

AFRICA-US FOOD SOVEREIGNTY STRATEGY SUMMIT



SUMMIT REPORT

Community Alliance for Global Justice/AGRA Watch

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About Community Alliance for Global Justice and AGRA Watch

Community Alliance for Global Justice educates and mobilizes with individuals and organizations to strengthen local economies everywhere. CAGJ is grassroots, community-based and committed to anti-oppressive organizing as we build solidarity across diverse movements. CAGJ seeks to transform unjust trade and agricultural policies and practices imposed by corporations, governments and other institutions while creating and supporting alternatives that embody social justice, sustainability, diversity and grassroots democracy.

AGRA Watch is a campaign of Community Alliance for Global Justice. The mission of AGRA Watch is to challenge the dominant development ideology pushed by governments, corporations, and “private” philanthropic actors as they try to expand our corporate-driven, industrial model of agriculture into Africa. Chief among these “private” actors are the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF) and their subsidiary, the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA). AGRA Watch works with partner organizations in Africa and the US to support sustainable, agroecological, socially responsible, and indigenous alternatives on the continent. Together, we are creating a network to connect global movements to those in our local communities and facilitate the exchange of information concerning sustainable and healthy agricultural policies and practices across continents.

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Cover Photo: Million Belay, Mariam Mayet and Elizabeth Mpofu at Town Hall, Seattle.

Executive Summary

The Africa-US Food Sovereignty Strategy Summit was held in Seattle on October 10-14. The four days of meetings, receptions, and farm tours brought together a range of grassroots organizations, progressive funders, and international networks working towards food sovereignty in Africa and the United States. The goal of the Summit was to deepen solidarity and lead to cooperation in developing a shared analysis of current public and private interventions in African agriculture, most notably, by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, and initiating some joint work along these lines.

The participating organizations were nominated by an international steering committee comprised of both US- and African-based organizations using a range of factors including: leadership role in the food sovereignty movement, being directly affected by the consequences of the corporate food regime, connection to broader constituencies, geographical distribution, gender and racial balance, and capacity to play a role moving forward. Ultimately, 14 US-based organizations and 8 Africa-based organizations attended, representing a mix of national NGOs, international networks, small-scale producers and farmer networks, and community-based organizations.

During the meetings and over meals there were discussions and exercises that helped everyone learn more about each other and build trust. African and US representatives shared the context of their work, the challenges they face, and the strategies that they have adopted to resist corporate interventions and to build resilient, agro-ecological agriculture in order to support communities so that they have control of the kind of foods they grow and eat.

In addition to the daily meetings, African participants were featured in a large public event held at Seattle's Town Hall on Sunday, October 12. The event, The Global Struggle for

Food Sovereignty: A Discussion with African Food Leaders and Farmers included a panel discussion featuring three of the attendees: Million Belay, Alliance for Food Sovereignty in Africa and MELCA-Ethiopia, Mariam Mayet, African Centre for Biosafety, South Africa, Elizabeth Mpofu, ZIMSOFF, La Via Campesina Africa, Zimbabwe. The panel was moderated by Eric Holt-Gimenez of Food First. Preceding the talks there was a reception where Seattle area residents had an opportunity to interact with all Summit attendees over food and beverages. During the question and answer period after the talks, all of the African participants took the stage for a lively discussion. Each African participant described a bit about the situation in their country and how the right to food is affected by international corporations and other non-state actors such as the Gates foundation. The event and reception drew an enthusiastic audience of over 400.

The participants agreed to work together in several areas including: exposing and resisting the plan to import a poorly assessed genetically modified banana into African countries (where many varieties of bananas are grown), opposing the plans of the G8 New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition in Africa which seeks to transform the national laws that govern African agriculture to make them more suitable for control by foreign governments and corporations, and sponsoring farmer to farmer exchanges to promote and preserve agroecological farming across the two continents.

A statement was signed by all participants of the Summit indicating common ideals and plans to go forward.

Statement of the Africa-US Food Sovereignty Summit

We are brought together by a shared belief in just, sustainable and equitable food for all. We share a concern over the dangerous loss of agricultural biodiversity and of the loss of dignified and viable livelihoods in the countryside.

