### THE RUSSIA-UKRAINE CONFLICT

# TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE CRISIS TO REFORMULATE ... OR CONTINUE DAMAGING THE NATIONAL AGRI-FOOD SYSTEM?



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#### **About the Russia-Ukraine conflict**

## TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY TO REFORMULATE.... OR CONTINUE DAMAGING THE NATIONAL AGRI-FOOD SYSTEM?

The war between Russia and Ukraine occurs in a national context where the shadow of COVID 19 has not yet disappeared because the entire population is not vaccinated; of inflationary pressures in all neighboring countries; the maintenance of the fixed exchange rate for years; strong pressure from food smuggling; restrictions on exports of key products; regulated prices of basic products; drug trafficking pressure; and strong climatic variations due to climate change, among others.

The war will have - directly and indirectly - a series of consequences in all countries through various aspects such as food prices, increased transportation costs, in mineral prices, in gas and raw materials, among others.

#### 1. WHAT IS THE FOOD CRISIS CAUSED BY THE UKRAINE-RUSSIA WAR?

According to various reports from different international institutions, the war between Ukraine and Russia has increased food prices, the price of energy and transportation, as well as the price of fertilizers.

The invasion has led to the destruction of land and plantations in Ukraine, the suspension of oilseed crushing activities, difficulties in transporting grain due to the closure of ports, mass migrations and the recruitment of rural youth/labour (which in turn generates more work for women) and restrictions on exports to be self-sufficient.

According to the FAO, in general terms, prices in April/2022 increased by 12.6% compared to March/2022. Cereals increased by 17.6%; vegetable oils at 23% and meat at 4.8% (<a href="https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/un-gcrg-ukraine-brief">https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/un-gcrg-ukraine-brief</a>). Prices increased for 50 countries in Africa, Asia and the Middle East as they source more than 30% of their wheat (from the war zone) (<a href="https://www.gainhealth.org/media/news/gain-interview-cruncher-how-war-ukraine-impacts-global-food-supplies">https://www.gainhealth.org/media/news/gain-interview-cruncher-how-war-ukraine-impacts-global-food-supplies</a>).

Russia is the world's leading exporter of wheat and Ukraine the 5th. Both countries represent more than 25% of world wheat exports, provide 19% of total barley; 15% from corn and more than 60% from sunflower oil (<a href="https://www.ipes-food.org/\_img/upload/files/AnotherPerfect">https://www.ipes-food.org/\_img/upload/files/AnotherPerfect</a> Storm.pdf); Russia being the main producer of fertilizers worldwide.

As the prices of these foods increase, there will be a shift in consumption towards more expensive commercial consumption patterns and it could also be delayed moreover, the shift towards cleaner energy and support for programs against the poverty.

The increase in the price of fertilizers<sup>1</sup> and energy will indirectly affect the reduction in food production. Similarly, the reduction in the use of inputs will affect the production and quality of food, which in turn will influence its availability and the income and livelihoods of rural

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Russia and Belarus supply 40% of the world's potassium fertilizer. In 2021, Russia was also the leading exporter of ammonium nitrate fertilizers (49% of world export markets), as well as NPK products (38%), ammonia (30%) and urea (18%) (www.ipes-food.org).

populations. The price of energy is also increasing not only because of the war but also due to changes in trade (the price of oil in the North Sea, gas in Europe and Australian coal increased).

If negative forecasts of climate change are added to these factors, the future outlook is not encouraging. For example, India, the largest producer of wheat and wishing to export its surpluses to help in the crisis, restricted these to ensure its internal consumption due to heat waves generated by climate change (excessive heat and droughts) (La Vanguardia 05/16/2022 Barcelona. https://www.lavanguardia.com/).

So, according to international projections, commodity prices will experience strong increases in 2022 and remain high in the medium term (non-energy prices are expected to rise around 20% in 2022, and the largest increases in raw materials (WB 2022).

