A EURASIAN APPROACH TO FOOD SECURITY GOVERNANCE

The potential role of the New Silk Road Initiative
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I. Introduction

Today out of 7.3 billion people worldwide an estimated 795 million people suffer from chronic undernourishment. Out of these, 732 million people live in the regions of Eastern, Southern, South-Eastern, Central and Western Asia as well as Sub-Saharan Africa. The causes of hunger in the world are manifold and they are often affiliated with each other. According to the World Food Programme (WFP), poverty, war and civil conflict, internal displacement, unstable markets, food wastage, climate change and a lack of agriculture investment are the most striking reasons for why people starve. Due to the process of globalization, hunger has become a problem beyond the nation state. It has become a global problem that can only be solved through global governance. The recent food crisis of the years 2007/2008 has revealed systemic flaws in the current global governance of food security. It consists of an increasingly “complex web of [institutions, national governments, private actors, social actors as well as] formal policies and regulations, complicated by unwritten rules and practices that are not subject to political oversight.”

The realization and awareness of these inadequacies open a window of opportunity for innovative thinking. The question we pose to ourselves is: How can global governance improve global food security more effectively? Because some 64,4% of all undernourished people worldwide live in regions affected by the Chinese New Silk Road (NRS) initiative “One Belt – One Road” (OBOR) and 27,7% live in Sub-Saharan Africa, which is partially affected, we further ask ourselves: How can the New Silk Road initiative play a role in the needed food governance innovation? To answer these questions we first give an overview of the actors involved in food security governance. In the second paragraph we introduce the main parts of food security that have to be addressed by global governance. Following this, we depict the geographical and thematic dimensions of the New Silk Road initiative and propose a new governance body connected to it. This part contains the scope, structure, norms and aims of the new body and clarifies the potential role of the New Silk Road initiative in terms of food security governance.

II. Issues, structures and challenges

At the World Food Summit in 1996, food security was defined as existent “when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life.” On the global scale, numerous international organizations, initiatives and programs dedicated to reach this goal work either outside or inside the framework of the United Nations (UN). The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the World Food Programme, and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) are core programs of the UN’s fight against hunger and all affiliated problems. The UN “specialized agencies” such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Labor Organization (ILO), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), and the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) are autonomous organizations cooperating with the UN. Other entities and related organizations connected to the global food security governance system are for instance the United Nations Office for Disaster Reduction (UNISDR) and the World Trade Organization (WTO). Outside the “UN family” forums such as the G20 or other associations like the International Agri-Food Network (IAFN) or the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR) and many more are working on eliminating hunger only with varying foci.

To coordinate the UN agencies and programs as well as the Bretton Woods institutions, the UN founded the High Level Task Force on Global Food Security (HLTF) in 2008. The so-called Rome-based agencies (RBA) WFP, FAO and IFAD work together in the Committee on World Food Security (CFS). The CFS was established in 1974 in the United Nations system and after its reform in 2009 it has the vision “to be the most inclusive international and intergovernmental platform for all stakeholders to work together to ensure food security and nutrition for all”. The plenary session, its highest decision-making body, is held annually in October and is open to all member countries.
of the three RBAs and other members of the UN. The Committee encourages member states to “participate (…) at the highest level possible”\(^9\). As a result, the participants’ professions and positions differ and provide no consistent basis for effective policy coordination. The CFS also comprises delegates of regional and national NGOs and institutions working on the issues of food security. Its aims are, among others, to effectively “coordinate a global approach to food security, promote policy convergence (…) and coordinate at national and regional levels.”\(^10\) In a CFS Effectiveness Survey of 2015, areas of improvement have been identified. These include inclusiveness and participation as well as coordination and engagement, particularly at the national and regional levels.\(^11\)

Regarding the regional and national level, there are also various organizations that include the topic of food security in their list of issues. Depending on their overall purpose the degree to which they deal with the issue greatly differs. Particularly in Asia and Africa some are dedicated to food security for many years (African Union (AU), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC)), whereas others just recently considered this topic to be included in their agenda (Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), Asia Europe Meeting (ASEM)). Although covering a huge number of Asian and European economies at different stages of development as well as the ASEAN Secretariat and the Commission of the European Union, ASEM first paid considerable attention to the issue of food security at the 7\(^{th}\) ASEM Summit in 2008, when there was a call of nation states to better coordinate and cooperate to secure food supply.\(^12\) Since then a “Forum on Food Security” (2010) and a “High-Level Conference on Food Security” (2011) were convened. However, Eurasia is still in need of an inclusive, coherent and effective multi-stakeholder forum dedicated to erase hunger in the affected countries and a strong coordination and cooperation mechanism between the various national, regional and global social and political actors.

