Saskatchewan Wheat Pool Converts ... to Capitalism

by Brewster Kneen

"Pursuant to SWP equity sell out: I will not be a 'member' but a 'customer'! Our leaders are sellers not builders." — Terry Crush, Lone Rock,Saskatchewan

July 15, 1994: The Giant of Canadian cooperatives takes to the capitalist road, turning its back on the reason for its existence. The 137 delegates of its 60,000 farmer-members vote 110 in favour of converting the cooperative to a corporation, placing itself firmly in the camp of hybrid organizations described in the May issue of The Ram's Horn.

In 1990 I described, in *Trading Up*, how the Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba Pools were founded as farmer-owned cooperatives in 1923-4, "unique to Canada, and arising out of a combination of socialist and populist traditions and the desperate situation prairie

farmers found themselves in during the 1920s."

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"Today the pools are farmer-owned cooperatives which collectively handle 80-85% of western wheat production. They own and operate both country and terminal grain elevators and are involved in a variety of businesses... They have an extensive democratic structure and endeavour to reflect the wishes and interests of their members, though one can frequently hear the criticism that they have gotten too big and act just like other corporations. However, because of their purpose, which is not to accumulate capital but to serve their members on the basis of the principles of equity and equality, they have only a minimal capital base and nothing like the power, and the freedom to manoeuvre and manipulate, that private corporations have."

Oh, there will be denials of a sell-out, and there will be disclaimers, and there will be the appeal to "realism" and "necessity," but the fact is that members equity (\$286 million in 1993) is to be converted into shares that can be bought and sold according to the market principle — and therein lies the rupture. Buying and selling, liquidity, the possibility of recruiting outside investors with the expectation of unearned gains in the form of a return on investment, are a far cry from the principle of a fair return to the farmer for the real labour invested in producing a crop.

Lip-service is still paid to the farmer-members. The public will, we are told, be invited in only after all the members who want to sell or buy shares have been accommodated; and only farmers will hold voting rights and be directors. Outside investors will be able to own only non-voting shares, they say.

The Directors say that the Pool needs more cash in order to upgrade facilities to

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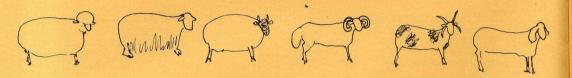
PRIVATIZERS

modernize. What they really mean is that the Pool has forsaken any vision of justice in its conversion to the destructive business practices of the late 20th century, the practices of a culture of competition that destroys society for the sake of profit. So the Pool will consolidate and replace the infrastructure of many rural communities with a few giant inland terminals so that it can survive even if the society does not, and if the going really gets rough, it can sell out to Cargill.

But there is a more important issue, really. In going corporate, the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool is agreeing that there is no alternative to the capitalist way; that there is no alternative to the monoculture of production

of grain for export, regardless of the effects of this not only on the Prairies but on farming societies in the recipient countries as well. It is not the hungry who buy Canadian wheat, or U.S. wheat; it's the cattle feeders, and the traders who strive to remake every culture and every economy into a mirror of North America.

That is what is so sad about the Pool decision. It seems that the Pool simply no longer believes that there can be ways of doing business other than the competitive winner/loser model. The result is that the farmers are the losers, Cargill is the winner – and with minimal investment.



ANIMAL ALARM

from Seedling, March 1994, published by GRAIN (Genetic Resources Action International, Barcelona, Spain)

According to the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) not only is the vital diversity of our crops and forests succumbing to erosion under the guise of development, but one-third of the 4,000 or so breeds of animals used worldwide for food and farming are dangerously flirting with extinction. The issues surrounding animal genetic resources parallel in many ways the problems that have been plaguing plant genetic resources. However, we know a lot less about them, even though animals, domesticated and wild, are extremely important components of people's livelihood systems.

It may be hard for those living in the big cities of the industrialised world to imagine it, but pigs, cattle and poultry formed a world population of some 13 billion heads (and bodies) in 1990, most of them being chickens. This is more than twice the human population of the planet! FAO calculates that animals account for 19% of the world's food basket directly, but they also provide draught power and fertiliser for crop production, especially in developing countries, bringing their overall contribution to global agriculture up to 25%.