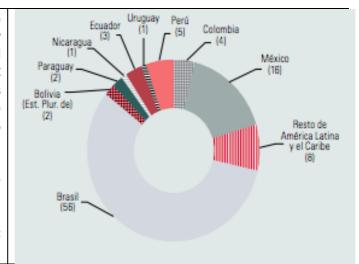
#### 2. THE REPERCUSSIONS IN BOLIVIA

In this global context, what is the repercussion of the conflict at the level of the Latin American region and specifically of Bolivia? According to CEPAL, the effects are will give commercially, financially and in the price of raw materials.

In terms of imports, these are also low (5,345 million \$us) as they only reach 0.7% of the total imports of goods from the ALTyC region, with 56% of these imports corresponding to Brazil, 16% to Mexico., 5% to Peru and only 2% to Bolivia (CEPAL 2022).

#### Among

The main general imports include ammonium nitrate, potassium chloride, urea, phosphates, fertilizers and other inorganic chemicals.



According to the INE, Bolivia imports more than it exports, and in no case is there an exchange of food and agro-industrial products<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, both exports and general imports represent a low index with respect to Bolivian foreign trade as a whole.

Exports-Imports of Russia/Ukraine (Millions of US\$)

		2019	2020	2021	2022 (I a III)
Export	Rusia	3.9	2.3	13.2	3.3
	Ucrania	0.3	0.3	0.6	-
Imports	Rusia	163.1	115.9	67.5	29.9
	Ucrania	0.8	0.5	11.0	0.5

Source. INE, Foreign Trade

#### 3. WHAT IS POSED IN THE FACE OF THE WORLD AGRI-FOOD CRISIS?

Faced with the conflict and problems generated, a series of proposals arise from various actors and in different areas.

1. The International Banking and USA. The United States Treasury and various Banks (The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the IDB, the IFAD, the World Bank)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Therefore, there are no direct consequences on the national food system.

state that they will contribute with tens of billions of dollars in the coming months and years to support food producers and address shortage problems in the supply chain (05/19/2022 El Deber). The WB will allocate US\$12 billion over the next 15 months to agriculture, water and irrigation projects to help ensure the food security of those affected. It also proposes targeted social protection programs consisting of cash transfers, school meals and public works...also subsidies in the energy sector (Pierre-Olivier Gourinchas, head of the IMF) https://www.bancomundial.org/en/news/press-release/2022/04/26/food-and-energy-price-shocks-from-ukraine-war).

- 2. Agribusiness. Agribusinesses propose suspending environmental regulations, increasing industrial food production, promoting even more export-oriented (dependent on chemical fertilizers) agriculture; expand arable land, increase industrial food production; increase world food trade before the collapse of globalization (https://www.agroclave.com.ar/n2707502.html).
- 3. The International Panel of Experts on Sustainable Food Systems (IPES-Food) recommends financial aid and debt relief to vulnerable countries; crackdown on commodity speculation; create regional grain reserves and food aid; diversify food production and trade systems, and rebuild resilience through diversity and agroecology (A special report by IPES-Food, May 2022). They also warn against short-sighted responses to the crisis that exacerbate current trends, notably reducing biofuels, livestock numbers, and reliance on fossil energy and fertilizers in food production.
- 4. The United Nations Committee on World Food Security (CFS-HLPE/FAO Rome) proposes short-term and long-term measures to alleviate the crisis, highlighting: Increased food aid for populations in conflict; no to restrictions on food exports; a moratorium on the production of biofuels from food crops; increase and diversify food production to build greater resilience of the food system; Invest in social protection systems and protect food consumption and nutrition; more health and water systems; Invest in more climate-resilient and less energy-intensive forms of production such as agroecology, that are not dependent on the excessive use of chemical fertilizers and fossil fuels and are less vulnerable to fluctuations in energy prices; Increase the capacity of local and regional markets by investing in more distribution systems.

A conflict of international magnitude had to take place for there to be a global rethinking of food security. The repeated calls to review and reformulate national and global nutritional food systems were never heard.

The problem will not be solved with the investment of billions of dollars. The problem is not lack of money.

