, and when we are able to access land there is a lack of security on the land. **Water** is also a crisis. We are building a campaign to get access to land, to advance food sovereignty in Botshabelo. We need to build food sovereignty. People and communities should have control over the food system, end hunger, place human beings at the centre and define the food system.

We demand support from government, which is currently prioritising commercial farmers. Small-scale farmers are discriminated against. Small-scale farmers feed their

"We need to build food sovereignty. People and communities should have control over the food system, end hunger, place human beings at the centre and define the food system."

families and the community. We want support in terms of **promotion of indigenous foods** and indigenous knowledge systems. We want to add value to the foods. Livestock farmers want **access to markets**. We want support to **use agro-ecology**. We want alternative methods of pest control, we condemn the use of GMOs and promote the use of indigenous seeds so people can produce organic food for their communities.

We need rights to the commonage – we are not able to get a loan because we don't have **title deeds** to use the common land. There are about 12 commonages with thousands of cattle in Botshabelo. The commonage must be secured, to benefit the community. We need **safety and security** in the commonage as there is a problem of theft. We need public control over the commonage and to develop infrastructure there.

We want to **create seed banks to preserve indigenous seeds** and ensure our next harvests. **We continue to engage with the municipality**, and we must not lose hope because this is our government.

6. Nobuzo Lafololo – Farmworker, Phakemani Siyephambile Campaign Eastern Cape, Siyaphambili movement

We don't have enough land. We are working for white commercial farmers. We thought with freedom in 1994 things would be easy for us. For farmworkers, things have not been easy. The white people come to the villages, collected our names and register us but we don't know why. In our village, they collected our names and promised us support through BEE, they started to plant in 2005, they harvested in 2013 and government supported them. They used our names to raise these funds but **we don't benefit**. That's why the farmworkers and farm dwellers **formed committees**. As farm committees we can speak with employers about the challenges. The area committee is dealing with the whole area.

As the committees we formed Siyaphambili movement to support small-scale farmers. We decided to implement the programme for the **Integrated Community Development Plan (ICDP)** so that we see things are going in order. And then they laugh at us. We have included in the ICDP: **access to land, job creation, and safety at work**.

The **small scale farmers are available but have no title deeds and get no support**. Government only supports the big farmers. We raised the challenge of **water** as well in the campaign. We formed the MSDF – **Multi-Stakeholder Dialogue Forum** – we formed it with all stakeholders including Agri-SA, Fruit SA, CCMA, labour, etc. to raise issues facing small-scale farmers. We met last year in December and they didn't give us suitable answers. We met again in April, and managed to set up the committee, but they didn't want to allow so many of us to come. But we have built this campaigning to unite farm workers and small scale farmers and we will continue fighting.

'Expert' Testimonies

7. Rosa-Linda Kock, Southern Cape Land Committee (SCLC) and Clara Bokwana, Hessequa Agri-Forum (shared input of 'expert' and 'grassroots' testimony)

Rosa-Linda - Market led land reform has failed to address skewed patterns of land ownership and inequitable access to land. The Native Land Act of 1913 put 87% of land into the hands of white settlers. Less than 10% of land has been redistributed since 1994.

Policy frameworks reinforce the advantages of white capital. Market-led land reform results in inflated prices, and there is a lack of political will from government to exercise right of expropriation. There has been a failure to redistribute state land, and there has been

privatisation of state assets and corruption. State panders to capital, foreign owners, investors and traditional authorities.

Clara – My group has been squatting on the land for four years, the municipality has threatened to evict us but we refuse to leave. We then signed a lease agreement for 9 years with them, and we **want to farm to end hunger**. Emerging farmers shouldn't give up easily. The forum has 23 farmer groups. The small scale farmers started a soup kitchen for the community twice a week. There is a lot of teenage pregnancy in the area, they use social grants to buy food for their children. A group started a coop near Heidelberg and that's the beginning for a better future. We have a challenge of **no access to water** so we decided to establish our own water system.

