FULL PLANET, EMPTY PLATES

The New Geopolitics of Food Scarcity



Lester R. Brown

A presentation for

Full Planet, Empty Plates: The New Geopolitics of Food Scarcity

A book by Lester R. Brown





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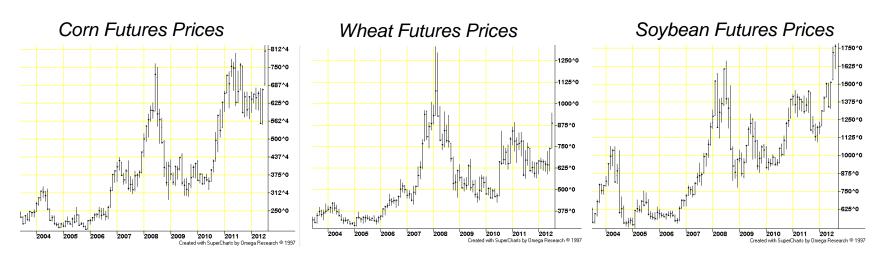
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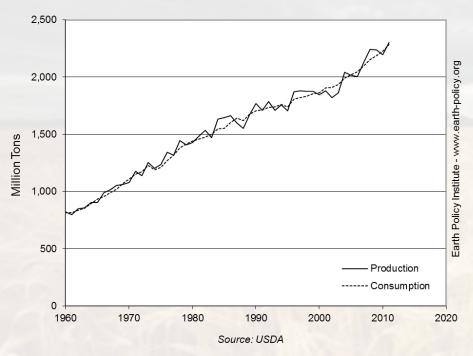
An Era of Rising Food Prices

- 2007-08: Grain and soybean prices more than doubled, leading to food riots and unrest in some 60 countries
- Prices eased somewhat with global recession
- 2010-11: Another price spike helped fuel the Arab Spring
- 2012: Prices again approaching or setting records



Precarious Global Food Situation

World Grain Production and Consumption, 1960-2011



- Dangerously small margin between grain consumption and grain production
- Now we face long-term trends that:
 - increase food demand
 - limit food production

We are only one poor harvest away from chaos in world grain markets.

Demand Growing, Supply Strained

Demand Side

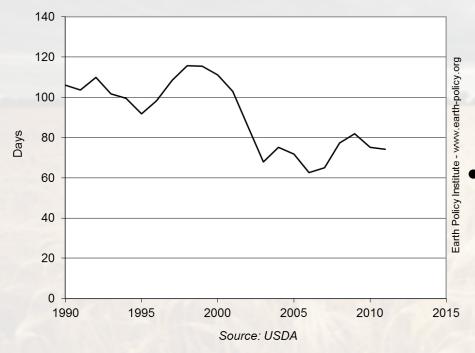
- Growing population
- People moving up the food chain
- Biofuels turning food into fuel

Supply Side

- Eroding soils
- Depleting aquifers
- Plateauing grain yields
- Rising temperature

From Surplus to Scarcity

World Grain Stocks as Days of Consumption, 1990-2012



- In the past, world had two safety cushions in case of harvest shortfall:
 - idled U.S. cropland
 - large stocks of grain
 - Now, we have lost those two safety cushions
 - U.S. abandoned cropland set aside programs
 - grain stocks have fallen dangerously low

Strained Food Budgets

- Rising demand and tightening supply raise world food prices to new heights
- For consumers who spend 50–70% of their income on food, higher prices mean eating less

World Monthly Food Price Index, January 1990-August 2012



Hunger Rising

- Now close to 1 billion people are hungry
- Some families have "foodless days" when they do not eat at all
- Children suffer the most: some are physically and mentally stunted, unable to reach their full potential

	Percent of Families with Foodless Days
India	24
Nigeria	27
Peru	14

Source: GlobeScan Inc.

Learning from the Past

- Food shortages undermined ancient civilizations
 - Sumer: A flaw in the irrigation system led to rising salt levels in the soil and crop failures
 - Maya Empire: forest clearing led to soil erosion and loss of soil fertility

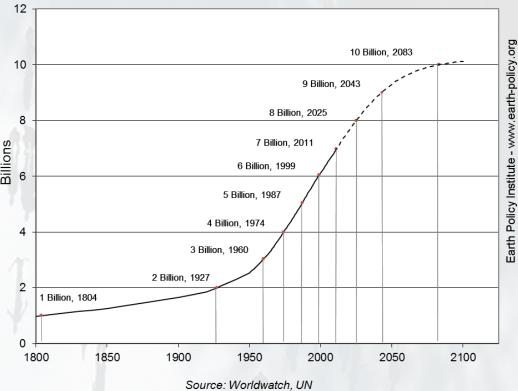
While the decline of early civilizations can be traced to one or two damaging environmental trends, we are now dealing with several. Will we suffer their fate?