❖ It is not possible to propose to all countries that there are no restrictions on food exports if the internal situation of each country is not considered (supply and demand); the social problems that would be generated by the increase in domestic prices for exporting non-surplus food; the income levels of the poor population; substitution of staple crops for export crops; the accumulation and diversion of food to foreign markets, among others.

❖ It also highlights that the World Bank -known for its neoliberal approach- recommends social protection programs (when the neoliberals recommend the dis-maintenance of the Social State³) and even subsidies in the energy sector for people with few resources.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The sector of the Creole oligarchy in Bolivia proposes that social benefits should be suspended; since it is a waste of money, it allows many people not to work and to be lazy (since they already have that food guaranteed, they do not work...).

❖ The construction of food resilience is not obtained by expanding the agricultural frontier, nor by degrading ecosystems or soils that are not suitable for agriculture, and which are then prone to environmental disasters.

#### 4. WHAT IS POSED IN BOLIVIA REGARDING THE FOOD CRISIS?

#### 4.1. What agro-industrialists<sup>4</sup> and large exporters propose

The large agribusinesses and exporters (of beef, pork, soy, sugar cane) see the Ukraine-Russia conflict as a great opportunity to obtain the financial resources available internationally and more markets to which arrive, so they do not hesitate to suggest that exported products should be increased, foreign markets expanded and transgenic corn introduced into the country.

- i. They ask to annul the restrictions on exports and request access to credits. Over the course of several weeks, many statements and demonstrations were made by various directors of the producer associations requesting the release of exports. "Bolivian Sugarcane Producers (Concabol).... they demand that the Government annul Supreme Decree 4680, which regulates and limits exports of corn, sorghum and sugar and access to credits to encourage sugarcane production and not put food security at risk... this provision creates uncertainty and disincentives in the primary sector and it will put a brake on investments" (A. Arnez president concabol-03/23/2022 El Deber). "Cane growers reject DS that restricts exports" (03/24/2022 Página Siete); "Cane growers announce roadblocks, demand free exports and access to credit" (04/04/2022 El Deber). "Camara Agropecuaria del Oriente (CAO) affirms that less corn production is due to export restrictions" (El Deber 04/13/2022).
- ii. They consider that the Russia-Ukraine conflict is a wave of opportunities that must be seized: According to the representative of the Agricultural Chamber of the East (CAO), "from the war Between Russia and Ukraine, the weak economy of many countries worsened... Those countries that quickly orient their State policies to stimulate food production, facilitate access to new technologies, open new export markets and generate competitive measures may have better opportunities.... ..food security and sovereignty is achieved by generating productive surpluses in food and freeing up exports, allowing greater income for the producer, for the entire chain and, of course, for the country". (O.M.Justiniano President CAO-El Deber 05 19 2022). Another proposal of the agro-industrial sugarcane sector expressed by its highest representative is: "The sugarcane sector estimates to produce 11.5 million qq/sugar and 240 million alcohol in 2022 for export" (El Deber 04/05/2022).
- iii. They demand new technology. Under the pretext that transgenics will increase production and improve corn quality, they demand the incursion of new (transgenic<sup>5</sup>) technology, arguing that it increases productivity, that it is effective against drought<sup>6</sup> and that, without biotechnology, producers of corn lose 400 million \$ us a year (06/7/2022). "In the opinion of the manager of the Chamber of Exporters of Santa Cruz (Cadex), Martín Salces, the resources that the US and international financial entities will incorporate to produce more food will promote

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> In general, all agribusinesses in the east are penalized equally (large, medium, small) when in reality there are many differences between them. Unfortunately, the large agro-exporters are the ones who speak out on behalf of all, but it is known that there are different goals and interests among agro-industrialists.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Not wishing to remember that it is prohibited by the CPE (Art 225), and also in Law 144 of the Community Productive Revolution and in the Law of Mother Earth.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> When in fact the yield depends on suitable soils, crop management, climate and seed quality. Transgenic corn can cause the extinction of native corn (of the 77 races) that Bolivia has (PROBIOMA 2022).

greater competitiveness in producers, and the incursion of technology is necessary to improve the quality and quantity of production" (El Deber 05/22/2022).

