Dépenses publiques et croissance économique

Pour sortir de la science(-fiction) néo-classique

by Rémy Herrera

This book is devoted to the study of the role of the state in economic growth.

It first reviews the neo-classical writings relative to the effects of spending on research and development, education and infrastructure as well as the problems that characterize them.

There follow original essays dealing with some of the most complex tools used by the dominant current of thought: panel econometrics, temporal series, modeling and endogenous growth theory. The limits of each of these exercises, as carried out within the mainstream, are systematically analyzed.

The methodology is extended to the effect of military spending, treated notably in the interface between growth theory and game theory. There again, the defects of orthodoxy, multiple and serious, are pointed out at both the theoretical and the empirical level.

Finally, the criticism of neo-classical economics is radicalized by a deconstruction of the theory of endogenous growth theory exposing its internal inconsistencies and ideological functions.

This book is intended as an aid to those economists aware of the necessity of finding a way out of neoclassical science(-fiction) in identifying its weaknesses, in denouncing its connections with neo-liberalism and in exploring points of accessibility to heterodox resistance in order to contribute to transforming the present world.

Price: 27 €, 278 pages, ISBN: 978-2-296-11165-3, Ed. L'Harmattan, Collection Forum du Tiers Monde, January 2010. It can be ordered from L'Harmattan website: www.editionsharmattan.fr.

Un autre capitalisme n'est pas possible

by Rémy Herrera

Capitalism is in crisis, a crisis that could even be the most serious of modern history. Yet, in following current events on a daily basis, the public might well get the impression that this crisis is already behind us. However, the worst is not doubt yet to come, in spite the reassuring words and the adjustments planned. In fact, the announced reactivation of state intervention has notably had as its purpose the negation of the nature of public services both free of cost and freely accessible, comprising the fundamental elements of humanity's common heritage such as knowledge, education, social infrastructure and natural resources.

This book proposes a trip into the "belly of the beast", for it is the very dynamic of capitalism that must be examined and exposed in order to allow the great transformation that humanity needs.

It is a call to launch a counter-offensive in theory as well as in practice.

The limits of the economic policies conducted by the leftists in power are demonstrated by the study of four experiences: those of Barack Obama in the United States, of François Mitterand in France (1981-1986), of Lula in Brazil and of Huge Chávez in Venezuela.

It is obviously to Latin America that one turns.

The efforts at social transformation and regionalization offered to the peoples of this region demonstrate that it is possible to move from the defensive to the offensive and to open again the discussion on anti-capitalist alternatives and the process of socialist transition.

Prix: 20 €, 208 pages, ISBN: 978-2-84950-254-9, Editions Syllepse, Collection Construire les alternatives, February 2010. It can be ordered from Editions Syllepse website: www.syllepse.

About the autor:

Rémy Herrera is an economist and researcher at the CNRS (Centre national de la recherche scientifique - Centre d'économie de la Sorbonne), teaching at the University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne. One of the coordinators of the World Forum for Alternatives, he is associated with the Union of Radical Political Economists (New York), Chubu University (Nagoya), the Latin American Society for Economic Policy (São Paulo), the Economists Association of Cuba (Havana), as well as the Third World Forum (Dakar). He works also with the Europe-Third World Centre and with the United Nations Human Rights Council.

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EDITORIAL

Although they represent the backbone of the world's food system, smallholder families, agricultural workers, farmers without land, traditional fishers etc. are the primary victims of hunger and malnutrition in the world, the primary victims of neo-liberal globalization and structural adjustment programs.

Today, no longer masters of either the production process of which they are a part nor of the tools of their production, they are very often driven from their lands and reduced to miserv.

Accordingly, since 1993, La Vía Campesina has grouped together under its banner the smallholder farmer movements of various countries. (La Vía Campesina prefers the terms "peasants" in its English texts.) Today, this movement comprises 148 member organizations in 69 countries of Asia, Africa, Europe and the Americas, representing more than 200 million persons. It is the spearhead of the combat for food sovereignty and respect for the delicate balance between humans and the earth.

The CETIM has long collaborated with La Vía Campesina and is today fighting along side it for the adoption of an international convention from within the United Nations. This convention would make it possible to carry on the fight against specific violations that smallholders suffer, while strengthening their recognized rights overall.

The following article revisits the defence of the rights of smallholder farmers in the context of neo-liberal globalization and presents the generally favourable welcome given this initiative by most of the member states of the United Nations Human Rights Council.

You will also find in this edition larges extracts of several of our interventions before the most recent Council.