Rosa-Linda – There are 989 farmers in 3 forums that SCLC works with. These farmers look after over 10 000 people and providing access to healthy food. We can't sit and allow the government to enforce white landownership in the country. The land belongs to the people who work on it. Farmers unite and stand up for their rights to gain access to agricultural land. The challenge is that **even if they access land, they don't get access to other resources. 35 000 predominantly white commercial farmers are on 82m hectares of agricultural land, whereas between 2-2.5 million black subsistence farmers are on 18m hectares** of land. Ownership is clearly skewed. Issue of commonage being put on tenders, the small scale farmers can't compete with the white commercial farmers. One community challenged this and forced the municipality to evict the white farmers. They are **supplying expensive water** to small farmers and the raw water goes to the white farmers. They make it unaffordable.

There is also the continuation of insecure tenure especially of farm dwellers. The response by government has been the 50/50 ownership model for farms, but where did they get this from? They didn't even ask the farm dwellers and workers themselves. However, farm committees have been established to deal with issues of labour and tenure, to unite to put pressure on the state to enforce labour and tenure rights.

There has also been restructuring and privatisation of state assets with negative impacts on the livelihoods of people who lived on that state land. There is increased conversion of agricultural land for elite development and extractive industries. Furthermore, women continue to be marginalised and vulnerable to poverty and landlessness. Tenure rights are often linked to male partners or relatives. Livestock associations are often male dominated. The solution is organising from below: "If you teach me to **organise**, then whatever the challenge I can join together with my peers and we will find a solution".

Rosa-Linda ended with getting everyone to sing a [Song for Food Sovereignty](#):

What a system
What a system
What a system
What a crime
We can't mend it
We must end it
End it now and for all time

8. Zukile Tom, Trust for Community Outreach and Education (TCOE) – Impacts of Landlessness and Lack of Agrarian Transformation

Based on research in Overberg, Swellendam municipality in the Western Cape, we focused on **commonage land**. Municipality claims they've allocated all of the commonage land. Then one day they advertised the sale of commonage land, which had water. It had actually already been sold to the neighbouring commercial farmer when it was advertised. So we examined trends in small scale production and its contribution to household livelihoods, with the objectives being to identify problems hindering small scale farmers, determine the extent of land use and need in the area, monitor and facilitate programmes aimed at improving current conditions; assist local initiatives and build partnerships with government departments and other stakeholders.

Municipalities do not understand the principles of commonage – they don't understand it's **meant for poor people living in the area**. Instead they lease it to commercial farmers or sell it, to get more resources. Many **people have lost interest in land**, so we need to teach people how to start small and grow bigger. Eventually they must own the land. In the Western Cape, black people do not own land, they only get leases.

In terms of land needs, municipalities are not transparent about commonage. It makes sense to talk about occupation because **when you occupy**, then you find out who owns the land. Even the councillors don't know what's going on. We did research in the Breede River valley and found that most families survive on subsistence farming, wages and grants. The Department of Land Reform and Rural Development **has committed to ensuring commonage land**, yet municipality doesn't make land available. If there is none, **they must budget** to get commonage land and make it available, along with the necessary infrastructure.

Challenges with commonage allocation – land is often allocated far from where people live; there is renting and leasing out of commonage land which is not supposed to happen; lack of information or transparency; municipalities don't consult; need to standardise the approach to commonage amongst municipalities; tendency to only allocate commonage

land to men. Furthermore, **agricultural support** is often delinked from other programmes, and there is no clear criteria for support.

In conclusion, we need to act collectively; develop and strengthen relations between government and non-government actors;

9. David van Wyk, Benchmarks Foundation – Mining and Dispossession of Land and Resource in South Africa

Mining has changed from being an urban activity to being a rural activity. New mines are opening in rural areas where people are living. This that was seen as useless by the powerful is important to them today. Today we are having land dispossession because mining companies are allowed to grab land.

Through colonial dispossession 13% of land was given to Africans to force fathers to work in mines. But mineworkers sent money home and tried to build decent, dignified homes there. So that when mineworkers go home it is an event because they come with money and resources. Other miners go back and invest in agriculture in their communities. But now they are losing their land.

I'll show you three case studies of what mining today is doing to rural communities, including their agriculture.