### III. Four Pillars of Food Security

Food security is determined and affected by an extensive set of issues. These range from economic and political factors like agricultural growth, infrastructure programs or capital markets to social issues regarding population growth or change in demographics as well as to environmental concerns such as vulnerability to climate change and natural disasters. Many of these factors are significantly influenced by macroeconomic and sector policies and the connection to the world market.\(^13\)

When bringing together several different organizations and national representatives to form a new approach in global food security governance it is vital to define a common goal of how to ensure food security in the participating countries and regions. Through international cooperation, technology and know-how can be transferred from highly developed to less developed areas. Furthermore a variety of synergies in different fields can be achieved by close cooperation and partnerships across borders. A common internationally agreed on policy framework also provides the opportunity to tackle inefficiencies in an international context, particularly when taking international markets and national protectionism into account. The most suitable and widely accepted basis for our approach should be the four pillars of food security consisting of concepts of availability, access, utilization and stability.\(^14\) This section describes the goals to be achieved in the pillars and provides a basis for our suggestion of a common global approach, bearing in mind that most of the actions needed to be taken are interdependent between the four pillars and influencing each other.

**Availability** demands that food is available in sufficient quantities and on a steady basis.\(^15\) The logical solution is to boost domestic production of food but without repeating the same mistakes of previous strategies. Overall, apart from specific recipients of an increased food production,
agricultural development in general is able to improve the availability of food. A special target group in developing countries for example are small-scale farmers, who have proven to be a crucial part of food availability, but mostly disregarded in past strategies, particularly in hard-to-reach, infrastructure-lacking rural regions. Thus it is vital to support local smallholders along with national large-scale food producers to achieve not only self-sufficiency but also produce surplus for international markets. However, to make sure that a higher food production has the desired outcome of food availability, an efficient food distribution mechanism has to be put in place to shift food from areas of surplus to areas of deficit. In this scope both properly functioning and efficient national and regional food and commodity markets need to be created with improved access by food producers and consumers, supervised and maintained by national and international institutions. Furthermore it is vital to build up regional food stocks and international food aid programs among cooperating countries in case of short-run scarcity.

Access to food is ensured when households have enough access and resources to obtain food in sufficient quantity, quality and diversity for a nutritious diet, thus it can be divided into economic and physical access. For economic access, every household needs to be put in place to be able to buy food i.e. possess enough income. For this reason the household’s purchasing power needs to be increased through economic development of the region. In the countries involved in our governance proposal, economic development can be realized easily because of their huge development potential apart from pure food security policy. The physical access to food plays a major role in food access, since it is mostly the rural and/or poor areas suffering from malnutrition. A first attempt to fight this condition is building and improving infrastructure to connect regions both in a national as well as an international scale to ensure efficient food distribution mechanisms for those who need them.

Utilization deals with the appropriate usage, processing and storage in connection with knowledge of nutrition and adequate health and sanitation services. As discussed in the first chapter malnutrition is a major indication of food insecurity and therefore needs to be addressed rigorously. By putting a stronger focus on the supply side, our suggestion leads to an integrated food utilization value chain consisting of several stages. When it comes to farming and agriculture, international cooperation in technology exchange to strengthen regional food and agricultural networks i.e. cooperatives for using crops with higher nutritional value and their efficient usage is a crucial necessity to ensure efficient utilization. Regarding food processing again highly developed technology and know-how from more developed countries like China or the EU can boost production but also increase the efficiency of utilization of recourses’ potential to reduce food wastage, food loss and prevent losing nutritional value along the value chain from farming to distribution. The key is to provide an improved access to knowledge and innovation, markets and financial services with an emphasis on food farming, processing, storage and distribution. The notion of food safety plays another major role in our value chain because it assures not only an enhanced level of nutrition for consumers but is also an opportunity to meet higher market standards, which will improve further access to a variety of international food markets.