For a Convention for the Rights of Smallholder Farmers!

Smallholder farmers have always been among the primary victims of hunger and multiple violations of human rights all over the world. For hundreds of years they have been forcibly evicted from their lands. Their claims have been met by violent repression. Every year thousands of smallholders are killed defending their right to land, water, seeds and other productive resources. For centuries, such violations were committed in the name of the civilizing mission of colonialism; in recent decades, it has been done in the name of neo-liberal free-market policies favouring highly-mechanized, export-oriented agricultural production and the interests of transnational corporations.

The United Nations Millennium Development Project Task Force on Hunger has found that 80% of the world's hungry live in rural areas. Some 50% of the world's hungry are smallholder farmers who depend mainly or partly on agriculture for their livelihood.

To fight against and denounce these violations, an international movement of smallholder farmer organizations, La Vía Campesina (LVC)¹, was created in 1993. Today, it is the largest movement of smallholders farmers ever created. It comprises 148 member organizations in 69 countries of Asia, Africa, Europe² and the Americas, representing 200 million smallholders.

The principal objective of La Vía Campesina is to develop solidarity and unity among small farmer organizations in order to promote gender parity and social justice in fair economic relations; the preservation of land, water, seeds and other natural resources; food sovereignty; sustainable agricultural production based on small and medium-sized producers.

La Vía Campesina also set in motion the long process of definition of the rights of smallholder farmers that has been under way for over ten years. And in June 2008, after seven years of internal negotiations, it adopted a *Declaration of Rights of Peasants - Women and Men.*³

THIS BULLETIN
IS ALSO AVAILABLE
IN FRENCH AND
IN SPANISH

The CETIM believes in the justness of La Vía Campesina's fight and shares its analyses of the question of the protection of the peasant world. Thus, for over ten years, it has been committed to backing the LVC. Our collaboration began by exchanges of information on the violations to which smallholders are subjected at the national level. Since 2001, this collaboration has been expanded. It has taken on various forms, among which are common actions (in particular denouncing the inequity of international trade as championed by the World Trade Organization), training programs, exchanges between the CE-TIM and the members of La Vía Campesina's Human Rights Committee, joint interventions at the United Nations Human Rights Council and joint conferences within its framework and elsewhere.4

Today, we are convinced of the necessity of supporting La Vía Campesina's initiative in all the United Nations human rights instances in order to defend the idea of an international convention of the rights of smallholder farmers.

Failings of the Current Human Rights Protection System

According to La Vía Campesina, the current mechanisms for safeguarding human rights suffer from two major failings which prevent the adequate protection smallholder farmers' rights. First, their rights are not recognized in their entirety; second, such protection as does exist is ineffectual and continues to be flouted with impunity.

These rights are not subject to any specific protection under international law. Yet smallholder farmers, like all human beings, benefit from the protection of rights enshrined in the universal instruments for the protection of human rights, in particular the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). As a complement to this universal protection, women and indigenous peasants also benefit from the protection granted by the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and by the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

Violations of the smallholder farmers' rights include the discrimination experienced by peasant families in the exercise of their right to food, water, healthcare, education, work and social security as well as the states' failure to implement land reforms and rural development policies which would help to remedy this situation. The violations also include forced evictions and displacement of peasant families and the confiscation of seed by the transnational corporations who own the patents.

CETIM ADVISES YOU THE FOLLOWING READINGS

Face aux crimes du marché, Quelles armes juridiques pour les citovens?

by William Bourdon. Preface by Mireille Delmas-Marty

For many years now the CETIM has denounced in its publications and through different angles market crimes. One such example is the book *Transnational corporations and human rights* (2005) that W. Bourdon refers to in his book that we present here. In its conclusion, the CETIM seeing the tendency towards the privatization of human rights, proposed new ideas to re-enforce the struggle against the violation of human rights such as the adoption of Norms (Legal Rules) concerning the question of the responsibility of transnational corporations with regards to human rights and eventually the creation of a international criminal court specifically for multinational firms.