#### 4.2. What the government proposes

The government proposes and implements a series of measures, which can be classified as follows:

Measures already in force:

- i. Regulated prices of basic foodstuffs for a long time such as bread and wheat flour (subsidized, essential in the population's consumption) and also gasoline, diesel, energy services, water.
- ii. The fixed exchange rate (dollar<sup>7</sup>) for many years, which maintains price stability.
- **iii.** The contraband. During the last 15 years (and until a few months ago) the government has allowed, with weak repressive actions, the smuggling of various kinds of food from all the surrounding countries, which has indirectly been a price regulator in the market. internal (but directly, it has represented a loss of income in the production costs of the small agricultural producer and in its productive structure).
- **iv. Food distribution** through the different social benefits to vulnerable populations, in nutritionally established food rations, which means that this population regularly has access to basic foods.
- **v. Marketing of food** at fair prices through EMAPA in the different stores established in each city, regulating the sale price and supply.

Newly created measures:

- vi. Restrictions on food exports. Although it has been in force for a long time, this measure has recently been reaffirmed with Supreme Decree 4680 due to the Russia-Ukraine conflict, with the intention of regulating the output of products (corn, soybeans, sugar, meat) and guaranteeing the supply of the internal market (it is export only balances with a certificate of supply at a fair price as a requirement).
- **vii.** Liberation of tariffs on imports of agrochemicals. In view of the possible increase in the international price of fertilizers, through DS 4702 imports of fungicides, insecticides, herbicides, germination inhibitors and plant growth regulators were released until the end of 2022.
- viii. Future purchases of food by establishing in advance a reference price higher than the current one. (The state company EMAPA will buy 211,596 tons of wheat from farmers in the 2022 winter season at a price of US\$390/tonne in 2021 the price was US\$335/tonne- which encourages producers to sow said cereal, El Deber 04/21/2022).
- ix. Sowing of basic products. The various government authorities claim to have taken a series of productive initiatives in various fields to provide food and basic raw materials "The MDRyT claims to have planted corn on land reverted to the State (Ostreicher) and hopes to obtain 16,000 Tm in the next harvest for poultry farmers , pig farmers and ranchers" (El Deber 08/05/2022). "EMAPA planted 14,000 hectares of corn to produce 46,000 tons of yellow corn in San Ignacio de Velasco and Asunción de Guarayos" (Página Siete 11/05/22) "For the winter campaign, EMAPA will produce corn and wheat to reserve these grains; the price will be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Which in turn allows great profits to the financial sector.

subsidized with 10% less in relation to the market" (F. Flores Manager EMAPA El Deber 04/18/2022).

**x. Direct distribution of seeds.** Faced with the growing wave of speculation about the supply of corn at the end of April and the beginning of May, which sought to raise the price of corn<sup>8</sup>, the government began to stockpile and distribute corn at 30 tons/month/associated, declaring that the national demand reaches 995,203 MT (for the production of chicken and pork meat, in addition to milk and eggs) and the national production is 1,029,179 MT..... "It was decided to buy 100,000 MT of corn from small and medium producers to Bs 100 per quintal, to supply the livestock sector at a subsidized price of Bs 65 per quintal, so that the prices of staple foods remain stable" (statements of the MDRyT minister).

However, from the side of agribusiness, the version is different because they maintain that private companies are discriminated against in the distribution of corn seeds<sup>9</sup>, and that it is scarce as food for chickens, pigs, cattle, which is why they demand imports. transgenic corn (Página Siete 05/11/2022); also taking advantage of the opportunity to demand the incursion of new technology (transgenic) of corn that would increase productivity and face the drought (source. retransmitted constantly by TV Unitel).

"Large producers seek to create a scenario of scarcity and deficit in the production and shortage of corn to force the national government to use transgenics in the country" (R. Gonzales, Minister MDRyT, El Deber 05/13/2022).

Finally, at the end of May, "the Vice Ministry of Defense of User and Consumer Rights (VDDU) located and initiated criminal proceedings against 6 illegal companies in Santa Cruz for hide corn under the penal figure of agio and speculation" (Página Siete 05/29/22).