Population Pressures

- 7 billion people on the planet
- Each year, nearly 80 million people added
- Some 215 million women who want to plan their families lack access to family planning services
- Large families trap people in poverty

World Population, 1800-2010, with Projection to 2100



We are fast outgrowing the earth's capacity to sustain our increasing numbers.

System Overload

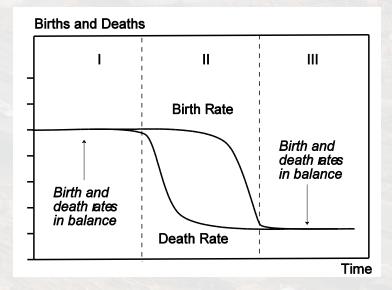
- Overfishing: 80% of oceanic fisheries are being fished at or beyond their sustainable yield
- Overgrazing: The global grazing livestock population grew by 1.2 billion animals since 1960
- Overcutting: The world's forests lose a net 5.6 million hectares—an area the size of Costa Rica—each year
- Overplowing: In parts of Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, productive cropland is turning into wasteland
- **Overpumping**: Half the world's population lives in countries that are extracting groundwater from aquifers faster than it is replenished





Demographic Transition

- High birth rates and low death rates create a demographic <u>trap</u> of rapidly expanding population
 - E.g. Nigeria, Ethiopia, Pakistan
 - Sub-Saharan Africa and the Indian subcontinent will add nearly 2 billion people by 2050



- Countries that reduce both birth and death rates benefit from a demographic bonus
 - E.g. Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore
 - 44 countries in Europe, Latin America, and parts of Southeast Asia have reached population stability

Population Uncertainty

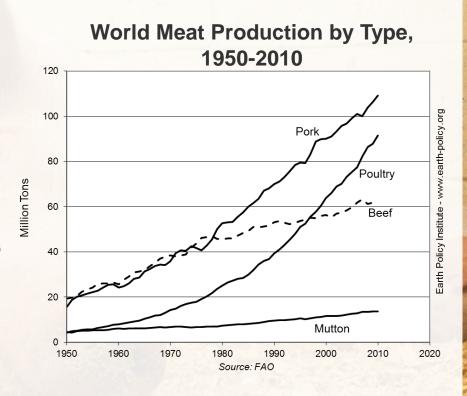
- U.N. projections of adding 2.3 billion people by 2050 may not in fact materialize because they do not take into account:
 - Resource availability
 - Climate variability
 - Changing geopolitical (in)stability

Human demands have outrun the carrying capacity of the economy's natural support systems, leading us toward collapse.



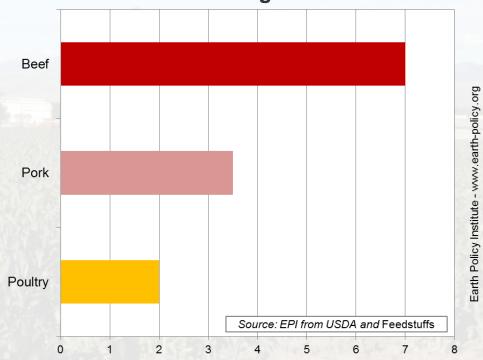
More Meat, More Feed

- World meat demand grew fivefold since 1950
- As incomes rise, some 3
 billion people in the
 developing world desire to
 eat more meat, milk, and
 eggs
- This requires more grain and soybeans for animal feed



Turning Grain into Animal Protein

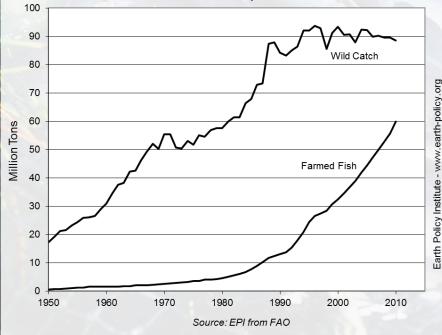




Pound for pound, beef takes more grain than other livestock products, and thus more water, too.