While evolution has produced more than 40,000 species of vertebrates, less than 20 make a significant contribution to the world food supply. Of those 20, just

a small number of them dominate global production. The bulk of global meat production comes from pigs, cattle and poultry, while the world's milk supply is almost entirely provided by cows. Of course, all these data omit minor species such as camel, rabbit and deer, as well as fish and game, which are vital at the local level. They also mask regional differences. In India, buffalo contribute more milk than cattle do, and in China, a full 80% of the meat production is pork.

While some 70% of all cattle and 60% of all pigs and poultry live in developing countries, only 30% of all milk and 40% of all meat is produced there. This bias has a lot to do with the way the Europeans and North Americans organize their livestock production: in many cases it is highly intensive, concentrated, disconnected from crop production, and based on a very limited number of super-breeds. It also reflects a tremendous North/South bias in the place and role of those animals in agriculture. While in India and sub-Saharan Africa only 2% of all grain consumed is consumed by animals, in a country like the USA this figure is as high as 70%. Every hectare of agricultural land in the Netherlands is backed up by 8 hectares of land somewhere in the Third World, whether planted to cassava in Thailand or to soybean in Brazil, to grow the feed for its intensive livestock industries.

DUTCH MANURE EXPORT TO INDIA

There is strange news from India. The Government of India has made a proposal to import 6 million tons of dung from Wassenar in Holland, at an estimated cost of \$420 million. We are doing our level best to raise public protest against this proposal. In fact, having the largest population of cattle, India is producing some 861 million tonnes of cowdung every year which is being converted into manure, wasted or burnt. Now, instead of managing our local resource, the Government is trying to import the wet dung for drying and manure purposes. In a country like Holland, organic farming is gaining momentum. Why are the farmers and Government of Holland ready to export the dung rather than turning it into the manure which is very much required for organic farming! We also think the dung could be polluted with antibiotics and the chemicals fed to the animals. If so, what will the consequences of using this dung be on Indian soil and soil microflora? - Kapil Shah, Vinoba Ashram, Gotri, Vadodara, India.

According to a report on this activity in The Ecologist, (May/June 1994) the Netherlands has 4.9 million cattle, 93 million chickens and 13.9 million pigs. The cassava, soya and other feeds from the South used to raise these animals takes up twice the acreage used for agriculture in the Netherlands. This meat overproduction is an advanced form of resource colonization: raw materials come from the South, all the value is added and profit taken in the Netherlands and excess waste dumped back in the South. Contact: Save Bombay Ctte. clo Kayjay Engineers, 123 Mahatma Gandhi Rd., Bombay 400 023, India.

VALUE OF ANIMALS TO LOCAL LIVELIHOODS

The majority of the farmers in the world recognize that animals provide important services such as traction, fertiliser, soil management, pest control, fuel, and clothing, rather than regarding them as simple milk and meat machines. In many farming systems, there is a strong interdependency of cropping and livestock-keeping. A drop in animal numbers (for example after drought), means less manure and lower crop yields.

Farming aside, domestic livestock are a vital form of capital, especially for the poor. Many people raise animals as a source of eash for when times go bad or a heavy investment has to be made. They are used for loans, collateral and dowries, and can always be quickly converted into currency without interest payments! Women often take charge of fattening pigs or raising small animals to barter or trade for household needs. As well, for many communities, animals also play an important role in sacred or religious traditions.

People depend on wild animals for many of the same purposes. Wild animals which can be hunted or trapped provide food, skins, bone and a source of income when the products of the wild can be sold on the market or as a source of recreation for tourists. Most of the aquatic foods people rely on in the South -- fish, shrimp, crabs, frogs and snails -- are wild or

semi-wild, whether they are farmed or caught.

Despite our overall dependency on a limited number of animal species for global production, farmers have managed to develop a vast amount of diversity among them. Over time, domesticated animals, spread mainly with people, have adapted to new environmental niches. Selection and breeding by rural folk to produce desirable characteristics in offspring have resulted in a range of indigenous types. For example, the Criollo cattle in South America were developed from initial introductions from Spain and Portugal in the 1500s. Over the past five hundred years, they have developed traits that allow them to live on poor nutritional supplies and withstand environmental extremes. Several traditional African cattle breeds, among them the small N'Dama, have developed resistance against trypanosomiasis, a debilitating and often fatal disease affecting 30% of Africa's cattle. Chinese farmers bred the rare Taihu pig, which can use a very high portion of forage foods in its diet, reaches sexual maturity in 64 days and produces an average litter of 16 piglets! In general, Asians can claim to have developed more than 140 different breeds of pigs, while North Americans can claim only 19.