Stability refers to the securitization of the two pillars availability and access over a longer period of time. It deals with several factors that are able to threaten the aims of these pillars: Food price volatility, which has been one of the triggers on food crises particularly in Africa, political factors and the most important and globally recognized issue of sustainability. One strategy to achieve political stability is to ensure long-term international cooperation not only among neighboring states but among all countries involved in our proposal. To guarantee the pillar’s objective, there also needs to be a risk management of food availability. We suggest installing food banks i.e. large-scale food stocks such as the already existing SAARC Food Bank along all vulnerable regions cooperating in our proposal in combination with a joint food security information system for monitoring and forecasting of environmental and climate issues. This ensures economic and
physical access to food in times of drought and volatile global commodity markets. Tackling the availability of food over a long time, agriculture and food production need to be green and sustainable to protect the environment and thus ensuring food availability over a vast amount of time.

The regions and countries to be included in our food security governance approach are as diverse as the organizations by which they are represented. They differ in multiple terms regarding economic systems and levels of development, political environments, social norms, environmental conditions and availability of resources relevant to food security. In Northern Africa and the Near East, for example, the issue of water scarcity and climate change is as evident as regional disparities in nutrition across Asia and the Pacific Region. Considering this fact, the commonly agreed on food security policy framework, when being implemented, has to be broken down on a national level by the individual national governments based on each countries characteristics.

III. Proposal for Global Governance with regard to Food Security

a) The New Silk Road initiative

In 2013 Chinese President Xi Jinping proposed the „One Belt, One Road“ (OBOR, in Chinese: 一带一路, yidai yilu) initiative, which focuses on the set-up of infrastructure and consists of an economic belt from China through Central Asia to Europe as well as of a maritime Silk Road. The latter is rather ASEAN oriented. The initiative is still at an early stage but it is the focus of China’s current foreign policy and can thus be expected to develop relatively fast. The official document “Vision and actions on jointly building Silk Road economic belt and 21st century maritime Silk Road” (hereafter: “Vision and actions”), released by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), the Ministry of Commerce (MOFCOM) and the National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC) in March 2015, mentions three “Economic Corridors”: „China-Mongolia-Russia“, „Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar“ and „China-Pakistan“. Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan are supposed to participate as well. Furthermore Russia, Nepal and the ten ASEAN countries are being named as future cooperation partners in the Belt and Road framework. According to a map of the German Mercator Institute for China Studies (MERICS) the following additional countries are likely to be part of the New Silk Road initiative: Indonesia, India, Singapore, Malaysia, Vietnam, Sri Lanka, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania, Moldova, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czech Republic, Germany, Netherlands, Greece, Italy, Egypt, Djibouti, Somalia and Kenya. Several articles about different countries being interested in OBOR have been published by the Chinese news agency Xinhua to date, e.g. on Belarus, Hungary, Armenia, Georgia etc. Considering the official document as well as Xinhua and MERICS as sources, there are about 50 potential members of the New Silk Road Initiative in total, but as Xi Jinping states, the initiative is an open one and countries along the routes as well as other countries worldwide are welcome to take an active part.

The OBOR initiative includes a set up of pipelines, railways and ports. Furthermore it „should enhance customs cooperation“ and „is aimed at (...) encouraging the countries along the Belt and Road to achieve economic policy coordination (…)“. It is even planned to discuss free trade areas. But the initiative is not limited to the economy and infrastructure: According to the official document of the ministries of the People’s Republic of China (PRC), several policy fields are named as areas of cooperation and exchange such as science and technology, tourism, NGOs, environment protection, climate change, energy, and resources.
b) The potential role of the New Silk Road with regard to Food Security

„China alone accounts for almost two-thirds of the total reduction in the number of undernourished people in the developing regions since 1990.“\(^{34}\) Given this success, it seems natural to use a Chinese initiative of open inter-regional cooperation, namely the New Silk Road, to increase food security in the affected regions.