**xi.** Increase in food reserves. EMAPA, for a long time, has had food reserves (wheat) in its silos with which it supplies bakers in agreed quantities and prices, thus controlling the selling prices of bread<sup>10</sup>. Likewise, according to the MDRyT, EMAPA collected 40,246 MT/corn from speculators for its reserves (El Deber 05/22/2022).

**xii.** They create an agricultural production company. According to DS 4701, the Bolivian Agricultural Production Company (EBPA) was created, with the strategic mission of strengthening agricultural production, exporting and generating surpluses in favor of the Bolivian people, with an initial capital of 140 million Bs.

xiii. They decide to restart the operation of the urea plant and build a new fertilizer plant and agrochemical company. Faced with the crisis of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, which also affects the trade and supply of fertilizers, the government decides to relaunch the Ammonia and Urea (PAU) plant in the municipality of Bulo Bulo, which has operated with various interruptions (problems in the use of its full capacity, in marketing to the Brazilian market, in its high costs, and others) with the prospect of exporting and generating revenues of US\$400 million (Página Siete 12/05/22).

Likewise, it proposes to build a new fertilizer plant and an agrochemical company, to export to the world market (Página Siete 04/30/22).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> "Agriculturalists warn of an increase in the price of meat due to the war" (PS 4/28/22); "Pigs rise 2 bs price per kg pig" (PS 04/05/22); "Lack of corn causes rise in the price of pork, chicken, eggs, milk and 36 dairies closed" (El Deber 05/05/22) "PROMASOR anticipates a deficit of 600,000 MT/corn" (Página Siete 05/6/22).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> "CAINCO announces discrimination in corn distribution and privileged treatment to public companies" (PS 2/05/22) "State corn only covers 25% of the requirement according to agro-industrial companies" (Página Siete 6/05/22).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> According to EMAPA, there are 97,000 tons of wheat stored in the silos, with which the supply of the product to the bakery sector is guaranteed (Página Siete 04/21/2022).

xiv. New financing for food processing plants. According to DS 4722 (05/20/22), 842.8 million Bs are assigned from the General Treasury of the Nation (TGN), corresponding to 256.5 million Bs to EBA (90.8 million Bs for dairy plants in La Paz and Oruro; 24.6 million Bs for almonds and 141 million Bs for plants in Chaco) and 586.3 million Bs to EMAPA (161.8 million Bs for potato processing plants in Chuquisaca and 424.4 million Bs for San Julián-Santa Cruz). Likewise, financial transfers are authorized for the conclusion of technical studies to implement the chemical industry in Bolivia, the meat industry in Beni and product industries in Chaco.

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- It is clear that the agro-export sector sees this crisis as an opportunity to obtain more profits, with the desire to expand exports. They are only interested in the rapid and maximum return on their invested capital, and they are not interested in Nutritional Food Security or contributing to the solution of the problem of access to food generated by the conflict. They also see the opportunity to press for the adoption of transgenic technology (corn) under the pretext that it increases productivity and is adequate against drought, but not wanting to remember that it is prohibited by the CPE and various laws and DS.
- \* Regarding the issue of government food companies.

The role of EMAPA. EMAPA is not only a state company that enters the market but has also become an operational instrument of the government to implement intervention policies in the food market (temporary regulations such as the application of subsidies, prohibition of exports of products that shortages in domestic supply, direct imports of other basic foods to supply the population, collection of raw materials and redistribution<sup>11</sup>, direct sale of food, among others); prevent price increases (price regulator agent) by concealment and speculation by traders, middlemen and others.

Both the process of collecting grains and the marketing of food are carried out through a financial subsidy from the State, which has had a permanent increase <sup>12</sup>.

The EBPA. Theoretically, EBPA proposes to strengthen agricultural production, however, it does not specify in which sectors, it does not raise aspects of coordination/complementation with the series of other programs/projects that exist in the country (INIAF, IPDSA, EMPODERAR, CRIAR, etc.) Nor does it propose addressing the specific needs of family farming in the highlands, valleys, Amazon, Chaco, Chiquitanía; expressed in different development strategies and Plans of Indigenous Peoples and peasant organizations.