But then, the concept of a 'breed' is really limited to the industrialised countries. Only in the past 150-200 years have farmers and herders in the North begun intensive, controlled breeding practices to develop uniform animal types, duly registered in herdbooks. Because their pedigree is so strictly controlled, they can be identified as distinct breeds. In most developing countries, however, this kind ofpedigree breeding for uniformity was never employed. Thus a genetically diverse population of many millions of cattle in northern India goes by the encompassing name Haryana, while the difference between a Holstein cow and Red Holstein cow in northern Europe draws down to one single recessive gene. When experts talk about the important diversity of European livestock, they refer to the amount of visually different breeds developed, and not necessarily to the amount of genetic diversity they embody.

SEEDS OF DESTRUCTION

While intensive livestock breeding in the North over the past centuries helped to develop numerous different breeds, it also sowed the seeds of diversity's destruction worldwide. The sharp differentiation between breeds prompted a tendency to favour certain 'superior' types over others. As with crops, economic pressures pushed farmers to concentrate on the most productive breeds: higher yields and adaptation to new production systems. During the past few decades, the industrialisation of farming and new technologies for breeding is resulting in an incredible impoverishment of animal genetic diversity. The FAO calculates, for example, that half of the breeds that existed at the beginning of the century in Europe have become extinct and one-third of the remaining 770 breeds are in danger of disappearing over the next 20 years. Other sources indicate that one single breed, the Friesian, now constitutes 60% of the dairy cattle population in the European Union.

Agricultural policies in the North promote intensified livestock production systems, where animals are often reared inside special buildings and are forced to produce higher yields through a combination of genetics and management practices. Leaving aside the question of how these animals feel in such production systems, the genetic push has been nothing short of impressive. Compared with 30 years ago, the average Holstein-Friesian dairy cow in the United States produces over twice as much milk. Fat thickness in Danish pigs has been cut in half. Today's broiler chickens mature in six weeks instead of three months, and industrial turkeys have been bred for such a wide breast that they cannot mate naturally any more.

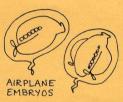
Not mating at all has a lot to do with this dangerous trend. The development of artificial insemination techniques and the use of frozen embryos means that one bull can "donate" sperm to hundreds of cows without ever seeing them. Other techniques (such as "super ovulation") are making it possible to produce up to a hundred offspring from a single female, and within a few years in vitro fertilisation will likely increase the number of possible and virtually identical offspring to thousands of cows.

Together, intensification of animal production and the new reproductive technologies are posing a major threat to indigenous livestock breeds worldwide. [The next questions to consider are: what will be the long term biological and social consequences of the application of this same technology to women?] The lure of high productivity from super-stocks has developing countries importing exotic temperate breeds at an increasing rate. Imported strains are either shelled up in local versions of the factory farm (often under contract to processors and traders from the North) or they are

crossed with indigenous breeds. With pushing from the World Bank, whole zones of Central and South America. as well as parts of Africa, are producing hamburger meat and broiler chickens for Northern fast-food consumers under the most intensive conditions. As well, frozen sperm and embryos are being flown from Europe and the US to all corners of the South in the name of improving stocks. [Another form of colonization.] For industry in the North, this is simple business. Dr. Walton of the company University Genetics sees it this way: You can ship cows to China, which is an expensive process, or you can ship embryos. You can get 10,000 of them under your seat on the plane. His company has already signed a \$9 million contract with the Indonesian government to buy Holstein cow embryos, and a similar contract was signed with China.

Unless controlled, regulated and assessed on their real value, the new biotechnologies that allow for massive shippings of embryos under airplane seats spell disaster for indigenous breeds everywhere, but also for farmers depending on them. The replacement of indigenous breeds by airplane embryos means the loss of important genetic adaptations to unique local conditions. The Ethiopian-based International Livestock Centre for Africa (ILCA) already warned against the import-

ing the Northern superbreeds or crossing them with the local ones in Africa: Evaluations have shown that the productivity of indigenous breeds is equal to or greater than that of many exotic genotypes under local conditions.



THE CONSERVATION CHALLENGE

The loss of traditional breeds is an increasingly recognised threat to agriculture and people's security. At the moment, however, there are very few well-supported programs in action to inventory, assess, conserve and develop animal genetic diversity.