In great appreciation of the wisdom we each shared coming from our diverse cultures, struggles and experiences that are all a reflection of our shared humanity:

We stand together against the corporate control of our food systems, the lack of accountability of global institutions like the G8 New Alliance For Food Security and Nutrition, the Global Agriculture and Food Security Program (GAFSP), the United States (US) government's Feed the Future Initiative, the Grow Africa Partnership, the Gates Foundation and its Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA), and others, that are forcing their policies and institutions upon the farmers of the world to open up markets and create spaces for multinationals to secure profits; against the monopolization of our seeds that criminalizes the historical farm practices of saving, sharing, selling and exchanging seeds; against the displacement and dispossession of small-scale farm producers and workers from their lands; against the new Green Revolution, the global Free Trade Agreements, "climate-smart agriculture" and "sustainable intensification".

We pledge solidarity with the struggles of each of our organizations and with the global food sovereignty movement, and will work in mutual support to amplify the voices of the people on the ground fighting for food sovereignty, share information with the general public about food sovereignty and agroecology, and expose the myths underlying the false idea that corporate agriculture is necessary to "feed the world."

The undersigned,

African Centre for Biosafety
Alliance for Food Sovereignty in Africa (AFSA)
Center for Food Safety
Community Alliance for Global Justice/AGRA
Watch
Community to Community Development
Detroit Black Community Food Security
Network
Family Farm Defenders
Food & Water Watch
Food First
Friends of the Earth—Africa
Grassroots International
Growth Partners Africa
Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy (IATP)
International Development Exchange (IDEX)
Kenya Food Rights Alliance (KeFRA)
National Family Farm Coalition
Pesticide Action Network North America
(PANNA)

Right to Agrarian Reform for Food Sovereignty
Campaign
Rural Coalition/Coalición Rural
Rural Women's Assembly (Southern Africa)
Surplus People Project
Swift Foundation
Trust for Community Outreach and Education
(TCOE)
US-Africa Network
WhyHunger
Zimbabwe Smallholder Organic Farmers Forum
(ZIMSOFF)

Summit Report

Background: Movement Building Between African and US Food Sovereignty Activists

AGRA Watch was founded in 2008, after co-founders Heather Day and Travis English attended an event hosted by Pangea Giving featuring Joshua Machinga, a Kenyan farmer who practices and trains others in bio-intensive farming, and Don Doering, a representative of the Gates Foundation. Concerned about the models of development and agriculture that the Foundation was funding and advocating for, they developed AGRA Watch as a program of Community Alliance for Global Justice in order to raise local awareness and connect with global grassroots movements. “AGRA Watch” refers to the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa, founded by the Gates Foundation and Rockefeller Foundation in 2006.



Holding the Summit was a goal of AGRA Watch since its founding in 2008. Conference planning began in 2011, with a Steering Committee co-coordinated by AGRA Watch and Pesticide Action Network North America (PANNA), who secured our first grant, enabling the hire of a part-time organizer. An international steering committee, comprised of US- and African-based partners, decided that, rather than meet in Africa, it would have more political value to bring African farmers, social movements and organizations to Seattle to directly confront the Gates Foundation on its home turf. Furthermore, rather than a large public conference, it was decided that an important first step would be to organize a more intimate gathering between organizations from the US and Africa to develop trust and personal relationship which would lay a foundation for future work.



All photos © Alex Garland

The participating organizations were nominated by the international steering committee based on a range of factors including: leadership role in the food sovereignty movement, being directly affected by the consequences of the corporate food regime, connection to broader constituencies, geographical distribution, gender and racial balance, and capacity to play a role moving forward. Ultimately, 14 US-based organizations and 8 Africa-based organizations attended, representing a mix of national NGOs, international networks, small-scale producers and farmer networks, and community-based organizations.

Though some of the participants had met before, for many people it was their first time meeting one another. A key objective for the Summit, therefore, was to build trust and relationships between US and African activists. A facilitation team created the agenda over several months to develop a methodology for meeting these goals. A core component of this method included the *mistica*, a ritual that grounded participants in the cultural, spiritual, ecological and personal roots of each other. Each day, the *mistica* served as the heart of the Summit, a practice through which participants developed trust and learned about each other's shared struggles and contexts.

In addition to the three-day meetings, African participants were featured in a large public event held at Seattle's Town Hall on Sunday, October 12. The event, *The Global Struggle for Food Sovereignty: A Discussion with African Food Leaders and Farmers* included a panel discussion moderated by Eric Holt-Gimenez of Food First followed by a question and answer session. A public reception for Summit participants preceded the panel, giving Seattle residents and

Sharing our Struggles for Food Sovereignty

During the meetings, attendees participated in number of exercises designed to develop a mutual understanding of the context for each other's work, as well as the shared challenges faced by participants. While African and US agricultural systems remain very different, participants recognized that the food sovereignty movement faces similar challenges on both continents. The following materials report on the observations, experiences, and analyses of the participants.