W. Bourdon finds this last solution to be as much of an illusion as the ethical promises made by multinational companies look to avoid any external constraints. Drawing on extended knowledge of the tumultuous history of the lex mercatoria's control over common goods and the market's disregard for the basic rights of peoples, and his personal experience working with the Sherpa Association fighting certain companies' abuse of power (for example Total, or slave labour imposed upon Birman workers), the author, a brilliant Parisian lawyer has opted for a thoughtful and active pragmatism

But before reaching his general conclusion and the proposal of about forty concrete and detailed propositions and measure, the author analyses in detail the relationship of the economy to law in the global context, emphasizing the exemplary activities of the NGO defending the rights of the exploited populations from the South and the common goods belonging to all of humanity. This work is all the more difficult given the thousands of obstacles and the fact that the NGO cannot count on help from the big international organizations that give into the multinationals (for example: The UN and its Global compact). While standards do exist, they are incomplete and very often not respected. There are also "codes"

of conduct" and partnerships but this is soft law, ineffective and inefficient. Yet a capitalist company still needs to retain a good public image, especially in a period of great competition and alerted public awareness. Some of these companies have created very rich "foundations" that are apparently concerned with the future of the planet and the human condition. Philanthropy that is all for show, unable to resist the security obsession ("Everyone against terrorism") and now the crisis stemming from excessive financing of the neo liberal system.

Faced with never ending crises and hanging on to the alterglobalisation movement that favours globalizing solidarity, the civil society must renew (update) itself and learn to resist traps that have been set and the challenges of the emerging countries. No matter what it says, capitalism is unable to regulate itself. The world economy needs strict rules and international treaties. Given the risks that threaten the planet, the "principle of precaution" is essential. New laws based on the responsibility of precaution and solidarity are needed. A whole new battery of dissuasive and binding laws on the international level must go beyond the relative agreements of soft law. The 39 concrete and precise propositions (some of which are open to debate) presented in the postscript, trace the three steps in the development of a multinational enterprise - in its country of origin, in the host country, in the international community, prefigure a working and rigorous framework.

This book, by its wealth of information, by the quality of thinking and the perspectives it offers, commands our interest and our esteem. It contributes both to resistance and to struggle.

Price: 23 €, 336 pages, ISBN: 9782707144850, Editions La Découverte, Collection Cahiers libres, février 2010. It can be ordered from La Découverte website: www.editionsladecouverte.fr.

CETIM supports this national demonstration:



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products, including from directly working the land, traditional fishing, hunting and herding activities".

It will be noticed that the word "peasant" does not appear in the text (at the request of the European Union). The description includes not only peasants but also all persons implicated in the production of food. This can only enrich both the content and the scope of the future international instrument. This new study will be presented to the Human Rights Council in March 2011.

PLEASE TAKE NOTE

SYMPOSIUM 5 - 6 November 2010

The CETIM will organize a two-day series of conferences and debates on the subject "Which national sovereignty on national resources?" with speakers coming from Ecuador, Bolivia, Western Africa and Europe

More information will be available on our next newsletter and on our website: www.cetim.ch

EXTRACTS FROM CETIM STATEMENTS

During the 13th session of the Human Rights Council, the CETIM has presented seven oral and written declarations on various subjects including the right to food, social rights in Europe and on human rights violations committed in Iran, Turkey, Colombia and Haïti. All the declarations are available on our website.

We have also organized a public conference at the UN and in Geneva on the 9th of March 2010 named: "Indigenous people sacrificed in France: situation of the Wayana people of Guyana". Different documents on the situation of the Wayana people in the context of the intensive panning for gold in the French Guyana and the refusal of France to recognize the status of indigenous people (which would involve collective land rights, cultural rights,etc.) are available on our website in the section Conferences.

You can find here below broad extracts of some of our declarations.

Haiti: Military Occupation, Centuries of Looting and exploitation and a few weeks of Humanitarian Offering

"When, in 1492, Columbus landed on the island he named La Española (Haiti and Santo Domingo), he found a veritable orchard populated by a large indigenous population living in peace.

The deforestation of the island to make room for crops of the conquerors and physically eliminating the natives, who were replaced by Africans reduced to slaves, began as early as 1500. This explains how the forest that covered 80 percent of the country at the time of the conquest was reduced to as little as 2% in Haiti and 30% in Santo Domingo by the beginning of the 21st century, with terrible ecological and climatic consequences.

It is just a little more than 200 years ago, on 1st January 1804, when the population of Haiti abolished slavery and declared itself an independent republic.

The abolition of slavery provoked the fear that it would serve as an example to the slaves of European colonial possessions and the neighboring United States, where slavery continued until the Civil War in the 1860s. For these reasons, Haiti had to endure a long period of international isolation.

In 1802, Napoleon, who had aimed to restore slavery in the colonies, sent a military expedition of 24,000 men to Haiti under the command of General Leclerc, who won at first the submission of some Haitians under the false promise not to reinstate slavery.