According to some commentators, it will be a company run by political appointees, with excessive costs, high salaries, that will not sell products at attractive prices and that will keep its political clientele captive, among other things<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> In this stage of collection and redistribution of corn, EMAPA must not repeat past mistakes. To promote regionalized wheat production, between 2007 and 2015 EMAPA bought wheat at differentiated prices from one region to another, according to the agricultural seasons, according to the beneficiaries of the program and according to the international prices of wheat/wheat flour. But the intermediary merchants transferred the product from one region to another according to the best prices and even sold foreign products (Argentine wheat) as well as national ones to EMAPA. This way of proceeding only encouraged merchant intermediaries and not internal production.

 $<sup>^{12}</sup>$  According to Página Siete 9/08/2021, as of 2021 EMAPA had a deficit of 21.27 million Bs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> They argue that the EBPA is an interference of the State in the economy; that the State should not subsidize inputs or control food prices; that the State wants to manage agricultural businesses directly; that the company would be competing with the citizens (?) who would be prevented from appropriating profits; that the government has no experience in managing agricultural companies (and that it should not compete with them...?); that the EBPA will not be able to sell the products at attractive prices; that trade is transparent and the solution to all problems; that the market determines the prices, the quantity to produce and what to produce; that taxes should be lowered; secure investments; freedom to sell, rent and mortgage land, among others (Página Siete 8/05/22). In reality, these opinions

what deep down do not understand these positions is that the EBPA is being created to satisfy the request of the intercultural - social and political base of the ruling party - already expressed in the "First National Meeting of Small Producers of the Pact of Unity" held in La Paz on May 17-18 2018 (Prudencio J. 2019) on support for direct exports of soybeans because the soybean agribusiness pays them very little compared to the international price of soybeans<sup>14</sup>.

EBPA will rescue the soybean grain from the interculturalists, process it and export it, paying them a better price for the grain than the one paid by agro-exporters. So, EBPA will also mean competition for soy exporting agribusinesses from the east, generating a break in the existing political commitment (avoided) between the agribusiness - government, until a new political-economic readjustment of that actor.

- ❖ The Liberation of tariffs on imports of agrochemicals. The agrochemical market in the country is completely out of control, even reaching sell internationally prohibited agrochemicals, which further emphasizes the contamination of the environment, the land, the water and kills biodiversity. Many farmers are not trained in its use, in the handling of containers, in human health care. Agrochemicals cannot continue to be used indiscriminately, and without any control. With this new provision, the use of agrochemicals will increase even more and the destruction of natural controls will intensify, leading to the spiral of demanding more and more agrochemicals.
  - PROBIOMA, based on INE data, indicates that in 2000, 30 million kg of agrochemicals were imported and in 2020, 174 million kg were imported (5.8 times more<sup>15</sup>). In other words, in 20 years, 2,110 million kg of agrochemicals have been used. In general average, from 16.1 kgs of agrochemicals used per hectare in 2000, it went to 44.8 kgs/ha in 2020 (www. PROBIOMA).
- ❖ About hard corn plantations in Santa Cruz. It is appropriate for the government to plant hard yellow corn in the Santa Cruz regions to anticipate future demand for the raw material by the poultry, beef and pork industries; but this measure is totally insufficient since it must support all the small corn farmers located in Cochabamba, Potosí, Tarija, Chuquisaca, the valleys of La Paz, in Pando and in the Chaco, supporting in an agroecological way the multiplication of native seeds of the corn, encouraging the diversification, conservation and rescue of the (77) races that exist in the country. Similarly, this measure must be complemented with the strict control of the entry (smuggling) and marketing of transgenic corn, and also stop/seize the production of transgenic corn that several landowners already produce, in Chaco and Santa Cruz.