The Scramble for Africa: Neo-Colonialism and the Rush for African Agriculture

Over the last decade, Africans have witnessed an increasingly powerful and coordinated effort to transform their agricultural systems. Though it is impossible to speak of "African agriculture" as a single entity, agricultural production in Africa remains in the hands of smallholders who produce around 70% of food consumed in Africa. These farmers produce primarily for subsistence, and secondarily for the market. Seed saving and exchange remains a common practice for many farmers as a way to develop agricultural varieties appropriate for their growing conditions and climate as well as to reduce dependency on the market for inputs. While staple crops vary across the continent, African diets and agricultural production are rich and diverse, relying on a range of foods to meet local tastes and nutritional needs. Though smallholder and peasant production remains practiced throughout the world, Africa's strong network of smallholder agriculture remains a testament to farmers' resistance to previous development schemes and colonial endeavors that have sought to dispossess them of their land and livelihoods.

In today's age of crisis capitalism a new scramble for Africa has begun. Foreign governments, "philanthropists" and multi-national corporations seeking opportunities for profit in Africa's soil and mineral riches have mobilized the narrative of "crisis" – be it of hunger, climate change, or population growth – and images of impoverished farmers to justify large-scale land acquisitions, the introduction of biotechnology, and new legal regimes aimed at "harmonizing" seed and agricultural laws to provide market entry for multi-national corporations. Participants in the Summit agreed that the "Public-Private Partnership" (PPP) model has become the key form of the new colonialism in Africa. Through PPPs,

public resources are used to support private investment under the guise of development. However, PPPs often do not benefit smallholder farmers. Instead, they seek to integrate these farmers into global value chains that draw them into debt and put them in competition with large multi-national firms. The PPPs are also not readily accountable to the citizens of the funding countries.

The Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program (CAADP), the most powerful of policy platforms on the continent, strongly encourages PPPs. CAADP works through "regional economic communities" and existent and newly-created "development corridors," to create programs that offer incentives and loans for commercial and industrial agricultural practices.

CAADP and its regional implementation are supported both financially and diplomatically by the G8 New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition and USAID, two of the most prominent state-based organizations that have sought to transform African agricultural policy. Both the New Alliance and USAID have offered countries large sums of money and investment in exchange for relaxing their national laws regarding biotechnology, investment, intellectual property laws, and other agriculture-related measures usually embodying social protections. Often framed under the language of "harmonization" of laws, these multi-lateral partnerships draw on US and African public resources to facilitate privatization, which greatly reduces their public accountability.



Case in Point: The GM Banana

The GM Banana illustrates the complex role that the Gates Foundation plays in facilitating privatization and globalized agro-industrial development in Africa. Researched in Australia and developed particularly for the Ugandan market—where bananas are not only a staple crop, but a cultural cornerstone—the GM Banana has been genetically modified to add Vitamin A and iron. The Gates Foundation hopes that this new product will help prevent blindness and other harms associated with malnutrition, especially in children. African food sovereignty activists point out, however, that African children are rarely even given bananas to eat. The GM Banana is currently in feeding trials at the University of Iowa. Yet before it can be brought to Uganda, the country must change its laws to allow GM crops. Together, the Gates Foundation and USAID have pushed the country hard to do so, funding conferences, trials and other events. By changing its laws, the Ugandan government would not only forever change the heritage varieties of banana that Ugandans treasure, but would open the floodgates for Monsanto and other multi-national corporations eagerly waiting for other GMOs to be approved for official use.

A Broken Food System in the United States

As an early adopter of fossil-fuel based inputs, biotechnology and large-scale industrial agriculture, the United States reflects the consequences likely to result from the pushing of these same agricultural and agrarian strategies on Africa. The current food system in the United States reflects decades of policy decisions promoting export-oriented, large-scale commodity crop production and cheap domestic food. The negative consequences are manifold. Today, Americans face a public health crisis with large-scale epidemics of diabetes and obesity as a result of decades of consumption of this cheap food. Agricultural policy in the US has been based on the assumption that all farmers wish to be large, industrial sized commercial farmers, rather than small-scale agroecological farmers that feed their communities. This is reflected in policies that give preference to specific crops for subsidies, as well as in the education provided in US agricultural land-grant universities, which provide instruction primarily on industrial forms of production. The result is that small farmers have faced financial pressure to either grow their operations or give up farming entirely.