Toussaint Louverture and other Haitians were not fooled, and together they fought against the French with uneven successes. However, when the rebels learned of the arrest of Toussaint Louverture, his deportation to France and the restoration of slavery in other colonies such as Guadeloupe, they took up their combat with a vengeance. They routed the army sent by Napoleon and finally came to Port-au-Prince in October 1803. The French forces, which had lost several thousand men, including General Leclerc and several other generals, evacuated the island in December 1803.

Since then and to this day, Haitians have been subjected to invasions (by the US from 1915 to 1934), dictatorships under the patronage of the United States, coups and new invasions.

When Aristide, the 1st President of the democratically elected Haitian history, took the helm of Haiti in February 1991, he proposed to increase the minimum wage of 1.76 dollars to 2.94 dollars per day. The US Agency for International Development (US-AID) criticized the initiative, saying it would mean a serious distortion of labour costs. The US companies located in Haiti (being almost all the foreign companies) supported the USAID analysis and with CIA support prepared and financed a coup against Aristide in September 1991. As the international response (the embargo) and the internal chaos paralyzed the work of the U.S. companies in Haiti, the country's troops restored Aristide to the presidency in 1994 while at the same time giving impunity and a comfortable retirement to the military leaders of the coup. (...)

The scenario of 1991 was repeated in 2004: reelected in 2001, Aristide found himself vilified politically, economically besieged by the US and asphyxiated by the International Monetary Fund. This time, his ouster was orchestrated by the United States, with France playing the second fiddle, and ex post facto legitimized by the Security Council. Aristide committed the imprudence of demanding from France the restoration of the "compensation" that Haiti had paid it in the nineteenth century, estimated at present value to be 21 billion dollars.

In fact, France had made Haiti pay for its independence. In 1814, France demanded from Haiti an indemnity of 150 million gold francs, reduced to 90 million in 1838. When Haiti accepted to meet this demand, France recognized Haiti as an independent nation and began to collect payments in instalments until the sum was finally paid off in 1883. (...)"

Stop the repression against Kurdish people in the Islamic Republic of Iran

"After the foundation of the Islamic Republic of Iran, millions of people from ethnic minorities like Azeris, Kurds, Arabs, Balouchs and Turkmens and religious minorities like Baha'is and Sunnis have been discriminated against, exploited or denied their very basic rights due their ethnicity, beliefs or different faiths. (...)

Despite international calls to promote human rights and respect human dignity, the Iranian government has been continuing its policy of repression against civil and non-violent movements in Iran. In the post-electoral events in 2009, thousand of peaceful manifestants have been imprisoned, tortured, sexually abused, murdered or forced to leave the country.

Many of these prisoners are civil rights or women's rights activists and they include human rights defenders, teachers, journalists, women and students. The trials of these individuals have often taken place behind closed doors without a lawyer and on numerous occasions without the presence of the accused themselves.

Mohammad Sadiq Kaboudvand, the Director of the Kurdish Human Rights Organization (KHRO), one of these activists, has been sentenced to 11 years imprisonment for alleged "propaganda against regime" and he is accused because by founding the KHRO "he has put the security of the state in danger".

In one of his interviews before the presidential election in 2009, regarding the human rights situation in Kurdistan of Iran, the Director of KHRO indicates that even though the Kurds represent ten percent of the population in Iran, the prison population is ninety percent Kurds. In fact, the authorities of the Islamic Republic of Iran consider the Kurdish political parties and the Kurdish organizations being enemies of the Islamic revolution. Anyone who speaks out about the Kurdish people real conditions of life is considered to be an enemy of Islam. (...) The women activists of the Azar Mehr Association, which has been striving to promote Kurdish women's status and gender equality, are not exempt from the suppression. Some of the prominent members have been sentenced to lengthy imprisonment: Hand Abdi (5 years imprisonment), Fatemeh Goftari (18 months imprisonment), Zainab Bayzidi (4 years imprisonment). (...)

Under the presidency of Mr. Ahmadihijad, the human rights violations in Kurdish inhabited areas of Iran have increased alarmingly, and currently there are at least a dozen Kurdish political prisoners on death row. (...)

In its report "Human Rights situation in Iranian Kurdistan" from October 2009, the Kurdistan Peace and Development Society points out extra-juridical killings by the security forces in Kurdish inhabited areas of Iran. Due to the state of martial law in these

¹For further information on the activities carried out by La Vía Campesina we advice you to visit our website: www. viacampesina.org

²Our Swiss partners Uniterre and L'autre syndicat are members of La Vía Campesina.