As with plants, animal genetic diversity can be protected in the form of live populations (in situ) or stored genetic material (ex situ). NGOs tend to champion the first approach, while it seems that governments mainly focus on sperm banks and frozen embryos. Despite the fact that all our livestock were domesticated by rural folk in the South, FAO estimates that a full 85% of all fetal populations of livestock breeds being stored under ex situ conditions today are housed in or controlled by the industrialised North. But then there is, and should be, more to it than just saving breeds or genes. If we can learn something from the

plant genetic resources debate over the past decade, it is that conservation will only have a future if it is linked to sustainable utilisation. Trying to store away animal genes in deep-freezers hardly solves the immediate problem of many poor farmers' needs for sustainable and adapted crop-livestock production systems based on genetic diversity. The need for decentralised and integrated farmer-based conservation and breeding programs is glaring.

Life, Death, Food and Medicine

by Ken Taylor

from the June newsletter of the Minnesota Food Association

For more than a decade, I have immersed myself in an exciting and rewarding learning experience in the context of the Minnesota Food Association's development. . . .

Today, thanks to the April Fools news that I am hosting an unwelcome guest inside my brain, I am beginning another major "learning experience", but now it's a completely different course of study. I am now intimately engaged with the highly organized and powerful system of conventional medicine. Its roots are in the same basic belief system as the one that shapes the behaviours and policies of our conventional food and agriculture system – the very one MFA and many others are trying to reform. . . .

My comparison of the conventional systems of agriculture and medicine goes something like this: Both systems are based on the assumption (perhaps subconsciously) that death is the enemy and can be defeated. Through human cleverness (technology) we will be able to identify the problem and fix it, and because we think we can, we should. The language of the two systems is different. In medicine, it's called a "cure". In U.S. agriculture, it's called "feeding the world". This assumption represents the fundamental flaw in both systems, because it violates a basic law of nature — death is part of life. Denial of this reality only delays action and increases consequences.

In medicine, this belief that death is the enemy to be defeated at all costs tends to put physicians' focus on the disease entity, not the human being who is the patient. In this scenario, the patient becomes the medium or the pathway to the problem to be solved. (My doctor calls it the "F-2" syndrome – "Find It and Fix It".) This very linear approach tends to neglect all other inputs affecting the situation – family considerations, other options for treatment, quality of life, etc. These are externalized in the relentless pursuit to cure the disease within the strictly enforced protocols and using the magical technologies available to the system.

In agriculture, the enemy is death from starvation, and exploding population growth is the "disease" to be cured. Food production becomes the treatment to defeat that disease. As this treatment is relentlessly pursued, the planet, or patient, is put at risk because the diagnosis of

population growth requires all the wondrous productionenhancing tools that our industries and universities can make available. Whatever gets in the way of production is zapped with some poison or tool.

There are other parallels. In both cases, ordinary people have surrendered much of their power to an expert class of people who occupy a sort of priesthood in our society. The physician, the agricultural scientist, the extension agent – these are titles and positions to which we give meta-influence, reducing our own sense of power and responsibility and allowing ourselves to become clients and consumers, in their eyes and ours. This diminishes us all, and leads to theresentment and hostility that we have seen develop in both systems in the last quarter century.

And that, of course, leads me to the final comparison. Both of these systems are in trouble. The promised cures are not showing up. In fact, there is evidence to suggest that the planet is beginning to rebel to the constant insults that these two systems are visiting upon all forms of life, collectively and individually. It's probably time we started thinking about these issues a little differently. . . .

Throughout my time in school at MFA I have experienced the wisdom and courage of people who have consistently stepped forward in the face of ridicule and career threats — irreverent heretics who have asked the hard questions and challenged the conventions. . . .

The sustainable agriculture movement and the alternative health care movement have a lot in common and much to learn from each other.... Wouldn't it be wonderful for [an] unlikely coalition to form of urban and rural exiles of the agriculture and medical priesthoods? It is time for a community-oriented coalition of people who have identified their common ground as concern for their food and their health, with a commitment to reclaim responsibility for the complete cycle of their lives and for the life of the earth. Will this require a miracle?

Ken Taylor is founder of the Minnesota Food Association. He was diagnosed with brain cancer in April, 1994.

WORLD BANK EFFORT TO PRIVATIZE GENETIC RESOURCES REBUFFED

The following material is drawn from reports from Genetic Resources Action International (GRAIN) and Rural Advancement Fund International (RAFI) of Ottawa, Canada.