While much of American agriculture after colonization was founded upon violent racial exploitation of African slave-labor, race continues to play a profound role in the American food system, both in terms of consumption and production. Participants talked about the incidence of food-related illnesses disproportionately affecting African American—particularly in the Southeastern US—a result of poverty and American agricultural policies. Participants talked about resistance to these policies. For example, in Detroit, Black farmers are working towards food justice by building local food systems through urban farms as the city dispossesses citizens through the sale of land to corporations, water shut-offs and a withdrawal of public services. Additionally, Black, Hispanic and Minority farmers have successfully sued the USDA for discriminatory access to its programs, winning settlements of millions of dollars.

Race is also a key facet of exploitation of workers in the food chain. Across the United States, the federal government has at times endorsed and at other times turned a blind eye to the exploitation of farmworkers, most of whom are undocumented and from Mexico. Without labor protections and with the threat of constant deportations, the government has supported a docile and exploitable pool of labor to support our agricultural food system.

Corporate consolidation and power has only expanded through the legal recognition of the right to patent life. Since the Supreme Court's *Chakrabarty* decision in 1980, US-based corporations have developed a large market for genetically engineered seeds. For many US commodity crops, including corn and soy, the market is now dominated by these corporately-owned seeds. Efforts to regulate GE food in the United States have proven difficult because of legal decisions that allow corporations to donate unlimited amounts of money to candidates anonymously and corporate capture of regulatory institutions. As these seed companies max out markets for GE seed in the US, they turn to Africa as a relatively untapped market.

Finally, the US has also begun several new rounds of trade deals that will have important consequences for our food system. While the punishing effects of NAFTA, CAFTA and the WTO on farmers, workers and eaters in American society remain, the US has begun negotiating two trade agreements in secret – the Trans-Pacific Partnership and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership. Although industry representatives have access to these trade deals, civil society does not. Leaked chapters show that the US has pushed to make current laws that mandate GE labeling voluntary and privilege investor rights over public interest regulation.

The Gates Foundation's Green Revolution in Africa

The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF) is a key force driving PPPs and market-based approaches to African agricultural development. The Gates Foundation has devoted over \$3 billion to agriculture since its founding in 1997. Since 2006, it has partnered with the Rockefeller Foundation and chosen Africa as its main target of global market integration, founding the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA). Yet, while AGRA serves as the local PR-arm of the Foundation's work, headed by familiar names such as Kofi Annan, former UN Secretary-General, in fact, AGRA receives only a small portion of BMGF's total spending on agricultural development. Rather, paradoxically, North American and European institutions have received the greatest sum of total funds devoted to African agriculture. This money funds the development of new biotechnology, like the GM Banana developed for Uganda. It also is used to educate African scientists in these new technologies so that they may promote them on a local level.

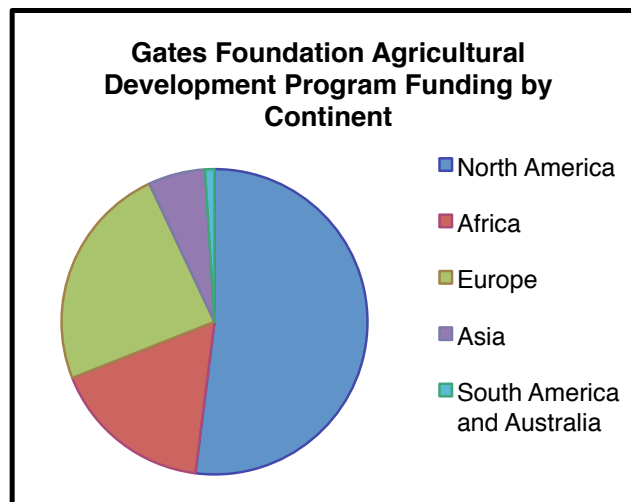
During the meetings, AGRA Watch provided a summary of their research examining the Gates Foundation. While the Foundation maintains that only a small percentage of their grants go to GM crops, researchers identified 42 grants under the Agriculture Development program related to genetically modified organisms, amounting to \$300 million. In addition, 29 of 160 grants considered involved market integration, representing \$210 million or 40% of funding for these 160 grants.