1) Ntendeka village, Newcastle, KwaZulu-Natal. A mining company is coming there to grab 14 000 hectares for mining. Locals will lose their land that is currently used for cattle and cultivation. Under apartheid, mines never took lots of land. Now they are grabbing huge amounts. What does this mean for the village? They were told that they would not have any jobs at the mine. The mining company didn't consult with the community (although it was supposed to be part of the process) and they somehow managed to get the mining passed. The consequence is that the community will be left to live on hand-outs from government. Before they were self-reliant. Now they will depend on government and become destitute. They will starve. They will suffer increased violence, crime, STDs and HIV/AIDS. The health profile of community will be compromised with respiratory problems.

How did the mining company get the licence? They put the former director of mineral resources on their board of their company. This is how they circumvent the law and this is how they trample on human rights.

Photo: Old abandoned mine there is full of acid water. It is highly acidic. It doesn't rain there. Ground water is only water people have access to. People mine coal there from an old abandoned mine (they are right next to a coal plant but don't have electricity). People die in holes. Black lung disease is a problem. Grazing land will be lost.

2) Makhado village, Soutpansberg project, Limpopo – Coal of Africa wants to come in. Seven villages will lose all their land. 'Corporate Social Responsibility' (CSR) programmes want to teach villages sustainable farming, while at the same time the mines are destroying topsoil. The Australian mining company Coal of Africa will create 1000 jobs, but we estimate that 10 000 jobs will be lost. Mines don't create jobs. They take away wealth and jobs. We are re-living the 19th century when black people are being forced off the land.

A severe impact of such mining is on water supplies. Photo from Witbank: these people don't have access to water, so they get their water from an old mine pit. But Limpopo people say they are clean. Eg. Twickenham. Musical rocks will be destroyed by mining. Someone resisted being moved and so a rock rolled down into their kitchen.



Photo of Village spring before mining. They have taps but only get water once per month. Spring now has open sewerage from migrant camp thrown into it.

People lost their cattle. One man had 40 head which he would use to send his son to college. They relocated him and he had to leave his cattle behind because he wasn't given land. As such most of his cattle died because he couldn't look after them. He therefore lost the means to send his son to university. His son couldn't go to university so he found a manual job, but died six months later in a fight at a Christmas party.

10. Jan Eckhart, Treasure the Karoo Action Group (TKAG) – What is Land Without Water? The Karoo Fracking Saga

Fracking involves drilling deep into the ground and then horizontally into the shale formation. Water mixed with chemicals are then pumped down under high pressure to fracture the rock (hydraulic fracturing, hence fracking). The water is then returned to the surface as a hazardous waste product. Fracking is a national problem - the Karoo covers 43% of surface area of South Africa, and about 40% is under current permit application. Karoo has geological features called dykes and sills, where the groundwater accumulates. They intersect each other extensively, and if you drill into them you will intersect them, and contaminate the groundwater.

South Africa is a water deficit country with an average of 400mm rainfall per year. It is expected that by 2025 the entire country will be in water deficit. Never mind the Eskom blackouts, we are likely to have water blackouts by 2020, yet we still want to threaten our water sources through fracking. Each fracking event requires 15 000-20 000 kilolitres of water, about 2000 truck loads. Industry claims the chemicals are isolated from groundwater, but 6.9% of well casings fail initially, 60% fail over 20 years and they all fail over time. The problem of contamination of ground water is one of the major issues with fracking.

“Never mind the Eskom blackouts, we are likely to have water blackouts by 2020...”

About 1 million people live in the Karoo, including about 100,000 small scale farmers. Agriculture is a key economic activity in the Karoo, including raising sheep (for wool and mohair) and goats.

The economy is almost entirely dependent on groundwater. They haven't shown us the regulations yet, but in general government has been unable to enforce existing regulations with mining, especially around water licences.

The problems of fracking therefore include health costs, environmental clean up costs, and damage to infrastructure. Furthermore, employment created by fracking is limited; it is highly-skilled so it won't provide jobs. Farmers get almost no compensation. The wealth will go back to the companies' headquarters.

There are alternatives to fracking. We have **wind and sun for alternative clean energy**. We have to respect the environment. All of society should be engaged in decision-making for the good of the community and the planet.

After the last testimony, some comments from the floor were taken and the judges gave their closing remarks. Due to space the many comments and discussions that were had are not included in this report, but the Verdict below helps to capture the overall themes that emerged at the tribunal. This verdict was compiled by the National Convening Committee of SAFSC and confirmed with the panel of judges, and was read out as the overall judgment passed down as a result of the testimonies given at the tribunal.