³In this regard, the CETIM has published an online report on "The rights of peasants" on the basis of the oral declaration done by La Vía Campesina. This article incorporates extracts of this report. Additionally, this document is available for free on our website: www.cetim.ch/en/publications cahiers.php

⁴The CETIM has also published a book on La Vía Campesina in 2002 named: *Vía Campesina: une alternative paysanne à la mondialisation néolibérale*, 256 pages, ISBN: 2-88053-030-X, 12 Swiss francs / 7.50 €. It can be ordered on our website.

⁵These deleguates came from 26 countries.

⁶ Jean Ziegler and his team have edited their work online on www.righttofood.org. This website is regularly updated despite J. Ziegler not being mandated as the Special Rapporteur anymore.

⁷The current Special Rapporteur, Olivier de Schutter, has also a website: www.srfood.org together with the one of the High Commissioner for Human Rights: www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/food/index.htm

⁸This study has the UN symbol: A/HRC/13/32.

⁹Resolution of the Human Rights Council: A/HRC/RES/13/4.

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areas of the Islamic Republic of Iran and difficulties on reporting people killed by security forces, it is hard to find statistics on the number of victims. But, according to human rights defenders in Iran and the Kurdistan Human Rights Organization, during 2009 at least 40 people were killed by security forces and more than 30 were injured. (...)

We call upon the authorities of the Islamic Republic of Iran to respect basic international human rights standards, to preserve human integrity, and to free all the prisoners of "conscience".

Currently hundreds of Kurdish political-civil detainees are in Iranian prisons. We ask for an urgent action to:

- eliminate the policies of national, religious and sexual discrimination;
- release all political prisoners who are being held without charges;
- stop the policy of sending detainees into exile and improve prisons conditions;
- put an end to the practice of torture, cruel and inhuman treatment of the prisoners;
- commute the death sentences given to political and civil activists and remove the death penalty from the Iranian constitution;
- stop the practice of trials taking place behind closed doors and meet international standards;
- reform the Iranian judiciary system and all its subinstitutions;
- allow independent Iranian and International Human Rights Organizations to monitor the Iranian prisons."

Colombia: threat of a massive forced displacement of the Fro-Colombian communities from the municipalities of Suarez and Buenos Aires (Department of Cauca)

"We are particularly worried about the threat of a massive forced displacement of the Afro-Colombian communities from the municipalities of Suarez and Buenos Aires in the Department of Cauca, Colombia.

These communities are threatened by a gigantic project of industrial mining of gold installations that would force them to leave their land. They are also threatened by the extension of the Salvajina Dam that will flood a large part of the region.

Several licences to operate gold mines –located in different zones of the two municipalities – have been delivered by the Ministry of Mining to individuals as well as to the South African multinational AngloGold Ashanti. Several licence holders have asked the armed forces to expel Afro-Colombian comunities who have mined gold by traditional methods on several sites of extraction. An attempt to evacuate took place on the 6th of August 2009. However the local population was able to stop it. Today this mining project directly threatens 50,000 people who lived off the gold mining in Suarez and Buenos Aires.

The fact that mining licences were attributed to people outside the community and –a fortiori– the attempt to expel forcefully the local owners constitute violations of both Colombian law and current international law. In effect the 1991 Constitution as well as the Law 70 of 1993 guarantee the right of collective ownership of the land where indigenous people and Afro-Colombian communities live. The 169 ILO Convention stipulated explicitly the obligation to consult with local communities beforehand.

The Afro-Colombian communities of the two municipalities have mined gold since 1636 and since 1851, after the abolition of slavery in Colombia; they have mined for their own benefit. None of these families-whether they have individual deeds of ownership or not, can be expelled from their land under the pretext that the ground beneath their land belongs to the state.

We urge the Colombian government:

- To revoke the mining licences that were attributed illegally in the region to people or companies exterior to the region;
- To forbid the extension of the Salvajina Dam;
- To guarantee the safety of the members of the community councils of Suarez and Buenos Aires as well as the safety of the leaders of the mining cooperative of Buenos Aires who have received death threats from the paramilitary group "Black Eagles" (Aguilas negras) and to order an independent inquiry into the assassinations of four indigenous leaders of the Cerro Tijeras reserve, located on the municipality of Suarez."

JOIN THE CETIM!