As to the food security situation the New Silk Road countries differ from each other: While food security is given in Russia as well as in all EU countries (<5%), about 30% of the population of other countries such as Afghanistan are currently suffering from hunger. While the prevalence of undernourishment is rather low (about 10%) in China or Vietnam, it is rather high in India or Iraq (about 20%).\(^{35}\) Despite these differences, there are common interests. One of the many aims China would like to reach by promoting the realization of the New Silk Road is political stability in West China, Afghanistan and Pakistan.\(^{36}\) Armed conflict and corruption have a major impact on trade and food security according to the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP).\(^{37}\) Furthermore even countries like China with „just“ 10% undernourished people will face challenges in the future. According to the New Style Urbanization Plan issued in 2014, 60% of the Chinese population is supposed to live in urban areas by 2020, whereas currently 53% of the population are urban citizens.\(^{38}\) The contradiction between the growing Chinese population and thus the increasing demand for food on the one hand and the loss of arable land due to urbanization on the other hand underlines once more, that multilateral cooperation and trade is necessary in order to face global problems - food security being the most pressing one. An improvement in terms of infrastructure facilitates trade. Consequently all countries will benefit from a decrease of transport costs for import and exports.\(^{39}\) For these reasons the New Silk Road itself would contribute to food security. But since food is essential for life, there is an urgent need to do more than that. There is a need for joint food security governance.

Among the many policy fields that should be affected by the OBOR initiative (see chapter IIIb) food is slightly mentioned:

„We should expand mutual investment areas, deepen cooperation in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry and fisheries, agricultural machinery manufacturing and farm produce processing, and promote cooperation in marine-product farming, deep-sea fishing, aquatic product processing, seawater desalination, marine biopharmacy, ocean engineering technology, environmental protection industries, marine tourism and other fields.“\(^{40}\)

We propose an in depth cooperation in the field of food security. Over 60% of the world’s population live in countries covered by the New Silk Road.\(^{41}\) The New Silk Road, initiated by the PRC, thus has an enormous potential to fight hunger and to enhance food security - given the establishment of suitable and effective institutions of global governance.

The establishment of an „international summit forum on the Belt and Road initiative“ is proposed in the NDRC document.\(^{42}\) Regarding food security we suggest the establishment of a “Silk Road Food Security Meeting“ (SRFS Meeting). This meeting can be a platform for the New Silk Road countries to deal with the issue of food security on an international scale. The core function of these meetings should be information exchange and policy coordination among the ministers of agriculture, trade and transport of the respective countries. Already existing structures dealing with food security should be used as far as they are reasonable and offer the possibility of bundling resources and leveraging synergies. The basis of the SRFS Meeting’s work should be data accumulated from existing information systems and centers such as the Food Security Information Network (FSIN), the Agriculture Market Information System (AMIS), the SAARC Agriculture Information Centre (SAIC), the food security portal of the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) and the ASEAN Food Security Information System (AFSIS). National data should be added if not yet included. The importance of information sharing in general is even underlined as...
the „key“ of the New Silk Road initiative, so it makes sense to share information about agriculture and food security in order to fight hunger.

The problem of food insecurity should be a top priority in the New Silk Road initiative. Consequently, there should be four SRFS Meetings in total annually. Regional Organizations (named below) should have an advisory function and participate in all four SRFS Regional Organizations Meeting (SRFS ROM), while national ministers (ministers of agriculture, trade and transport) should hold two meetings annually: Once in May and once half a year later, in November, right after the CFS Meeting took place in October. Additionally, Heads of state and/or government of the OBOR countries should participate in the November SRFS Meeting. This is necessary in order to give food security the priority status it needs to be given. Meetings would be organized by and held in the chair country, changing annually on a rotating basis.

Food security experts from the following existing regional organizations should be send to SRFS Meetings: SAARC Agriculture Center (SAC), ASEAN (e.g. SOM-AMAF), EU (e.g. Food Security Thematic Programme (FSTP)), APEC, the AUs Agriculture and Food Security Division (AFSD), OIC International’s Food Security & Agriculture programs. At a later stage, other stakeholders such as companies and national NGOs dealing with food security should get engaged in the SRFS Meetings.