An attempt by the World Bank to establish control over the world's most important global germplasm collections was recently revealed – and thwarted.

Some 40 major environment and development NGOs (non-governmental organisations) attending the Second Session of the Intergovernmental Committee of the Convention on Biological Diversity in Nairobi revealed on the opening day of the meeting, June 20th, that the World Bank intended to take control of the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR) and its germplasm collections.

These collections, comprising almost half a million samples of precious crop biodiversity, were donated from farmers in the developing countries and represent the world's most important stock of unique breeding materials to improve world food production. The Bank was accused by NGOs of "scuttling" negotiations underway to establish intergovernmental authority over these collections.

The CGIAR is an informal group of donors supporting 18 International Agricultural Research Centres (IARCs), the instigators of the Green Revolution. Cosponsored jointly by FAO, the UN Development Program (UNDP) and the World Bank, the CGIAR has no formal legal identity and works on the basis of consensus among its mainly industrialised country members who, while being financial donors, do not represent the interests of the donors of germplasm.

Last month at the CGIAR Mid Term Meeting in New Delhi, Dr. Ismail Serageldin, Vice President of the Bank and Chair of the CGIAR, had announced that the Bank would step in to save the CGIAR from its grave funding problems, and proposed a number of moves to suddenly strengthen World Bank "leadership" of the international agricultural research system.

Because the legal status of the germplasm collections held by the IARCs is uncertain, they are open to being expropriated by various parties, even though the CGIAR claims they are held "in trust" for the benefit of the international community. The search for intergovernmental authority over the germplasm collections, as negotiated between the IARCs and FAO, is meant to give an internationally agreed meaning to the idea of "trusteeship"

According to the NGOs in Nairobi, led by RAFI (Canada), Third World Network (Malaysia), and GRAIN (Spain), the Bank was seeking to assert its own leadership over the CGIAR rather than allowing the CGIAR to be placed under an intergovernmental authority with a one nation-one vote system such as FAO's (UN Food and Agriculture Organization). The World Bank is not, however, a legitimate custodian of or policy maker for genetic resources donated by developing countries because it is governed on the basis of votes by its contributing members according to the size of their financial contributions. As the NGOs pointed out, the World Bank was in essence asking that trusteeship over the Third World's germplasm be transferred to itself.

In seeking to prevent intergovernmental control, the Bank has made it clear that it regards the CGIAR as potentially a major instrument for the imposition of World Bank agricultural programs and policies and as an important private sector technology conduit. In the Bank's view, the CGIAR's major asset is its vast treasure trove of genetic materials that, once in the Bank's hands, could be treated just like any other capital asset.

A deal between the IARCs and the FAO was almost done. But the World Bank has decided it does not like this. As a donor to the IARCs, it has proposed that it takes charge instead. Why? Because the World Bank, dominated by the interests of a few rich countries, does not want to cede control of a major resource to Third World governments.

- Comment, New Scientist, 2/7/94

BACKGROUND

To go back a few steps: during the May 1992 negotiations that led to adoption of the Convention on Biological Diversity, under pressure from industrialised countries ex situ germplasm collections gathered prior to the coming into force of the Convention were dropped from the Accord. Subsequently, in 1993, the member states of FAO endorsed a process of negotiations with CGIAR intended to place the half million germplasm accessions under the policy control of the intergovernmental Commission on Plant Genetic Resources. The clear intent, for both FAO and CGIAR, was that this legally-binding agreement be the first step toward the development of a draft protocol for agricultural biodiversity.

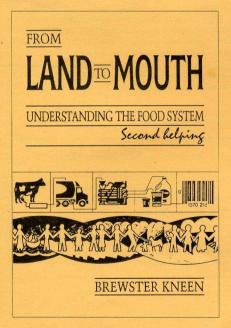
This process has been expected to proceed until the FAO Conference on Plant Genetic Resources in 1996 could adopt a renegotiated International Undertaking on Plant Genetic Resources. Through another related process carried out simultaneously, the materials in gene banks would come under democratic intergovernmental governance, through a protocol under the Biodiversity Convention.