7. The Verdict

7.1. Introduction

In the context of South Africa's deepening food crisis, the South African Food Sovereignty Campaign hosted a three-day People's Tribunal on hunger, food prices and land at

Constitution Hill, Johannesburg. The Tribunal received testimony from 21 grassroots voices (women and men small scale farmers, cooperatives, mining affected communities, trade unions, waste pickers, retrenched workers, the unemployed, students, youth), from different parts of the country, and ten food and land experts including researchers, academics and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs).

The Tribunal sought to confront the denialism, indifference and disregard for the food crisis in South Africa. Through this platform we confronted the brutal realities of hunger and affirmed the **dignity, power and moral force** of the hungry and landless in our country. This we believe is a turning point for food politics and agrarian transformation in South Africa: hunger challenges our humanity and therefore **we are all the hungry, we are all the landless until we resolve the food crisis!**

'Hunger' in our society is experienced differently and named differently. According to the hungry bearing testimony it exists as:

- 'genocide of the mind';
- 'the middle name of South Africa';
- 'the thief of our dignity';
- 'an empty stomach';
- 'what the politicians refuse to see';
- 'food crisis because of neoliberal policies';
- 'a special smell and is cruel in the household'.

7.2. Verdict on food corporations

South Africa's food system is highly concentrated and controlled by powerful food corporations. For instance, 20% of commercial farms account for over 80% of food produced and four big retailers sell 55% of our food.

Based on testimony, we declare **food corporations** guilty of **perpetuating hunger, a crime against humanity**, through:

- **Contributing to income inequality in South Africa:** Income inequality is a cause of hunger for which food corporations and capitalism in general is responsible. Many working class and poor households spend up to 80% of their income on food, and food prices are increasing. On average male farm workers earn R667 per month and females R458 per month. The median wage rate in South Africa is R3033, well below the ILO's minimum living wage of R4500. Half of NUMSA workers earn less than or R4850 per month. Poverty wages mean no food choice and a struggle to survive as living costs increase, such as electricity and transport.
- **Treating food as a commodity:** Commodified food is inaccessible and unaffordable for the millions of unemployed in South Africa. Healthy food is completely out of reach if it has to be bought from food corporations. Moreover,

retrenchments and job losses have constrained household incomes making it impossible to buy food, and hence hunger stalks many families.

- **Profiteering from food:** Staple food prices such as wheat and maize have been pushed up by corporations. In retail, market power is used by four corporations to keep prices high. In general staple food prices increased by 50% between 2013 and 2014. A basic food plate increased by 12.4% between 2013 and 2014. On average there has been a 6.5 % increase in food prices annually.
- **Price fixing:** Bread is a staple for most South Africans. SASKO bread made R825 million profit in 2013 alone. Price fixing is rife to make more profit from staples. Price fixes, such as the big four bread producers, were caught in 2007/2008, but they have been doing this for years. Bread prices have not come down despite oil prices coming down.
- **Using waste to make profits:** One-third of food is wasted across the food value chain. This amounts to 9 million tons. In addition, 30% of agricultural produce goes to waste. Instead of feeding human beings corporations condemn them by dumping 'wasted' food. This ensures profit rates are managed as supply is controlled through 'waste'.
- **Using crisis to make profits:** A globalised food system, under corporate control, will be susceptible to shocks from climate change, biofuels production, speculation and oil prices. Corporations have and will use such shocks to increase prices making food expensive and increasing hunger.
- **Passing on suffering to women:** More women go hungry than men in South Africa. Women are carrying the burden of feeding their families such that they are skipping meals, eating expired food, borrowing from loan sharks and sacrificing their food portion to feed the family in poor households. Women and workers earning poverty wages eat unhealthy food because there is no choice and this imposes sickness. All of this brings intense desperation, trauma and health problems into hungry families.
- **Stealing the future of our children:** There is a high prevalence of stunted growth and malnutrition amongst children in poor households (nearly 1 in every 3 young children under the age of five is physically and mentally stunted and underweight). Children are not given nutritious food and cannot learn in schools. Children steal food out of desperation, sometimes ending up in jail; they stop schooling and skip critical medication due to a lack of food. The corporate-controlled food system is stealing their future.
- **Controlling seeds and farming resources:** Seeds and genetic resources are now commodities for profit making. This makes the price of seeds and farming inputs very expensive for small scale farmers, communities and households.
- **Using the media:** Billions of Rands are spent on marketing fast food and industrial food diets. The media is hired by food corporations to ensure these foods are mainstreamed. At the same time, fast food is killing our food cultures, increasing obesity and destroying genuine social relationships.
- **Expanding into our communities:** Retail chains and shopping malls are expanding into our communities to promote unhealthy and expensive food. These businesses extract wealth from communities such that local resources are not circulating for development, employment creation and community building.