#### 5. FINAL REFLEXIONS

1. The Ukraine-Russia war should not only serve to raise solidarity with an invaded people who are generating food supply problems and destroying their fertile lands, their grain export ports (among others), but it should also serve to analyze the effect on the country (although we are not directly linked to this problem due to the scarce commercial flow) and should serve to rethink our public policies, projects and development programs.

only repeat the approaches of the neoliberal ideologues who propose the dismantling of the Social State; deregulation; privatization; regressive taxes and that public good should pass in favor of private and for-profit business ventures.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> In March 2021, the interculturalists blocked the main access roads to the department of Santa Cruz for better soybean prices, since in Chicago it was 520 \$us/Tm and in Santa Cruz they were paid 323 \$us/Tm (El Deber 03/ 11 to 16/2021).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Not counting contraband, which represents 30% of the total (El Deber 05/30/2021)

- 2. Unlike other crises and other countries, the government presents an adequate intervention by controlling the prices of food and raw materials, in distribution and reserves, limiting exports due to internal shortages (and investing in processing plants of products<sup>16</sup>) hoping that the measures and actions are permanent for the adequate food supply of the population and not temporary political measures.
- 3. Most government measures to control the rise in food prices and benefit the consumer are based on subsidies for distribution/commercialization and that represents a fiscal cost that accumulates more and more. The subsidy has to be redirected towards diversification and increased agroecological productivity of staple foods, and thus there will be a return on capital and the fiscal cost will gradually decrease.
- 4. The fact that the government has created the EBPA<sup>17</sup> company and suspended tariffs on imports of agrochemicals supposes a deepening of the agro-extractivist model, because the cultivated area of soybeans will be expanded and the use of agrochemicals will be intensified, which supposes greater attack against food sovereignty; against human health and genetic heritage; against biodiversity; contamination of land and water; increased deforestation<sup>20</sup>; destruction of local agroecosystems; use of land not suitable for agriculture<sup>21</sup>; monopolization and enslavement of the lands of the Indigenous Peoples<sup>22</sup> to cultivate soybeans, among others.
- 5. Instead of going deeper the agro-extractivist model, this moment should be taken advantage of to modify the Bolivian food system due to the great wealth that the country possesses in terms of ecoregions (Altiplano, valleys, tropics, Amazonia); of productive diversification; of the variety and richness of native and natural seeds; variety and cultural richness. The country must be the mainstay in the production of healthy and nutritious food and thus will also contribute to the fight against climate change.

Once there is a greater political decision towards the sector, translated into real investments to support diversification and increased production based on agroecological production; the preservation and strengthening of native seeds<sup>23</sup>; implement and intensify conservation agriculture; technology appropriate to the regions; further encourage training/technical advice; credits; irrigation water, among

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Hoping that they do not make fatal mistakes again like that of the San Buena Ventura Sugar Company (EASBA) that as of July 2021 had a loss of 228.88 million Bs (PS 9/08/2022) without mentioning that it does not have raw material to process, that has divided the indigenous peoples of the region, that has deforested large areas, among others.

Creating competition for agribusiness soy exporters, and benefiting their sociopolitical bases.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> "In Beni they plan to cultivate between 30,000 and 40,000 hectares of soybeans" (El Deber 2/06/2022).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Meanwhile, the number of countries that have realized that the use of herbicides (based on glyphosate) is harmful is growing, prohibiting their use. Such is the case of countries such as Portugal, Belgium, Italy, Austria, France, Denmark, Luxembourg, the Netherlands; in several countries in Asia, the Middle East, Central America (Mexico) and in different areas of the USA (KeyWest, Los Angeles, Miami), Canada (Vancouver and 8 provinces), England, Scotland, Australia, Switzerland, Slovenia, among others (https://www.semana.com/impact/article/ the-countries-that..)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> In 2021, Bolivia was the third country in the world in the loss of primary tropical forests, only after Brazil (which destroyed 51.5 million hectares) and Congo (destroyed 500,000 hectares). In 2021, the country reached its highest level recorded with 291,000 hectares of primary forest burned inside protected areas. "Fires in Bolivia are almost always caused by humans as part of efforts to clear the land.... The majority of forest fires in 2021 occurred in the department of Santa Cruz...The primary moist tropical forests are the ecosystems with the greatest diversity of the planet and are especially important for the climate balance because they store large amounts of carbon dioxide, so losing them is a "dramatic" issue World Research Institute (WRI) (reproduced on Página Siete 04/28/2022).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Like the recent approval of land use (PLUS) in Beni (2019) that expands the agricultural frontier opposite of genetic resources, biodiversity, agro-forestry systems and distorts land use.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> In this regard, see the recent publication ""Territorios indígenas enajenados" by FTIERRA.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Through a Law and regulatory decrees, promote the rescue and recovery of native seed varieties under controlled conditions; establish seed banks and genetic research centers for their conservation.