SRFS Meetings, which involve ministerial meetings, should consist of a phase during which the ministers are separated according to their policy fields, i.e. a meeting of all agriculture ministers takes place at the same time as a separate meeting of all trade ministers and a separate meeting of all ministers of transport. Afterwards there should be a plenary for all ministers while the Regional Organizations have an advisory function. Due to globalization and interdependencies it is highly important to ensure, that national policies contribute to both national interests and food security on the regional and global level. The potential effects of national agriculture and trade policies on others should be considered in general – policies should thus be discussed and coordinated within the framework of the SRFS Meeting. It is meant to enhance mutual understanding and to lead to the consideration of the consequences national policies might have on other countries (e.g. subsidies, protectionism, food banks etc.). Furthermore the widely criticized factor of biofuels, which reduces the amount of available food, should be addressed at SRFS Meetings. SRFS Meetings involving ministerial meetings end with a final declaration signed by all ministers. The declaration is non-binding in order to ensure non-interference in internal affairs of the respective states, but we are relying on peer pressure to take effect.

Many countries that are likely to become a part of the New Silk Road already are CFS members. However, a number of NSR countries are not yet CFS members, e.g. Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Moldova, Latvia, Vietnam, Mongolia, Djibouti, and Somalia. The SRFS Meeting is supposed to create synergies – the CFS does provide input and information for the SRFS Meeting while the latter it is meant to encourage all New Silk Road countries to actively participate in the CFS, to encourage countries already participating to send high level delegates such as ministers of agriculture, what only the minority of CFS countries currently does, or even heads of state or government. Food security is essential for human life and should thus be a priority. A side effect of SRFS meeting with regard to the CFS is, that the voices of the NSR countries were stronger if they spoke with one voice thanks to SRFS Meeting.

Since the development of the New Silk Road itself will take several decades, the SRFS Summit cannot immediately take full effect from the moment of its implementation on. However, we suggest to approach the topic of food security as soon as the first group of OBOR countries is fixed. According to MERICS it is not yet sure whether cooperation (in general, not especially dealing with food security) will be on a bi- or multilateral level. We suggest the latter option and we hope that OBOR can be established as quick as AIIB (within about two years). We highly underline that
the problem of food insecurity should be among the first topics being tackled in the newly erected OBOR framework. If done so and under the condition that the status quo as to food security can at least be kept until SRFS Meeting can start to operate, the ambitious goals we have set for SRFS Meeting could be reached: Firstly, to ensure food security along the New Silk Road by 2025 and secondly to contribute to reaching global food security by 2045 via spillover effects. Countries with over 35% undernourishment in the population (e.g. Zambia)\textsuperscript{49} – a very severe situation – are not part of the New Silk Road but might benefit from spillover effects in the future. The SRFS Regional Organizations Meeting (ROM) should already be established right now, since its participants do not depend on the development of the OBOR initiative to the degree as ministerial meetings do. We have no time to spare.

As to financing of issues related to the New Silk Road initiative (not limited to food security issues), the most suitable option for each particular case can be chosen from a wide varieties of possibilities: The Asia Development Bank (ADB), the BRICS New Development Bank, the Silk Road Fund, the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and others. The latter has just been established last year. According to “Vision and actions on jointly building Silk Road economic belt and 21st century maritime Silk Road” negotiations on the establishment of a Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) financing institution should be conducted.\textsuperscript{50}


ibid.

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32 NDRC 28/03/2015.

33 NDRC 28/03/2015.


36 Rudolf (2015a).


40 NDRC 28/03/2015.


42 NDRC 28/03/2015.


45 CFS 10/2014.


47 Rudolf (2015a).

48 We would like to clearly point out that the so-called „NSR Forum“ (see nsrforum.org) has already been founded in 2011 and thus before Xi proposed the OBOR initiative in 2013. It consequently is another initiative. Furthermore this forum is rather for business than for governments. However, at a later stage, stakeholders like companies and NGOs should get involved into the SRFS Meeting and NSR Forum could play a role then.

49 WFP Hunger Map 2015.

50 NDRC 28/03/2015.
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