- **Commodifying food at universities:** Many students at universities are hungry, which constrains their ability to study and improve academic performance. Dining halls throw away food and students do not receive their loan funding on time, which contributes to hunger.

7.3. We demand from corporations:

- An end to fat cat salaries of food corporation managers and a living wage for all workers in the food system.
- An end to profiteering from food, including price fixing of staples.
- A halt to the invasion and conquest by 'supermarkets' of our communities.
- We demand universities put in place feeding schemes for poor students.
- End profiteering from seeds and farming inputs required by small scale farmers.
- Greater responsibility from the commercial media for their role in promoting unhealthy fast food and industrial food diets.

7.4. Verdict on the State

Based on testimony we declare the **state responsible and complicit in perpetuating hunger, a crime against humanity, through the following actions:**

- **Neoliberal economic policies:** The economic policies of the ANC state have increased inequality between the rich and poor, which has expressed itself in race, gender and class terms. Together with the lack of basic services like water, health, housing and electricity, the struggle for food is a serious survival challenge for many.
- **Undermining water resources:** Water is essential for food production yet the state is compromising our water resources through promoting mining, mismanaging water resources and only ensuring a rich minority benefit from water.
- **Promoting and supporting mining:** Mining is leading to dispossession, another version of the 1913 experience. Mining companies are grabbing fertile land and water resources such that communities lose land for livestock grazing and cultivation. Mining is also poisoning land, water and polluting the air around communities. Some of the most fertile land in the country, in Mpumalanga, is threatened by mining. Government policies and corruption is feeding into this new dispossession.
- **Lacking a commitment to adapt and mitigate our food system to climate change and shocks:** Despite the state developing long-term mitigation scenarios it is not doing enough to deal with the future impacts of serious droughts expected in the south and west, as well as extreme rainfall in the east. It is allowing industrial agriculture to continue deepening ecological crises including climate change.
- **Promoting export-led agriculture:** Allowing export of food while 14 million South Africans go to be bed hungry and while food locally is not affordable. At the same time, the poor have to contend with monotonous and unhealthy diets, while grants are not substantial enough to deal with increasing living costs including higher food prices.
- **Failing land and food policies:** Only 7% of land has been transferred under the land reform program since 1994. The support for small scale farmers is inadequate while support programs impose GMO seeds and chemical fertilisers. The state is

ignorant about the value and importance of agro-ecology for small scale farmers and it does not give farmers a choice to advance agro-ecology. In addition, corruption is widespread in land reform and fishing programs. Fishers in this country are not recognized and their interests are ignored. Food garden programs are also inadequately resourced, including community works programs such that there is insufficient support for cooperatives grown out of these programs. There is no sustainable support in communities for hungry households and children (1 in 10 children are hungry in some communities), while nobody is being held responsible for fetal alcohol syndrome. There is also no common nutrition standard. Instead the state has fragmented, piecemeal and ineffective food policies currently numbering 17 policies, despite the fact that 46% of the population is food insecure.

- **Promoting Genetically Modified Organism (GMO) seeds and crops:** GMO seeds and the deadly chemicals they require are expensive. Only the rich can choose not to eat GMO maize. Almost all maize crops are GMO in South Africa. GMO maize which is a staple makes us the only country in the world that is eating these crops without informing consumers and citizens. This takes away food choice and is a serious threat to the health of the people and this will increase health costs. At the same time, there is no recognition of cheaper and safer alternatives from grassroots communities such as agro-ecological seedbanks and no attempt to listen to the hungry.
- **Failing top down farming and cooperative development:** Over 100 000 cooperatives exist in South Africa but with an extremely high failure rate despite the over one billion rand that has been spent over the past few years. Many farming cooperatives are not receiving adequate cooperative education, farming training and finance. Local governments are corrupt and unresponsive to the needs of small scale farmers, cooperatives and household food producers.