others; with the prospect of reducing greenhouse gases, food security with sovereignty; the defense of local/regional eating habits; and the livelihoods of the rural poor; the impact on biodiversity and its protection; short marketing chains and territorial markets, among others.

6. According to international reports (EIU 2022), Bolivia, unlike several Latin American and Caribbean countries that have problems (due to their public debt, external imbalances, high inflation), presents, in macroeconomic terms, a better situation in the inflation rate, in the current account, interest payments, legal risk, internal demand<sup>24</sup>... however, looking at ourselves internally and no longer comparatively with other countries, the external debt has grown in recent years (from 9,428 million US dollars in 2017 (24.9% of GDP) to 11,321 million US\$ in 2020 (26.6% of GDP) and State reserves have decreased (from 10,260.6 million US\$ in 2017 to 4,686 million US\$ to May 2022 www. bcb.gob.bo), among others.

In microeconomic terms, specifically in the agricultural sector, the situation is not optimal since the production costs of the basic products of family farming cannot be covered by the sale prices; peasant families do not manage to have the minimum monetary income; there is lack of employment; rural migrations increase; the localities/communities in the altiplano and valleys are being depopulated; climate change with drought, untimely rains/frosts/floods (which will become more and more frequent) strongly affects the productive structure. The peasant productive units are disappearing due to the depletion of their resources (land, water, seeds), also affecting the national food industry, since it does not provide it with adequate and low-cost raw materials

7. In microeconomic terms, specifically in the agricultural sector, the situation is not optimal since the production costs of the basic products of family farming cannot be covered by the sale prices; peasant families do not manage to have the minimum monetary income; there is lack of employment; rural migrations increase; the localities/communities in the altiplano and valleys are being depopulated; climate change with drought, untimely rains/frosts/floods (which will become more and more frequent) strongly affects the productive structure. The peasant productive units are disappearing due to the depletion of their resources (land, water, seeds), also affecting the national food industry, since it does not provide it with adequate and low-cost raw materials.

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#### **SYNONYMS**

ALTyC América Latina y el Caribe

ANAPO Asociación Nacional de Productores de Oleaginosas

BID Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo CAINCO Cámara de Industria y Comercio

CEPAL Comisión Económica para América Latina

CAO Cámara Agropecuaria del Oriente

DS Decretos Supremos

EMAPA Empresa de Apoyo a la Producción de Alimentos EBPA Empresa Boliviana de Producción Agropecuaria EBA Empresa Boliviana de Alimentos y Derivados.

EASBA Empresa Azucarera San Buena Ventura

EIU Economist Intelligence Unit ED El Deber (Periódico=Newspaper)

FAO Organización de Naciones Unidas para la Agricultura

FIDA Fondo Internacional del Desarrollo Agrícola

IPES Red europea de intercambio de conocimientos agroecológicos

MDRyT Ministerio de Desarrollo Rural y Tierras PROBIOMA Productividad Biosfera Medio Ambiente

PS Pagina Siete (Newspaper)
PGE Presupuesto General del Estado

PI Pueblos Indígenas

Qq Quintales

Senasag Servicio Nacional de Sanidad Agropecuaria e Inocuidad Alimentaria VDDU Vice Ministerio de Defensa de los Derechos del Usuario y Consumidor

WB World Bank (Banco Mundial)

PLUS Plan del Uso del Suelo