- □ Individual member: 50 CHF/ 30€ or US\$ (North) and 10€ or US\$ (South). Membership dues for retirees, students, apprentices and the unemployed are one half of the above stated amounts.
- Supporting member: CHF 100 / 60€ or US\$ and more.
 Collective member: CHF 200 / 120€ or US\$.
- Supporting collective member: CHF 500 / 300€ or US\$ and more.
- ☐ "Moral support" member: CHF 15 / 10€ or US\$.

DUES ARE PAID FOR THE CALENDAR YEAR AND ENTITLE THE MEMBER TO:

- For every new member t here is the gift of a book of Publicetim collection.
 (with the exception of "moral support" members)
- receive free the CETIM's newsletter.
- a 20% discount on the books and publications ordered from the Centre.
 (except for the category "moral support" member)

Moreover, when the peasants try to organize themselves against these violations, they are often criminalized, arbitrarily arrested and detained or physically attacked by private or state police forces. Every year, thousands of peasants thus become victims of violations of their civil and political rights. It is often the leaders of the peasant cause who suffer the gravest violations of their rights, by being arbitrarily arrested, imprisoned, tortured or executed.

The Declaration of La Vía Campesina

Given this double failing of the current human rights protection system, La Vía Campesina has drafted a Declaration of the Rights of Peasants - Women and Men. Adopted during the International Conference on Peasant Rights in 2008, which drew some one hundred delegates from peasant organizations as well as from La Vía Campesina,⁵ this declaration is the result of a long period of consultation and drafting.

In 13 articles, inspired by the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, this declaration defines a smallholder farmer - man or woman (Article 1); rights accruing to such a farmer (Article 2), then lists several recognized rights: the right to life and to an adequate standard of living (Article 3); the right to freedom of association, opinion and expression (Article 12); the right to have access to justice (Article 13). In addition, it also recognizes the following new fundamental rights: the right to land and territory (Article 4); the right to seeds and traditional agricultural knowledge and practice (Article 5); the right to the means of agricultural production (Article 6); the right to information and agricultural technology (Article 7); the freedom to determine price and market for agricultural production (Article 8); the right to the protection of local agricultural values (Article 9); the right to biological diversity (Article 10); the right to preserve the environment (Article 11).

WHO ARE WE?

Through its publications and its work with the UN, the CETIM denounces the maldevelopment in general, ecological as much as economic and social, and promotes an exchange of critical views from both Southern and Northern societies. The CETIM is focuses in particular on respect for, implementation and promotion of economic, social and cultural rights, as well as issues related to the right to development.

For La Vía Campesina, this declaration is only a first step, which must lead to the drafting by the United Nations of an international convention on the rights of smallholder farmers that will allow a broader fight against all violations.

Mobilizations and United Nations Mechanisms for a New Convention

The United Nations has taken a long time to grasp the importance of the demands of La Vía Campesina and the specific nature of the violations to which smallholder farmers are subjected. The CETIM, among other civil society organizations, as well as the two special rapporteurs on the right to food, first Jean Ziegler⁶ and now Olivier de Schutter⁷, have made significant contributions by clarifying the content and the scope of the right to food and by emphasizing the specific role played by the so-called traditional peasantry in confronting the agro-business corporations.

It was only with the creation of the Human Rights Council in June 2006 that the rights of peasants were for the first time discussed at the United Nations.

In March 2008, the Human Rights Council conferred upon its Advisory Committee the mandate "to consider potential recommendations for approval by the Council on possible further measures to enhance the realization of the right to food, bearing in mind the priority importance of promoting the implementation of existing standards" (Resolution 7/14, § 34, 27 March 2006).

A drafting group, comprising Mr José Antonio Bengoa Cabello, Ms Chung Chinsung, Mr Latif Hüseynov, Mr Jean Ziegler and Ms Mona Zulficar, was set up during the first session of the Advisory Committee (4-15 August 2008). At the fourth session of the Advisory Committee (25-29 January 2010), the drafting group presented a preliminary study⁸ on discrimination within the context of the right to food (A/HCR/13/50), which was adopted and presented to the thirteenth session of the Human Rights Council (1-26 March 2010). The declaration of La Vía Campesina inspired this study and was annexed to it.

Although it required a major mobilization on our part (La Vía Compesina and the CETIM) in order to overcome the reticence of certain member states (in particular certain members of the European Union) regarding the importance of the above cited study, the Human Rights Council finally accepted it, all while congratulating the Advisory Committee on the work accomplished. It further requested the Advisory Committee to continue its work by undertaking a preliminary study "on ways and means to further advance the rights of people working in rural areas, including women, in particular smallholders engaged in the production of food and/or other agricultural