7.5. We demand from the state:

- Support for water harvesting, quality access to services (water infrastructure and supply) and water use rights for food production;
- Provision of support for local community markets and production based on food sovereignty.
- An end to state imposed chemical and GMO seeds on small scale farmers.
- A Food Sovereignty Act to ensure we affirm the right to food, diversify the food system, promote agro-ecology and the solidarity economy.
- Jail sentences for food corporation executives that collude on price fixing and we want 'food profiteering' to be declared a crime under South African law.
- A national nutrition standard and investigation into the nutrition content of food. In schools we demand a higher protein content in school feeding schemes to end stunting.
- Food waste in the corporate controlled food system be monitored and exposed.
- An end to the alliance with capital including ending land dispossession through mining, GMO promotion, unsustainable export agriculture, fracking and the ocean grab.
- Land must be given immediately to the people for agroecological production.

- Food aid has to be introduced for children and poor households linked to promoting food sovereignty in communities and households.
- Full disclosure on the science of GMOs and an immediate ban based on the precautionary principle.
- Recognition of waste pickers and the role they play in limiting the waste of resources in our society.
- Support and respect for street traders.
- A commitment from government to address the needs and interests of fishers and to restrict the monopoly power of corporations in the fishing industry.
- An end to corruption in land reform and greater responsiveness from the state to the needs of small scale farmers for extension support, for organic seeds and inputs, agroecological training for farmers and cooperatives and financial support.

7.6. As the South African Food Sovereignty Campaign we declare on the Way Forward:

We will continue the hunger tribunal process as a mobilizing tool of the hungry and landless. It will serve as a platform for raising popular awareness and educating citizens about the food crisis and food sovereignty alternatives.

We will affirm our own voice and power as we struggle against those responsible to be accountable.

We will consider boycotts of retailers who profit from essential foods, GMO products and media, including newspapers like *Sunday Times*, who are indifferent to the cause of the hungry and landless.

We will continue to advance food sovereignty as an alternative to the corporate-centered notion of food security and as a means to diversify the South African food system.

We will struggle against trade and industrial policies that perpetuate the globalised food regime.

We will continue to deepen and build alliances to advance the South African Food Sovereignty Campaign including linking informal traders with small scale farmers and cooperatives as part of the solidarity economy. At the same time, we will consciously organize and mobilise youth and women.

We will champion a deep just transition, in the context of climate change and increasing energy costs, to ensure we shift the energy system towards renewable energy. In this regard, we support the United Front Civil Society Conference on the electricity crisis.

We will encourage local and nutritious food production from local food sources to feed families and communities. At the same time, we will support local food cultures that are more appropriate and nutritious. All of this part of our effort to end dependence and control by the corporate controlled food system.

We will struggle to ensure land reform for food production and consumption such that we advance the rights of women, food sovereignty and the solidarity economy. In this struggle we will affirm agro-ecology as a science, which draws on farmer knowledge and traditional food production practices.

We will assist small scale farmers with agroecological training, to build seed banks, develop organic compost, sustainable water management systems and establish member-driven worker cooperatives for farming, bakeries, consumer stores, people's restaurants and local community markets.

We will celebrate and learn from self-sustaining communities and the successes of small scale farmers, local farming networks, cooperatives and community markets as examples of alternatives to commercial industrial agriculture and corporate controlled retail. We will celebrate the transparency, ethics and commitment to community need of these alternatives.

We will claim our right to food contained in the Constitution and other international human rights instruments.

We will continue to ensure popular education around the food crisis and struggle for food sovereignty alternatives as part of our communities.

We will create our own media to advance mother tongue, people's culture, share experiences of hunger and raise awareness about food sovereignty alternatives including traditions of bartering and solidarity markets.

We will struggle for a transformative and just transition to a democratic eco-socialist society. The struggle for food sovereignty will be a key wedge to move us in this direction as we build people's power from below