By May of this year, the legal agreement had been accepted by FAO and by the relevant CGIAR bodies. Only formal approval was needed when the CGIAR's financial (as different from germplasm) donors, the industrialised countries, convened in Nairobi in late June. By then, the NGOs had become extremely concerned about reports that the World Bank intended to take control of the CGIAR institutions' genetic collections, a move which was apparently made at the CGIAR meeting in Delhi at the end of May. According to reports, the Bank offered to forgive the CGIAR's debts of \$5.6 million, to raise its normal annual grant by some \$5 million up to \$40 million and provide up to \$20 million of new funds to match other donor funds. The Bank also announced the creation of a new US\$2.5 billion (over five years) fund for national agricultural research linked to CGIAR.

In turn, the CGIAR would for the first time create a steering committee and a finance committee, both of which the Bank would chair. The Bank would also consult the new World Trade Organization (WTO) regarding GATT provisions on intellectual property rights and CGIAR's germplasm.

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FURTHER READING



We highly recommend SEEDLING, the quarterly journal of GRAIN (see page 2). The subscription rate is US\$35 per year (with some flexibility) to GRAIN, Jonqueres 16 6D, E-08003 Barcelona, Spain.

BOOKS available from The Ram's Horn:

FROM LAND TO MOUTH, Second Helping: A completely new edition of Brewster's landmark book, updated 1993 - \$20 including shipping.

ALSO AVAILABLE: THE RAPE OF CANOLA: "The latest exhibit in Kneen's collection of evidence that the food system runs on corporate greed, not human need." (Saskatoon Star-Phoenix) - \$21 including shipping.



now, how about food?

U.S. to require car content labels

WASHINGTON - U.S. buyers of cars and light trucks will be able to learn how American or foreign their new vehicle is, starting Oct. 1.

The U.S. National Highway Traffic Safety Administration said yesterday it will require labels on cars and trucks weighing 3,864 kilograms or less to tell buyers where the parts of the vehicle were made.

The label will have to state:

- · Overall combined percentage of parts that originated in the United States and Canada.
- Other countries that contributed more than 15 per cent of the vehicle's parts, and the percentage from each.
- · Country from which the engine and transmission originated. · Where the vehicle was assembled.

G+M 19/7/94

AS REPORTED BY RAFI:

Until the sudden move by the World Bank, described by the Malaysian delegation at the Nairobi meeting as "a dawn raid," FAO and CGIAR had hoped to use the Nairobi meeting to announce the successful completion of two years of intense negotiations — ever since the adoption of the final text of the Biodiversity Treaty on May 22, 1992 and its subsequent signing at the Rio Earth Summit a few days later.

Thanks to skilful manoeuvring by the U.S. government and industry at that time, the Biodiversity accord excluded all biomaterials collected prior to the Convention itself. While this rejection of retroactivity seemed reasonable at the time, the actual effect was the adoption of a legally-binding treaty that ensured that, as Pat Roy Mooney of RAFI explained, "Everything we know to exist and suspect to have commercial value remains outside the Convention while everything we do not know to exist and do not know to have commercial value remains inside the agreement." The signing of the FAO-CGIAR accord was to have been a first large step toward rectifying the problem.

At a meeting of the CGIAR's northern donors (governments and private foundations) In New Delhi on May 28, however, Ismail Serageldin, a World Bank vice president who also chairs the CGIAR, personally blocked the signing of the agreement. At that point some of the

NGO representatives became alarmed, and began organizing. By the time the first plenary session got underway on June 20th, forty NGOs and most governments were aligned against the World Bank's coup attempt.

When the formal question of the status of ex situ germplasm collections came on the agenda, it occasioned both the most active and the most unanimous debate of the entire two-week meeting. At the end, Dr. Geoff Hawtin, Director General of IPGRI and spokesperson for the CGIAR in Nairobi, announced to a tense assembly that "It is intended that this agreement between FAO and CGIAR will be signed during the next few months and it is hoped the international community will lend its full support to this process."

When the meeting re-assembled the next day they were confronted with a draft report that Australian, Canadian and Norwegian delegations referred to as "atrocious" and "completely inadequate." The secretariat was accused of either deliberately or stupidly missing the main points of the previous night's discussion. Finally a sub-committee took on the job of drafting a text which stated that governments "strongly agreed that the agreement between FAO and CGIAR should be adopted" and "urged that the agreement be concluded as soon as possible." It was unanimously adopted. The U.S. delegation admitted that it had nothing to add. The World Bank had been rebuffed.

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THE RAM'S HORN
125 Highfield Road
Toronto, Ontario M4L 2T9
phone: (416) 469-8414

Publications Mail

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