While AGRA Watch researchers found that there was an overall lack of transparency in obtaining the required data, the data collected revealed that North American and European institutions received a majority of Gates' funding concerning African agricultural development. Moreover, few grassroots-groups were funded. Although the Foundation maintains that some of the grants go to organizations that then fund local groups, there is no public data related to these "pass-through" grants. Instead, the majority of funding went to CGIAR-related institutions, GE crops, and market integration. Agroecology received minimal funding, and the AGRA Watch investigation of those grants marked as "agroecology" indicated that they had little relationship to the definition of agroecological production advocated by the food sovereignty movement and relevant academic scholars; instead they were extensions of the overall Gates high-tech agricultural thrust. A subsequent report by the non-profit organization, GRAIN, confirmed many of these findings.

By promoting technologies not owned by Africans, through technocratic and unaccountable processes, the Gates Foundation is actively attempting to subsume small-holder agriculture into the global food market. Critics have highlighted how the BMGF

approach of using technical solutions and public-private "partnerships," while undermining public institutions and safeguards, extends through many of its programs. AGRA Watch's research demonstrated how the Foundation represents a new frontier in the mechanisms of neocolonialism and corporate globalization through what is termed "philanthrocapitalism". Moreover, the Gates Foundation has an active public relations strategy, which includes both funding to change the discourse of genetic modification, such as the recent \$5.6 million grant to the Cornell Alliance for Science, and direct funding to media outlets.

As we organize to combat this new form of colonialism, one of the major challenges is the language that the private sector and the BMGF has used to disguise their efforts. Co-opting language such as "smallholder farming," "sustainability," and even "food sovereignty," the private sector and the BMGF have made their efforts to commercialize African agriculture seem related to grassroots needs and controls. Moreover, by funding commercial farmers' movements, they have built a feedback constituency calling for their interventions. In Kenya, for example, AGRA has funded the Kenya National Farmers Federation, which broke away from other farmers' organizations that were advocating for more sustainable agricultural practices. Since farmers are often "technology-neutral," and care first about having effective seed, this leaves a small, under-funded, and increasingly restricted civil society sector to oppose this new form of colonial plunder. Foundation's Agricultural Development Program. Research was based on grants between 2009-2011—a sample of 160 grants representing \$530 million in funding. Of these, AGRA received two of the largest 8 grants (\$28 million, \$15 million) and in total received nearly \$50 million, or 10% of the funding for these 160 grants.



An Escalating Countermovement: Food Sovereignty and Agroecology

Together, participants of the Summit identified many leverage points and found strength in the strong resistance movements that are developing both in Africa and the United States. In Africa, the African Food Sovereignty Alliance and La Via Campesina (LVC) are two networks that have provided regional and international platforms for mobilization. Additionally, LVC operates several schools throughout Africa teaching farmers agroecology. There remain many other examples of food sovereignty initiatives in Africa from the “Agrarian Reform for Food Sovereignty” Campaign in South Africa to intergenerational and environmental education conducted in Ethiopia.

In the United States, the food sovereignty movement is building slowly. The US Food Sovereignty Alliance, which developed out of a working group that sought to expose the real causes of the food crisis, is now a network of over 30 US-based organizations working toward food sovereignty. Many (including CAGJ) are members of LVC through the National Family Farm Coalition. While “food sovereignty” is a term that US-based organizations have adopted from their work with movements in the Global South, several members suggested that we are still working toward “food justice,” a step on the way to food sovereignty. Participants also recognized the need to align food sovereignty work with the climate justice movement that is building in the United States, particularly after the recent People’s Climate Justice March in New York

City. Additionally, while agroecology as both a political and agricultural practice is well established on other continents, particularly in Latin America, there was recognition that more work is needed in the United States to build knowledge of agroecology.

Participants noted that there are already several existing linkages between the US and Africa. For example, the Federation of Southern Cooperatives has projects across Africa through which they have done farmer exchanges, the US Africa Network was recently formed to carry on the long-time work of African solidarity activists and Food First has recently redeveloped Farmer-to-Farmer training with We Are the Solution in Burkina Faso.



Participants of the Northwest Food Sovereignty Tour

Engaging with the Adversary? Meeting with the Gates Foundation

During the Summit, the group discussed a potential meeting with staff of the Gates Foundation’s agricultural development team. While the group had initially requested a meeting with top-level officials, including Bill Gates, this was denied and they were offered instead a meeting with lower-level staff members. Because decisions taken at the Gates Foundation are made at the highest levels, Summit participants decided that they would not engage with lower-level personnel in a one-on-one meeting. Members of AGRA Watch and other participants had many experiences engaging with Foundation staff and found that it made little difference to the Foundation’s overall approach. Instead, the participants of the Summit felt that engaging BMGF publicly, through media, written statements, and the public event held at Town Hall would encourage the Foundation to respond to specific public criticism.

Next Steps

The organizations attending the Summit adopted a joint statement near the end of their deliberations. The statement represents a commitment to working together. However, there was consensus among participants that it was not appropriate to form a new entity; instead, participants acknowledged that there are pre-existing platforms and networks through which they are able to work. Moving forward the group agreed to collaborate on several activities:

GM Banana Campaign: Participants agreed that a first campaign for the group will focus on the GM banana. While there are many other GM crops on the African continent that the Gates Foundation and other international organizations seek to introduce, such as Bt cotton, GM wheat, and “Water Efficient Maize for Africa” (WEMA), the GM banana offers a strategic opportunity to examine and intervene in a process that touches both Americans and Africans. Moreover, through the campaign, we hope to expose the roles of the Gates Foundation, the G8 New Alliance, and USAID in forcing these corporately-owned seeds on Africans and in opening markets to multi-national corporations.

No to the G8 New Alliance Campaign: The G8 New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition is one of the most powerful international actors on the African continent seeking to transform the laws that govern African agriculture. However, participants recognized that there is no North American movement to challenge the role of the United States in this powerful Alliance. Participants agreed that the first step in developing a movement focused on the G8 is to set up two learning calls with the USFSA.

Research: Many of the participants recognized the need for further research. The African Centre for Biosafety, AGRA Watch, and Friends of the Earth have all done research on AGRA and the Gates Foundation, but more is needed to track the

funding from Gates and its impacts. Several participants volunteered to further develop research on AGRA and the Gates Foundation. US partners could focus on identifying funding trends while the African partners could focus on documenting impacts of AGRA and Gates Foundation funding.

Agroecology and Farmer to Farmer Exchange:

Several participants discussed work that is already occurring, including learning exchanges and the participation of several Summit participants in the Black Urban Growers Conference in October. The group proposed that a group of urban and rural farmers, youth, women, farmworkers from the US and others do a learning exchange in Southern Africa next year, possibly in December 2015. There is also an effort underway to conduct a learning exchange in Southern Africa addressing agroecology, climate justice and GMOs designed to take these messages to UN Climate Change Conference (COP 21) in Paris. Finally, there was an idea to develop a hip-hop caravan in Africa modeled on African Peace Tours.

The Threat of Co-option?

Participants discussed the problem of co-option in several respects. First, a recent conference at the Food and Agriculture Organization on agroecology raised many concerns about the adoption of agroecology as one technology among many agricultural practices, rather than an agricultural practice and agrarian principle, distinctly different from current practices, around which food systems should be organized. Second, the Gates Foundation has been pumping money into a small number of compliant farmer organizations in Africa. Funding these farmers’ movements is a direct act of co-option, by creating the appearance of a grassroots base advocating for the types of interventions supported by Gates. Finally, a recent push for “climate-smart agriculture” has participants concerned as this has been used to describe both agroecology and biotechnology, two incompatible forms of production. Thus, “climate smart agriculture” has become an ambiguous term that has provided legitimacy to those advocating for biotechnology.

Participants

Africa-based participants:

Mercia Andrews, *Trust for Community Organization and Education, South Africa*
Million Belay, *Alliance for Food Sovereignty in Africa and MELCA-Ethiopia*
Daniel Mainigi, *Growth Partners Africa, Kenya*
Mariam Mayet, *African Centre for Biosafety, South Africa*
Bridget Mugambe, *Alliance for Food Sovereignty in Africa, Uganda*
Herschelle Milford, *Surplus People Project and Agrarian Reform for Food Sovereignty Campaign, South Africa*
Elizabeth Mpfu, *ZIMSOFF, La Via Campesina Africa, Zimbabwe*



North America-based participants:

Saulo Araujo, *WhyHunger*
Debbie Barker, *Center for Food Safety*
Ben Burkett, *Federation of Southern Cooperatives, National Family Farm Coalition*
Jahi Chappel, *Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy*
Georgia Good, *Rural Advancement Fund, Rural Coalition*
Jim Goodman, *Family Farm Defenders*
Heather Gray, *US Africa Network*
Lisa Griffith, *National Family Farm Coalition*
Eric Holt-Gimenez, *Food First*
Marcia Ishii-Eiteman, *Pesticide Action Network North America*
Sara Mersha, *Grassroots International*
Darcey O'Callaghan, *Food & Water Watch*
Kadiri Sennefer Ra, *Detroit Black Community Food Security Network*
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