Fish Farming Expands

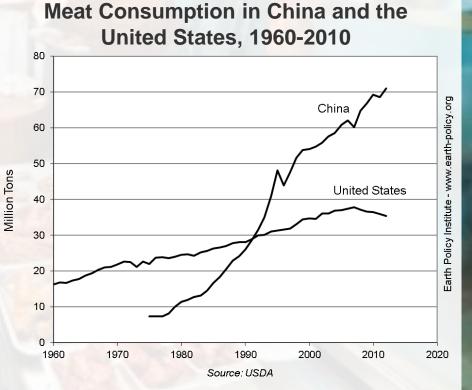




- With most wild fisheries fully or over-exploited, growth in demand for fish now being met by fish farms
- Some aquaculture
 operations use grain and
 soybeans as feed; others
 use fish meal, putting
 additional pressure on
 oceanic fisheries.

China's Meat Consumption Rising

- China now consumes twice as much meat as the United States
- On per capita level, roles are reversed: U.S. golden
 consumption per person is twice China's

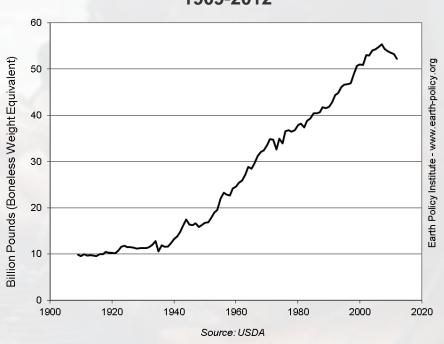


As incomes continue to rise, the pressure to produce enough grain and soybeans to satisfy the growing appetite for livestock and poultry products will only intensify.

U.S. Meat Consumption Declining

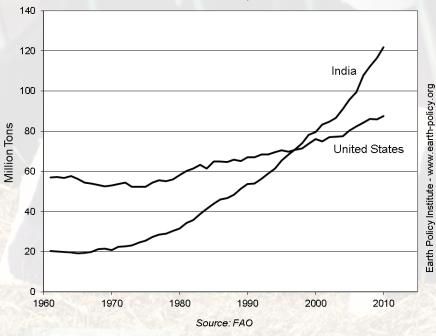
- After decades of growth,
 U.S. meat consumption has peaked
- Fell 6% from 2007 to 2012
- Benefits of moving down the food chain include better personal and environmental health, plus lower grain and water demand

Meat Consumption in the United States, 1909-2012



No Grain Needed: India's Dairy Model

Milk Production in India and the United States, 1961-2010



- In the 1960s, Dr. Verghese Kurien organized an umbrella organization for small milk producer co-ops
- India now leads the world in milk production, overtaking the United States in 1997
- Cows are fed almost exclusively crop residues and grass

No Grain Needed: Beef and Farmed Fish in China

 Cows in China's "Beef Belt" are fed straw and cornstalks from double-cropped winter wheat and corn fields

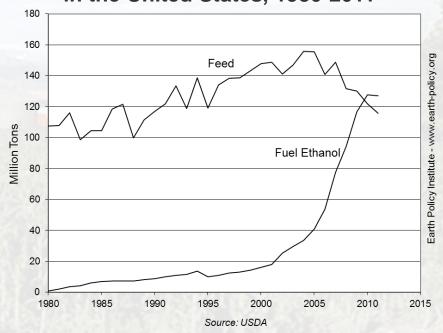
 Four carp species farmed together in China feed on what they would in the wild (e.g. plankton, aquatic plants); no grain or fish meal involved



Feeding Cars Instead of People

- U.S. corn is largest crop of any grain worldwide, critical to world supplies
- Close to 1/3 of U.S. grain now going to ethanol
- Grain used to fuel U.S. cars in 2011 could otherwise have fed 400 million people
- U.S. ethanol euphoria beginning in 2005 helped raise food prices worldwide





The grain needed to fill an SUV's 25-gallon tank with ethanol once could feed one person for a year.

Ethanol Production in Top 10 Countries, 2011

Main ethanol feedstocks:

- Corn in United States, China, Canada
- Sugarcane in Brazil
- Various grains in Europe
- Sugarcane and molasses in India, Thailand

Corn-based ethanol is blended into U.S. gasoline to meet "renewable fuels" mandate

Street, Square, Street, Square, Square	
	Million Gallons
United States	14,319
Brazil	5,553
China	555
Canada	462
France	301
Germany	203
India	147
Thailand	135
Spain	122
Belgium	106
World	22,742
Source: F.O. Licht	

Source: F.O. Licht

If the entire U.S. grain harvest were turned into ethanol, it would only satisfy 18% of current U.S. gasoline demand.

Biodiesel Production in Top 10 Countries, 2011

Main biodiesel feedstocks:

- Soybeans in United States, Argentina, and Brazil
- Rapeseed in Europe
- Palm oil in Indonesia,
 Thailand

E.U. mandate that renewables contribute 10% of transport energy by 2020 coming under fire

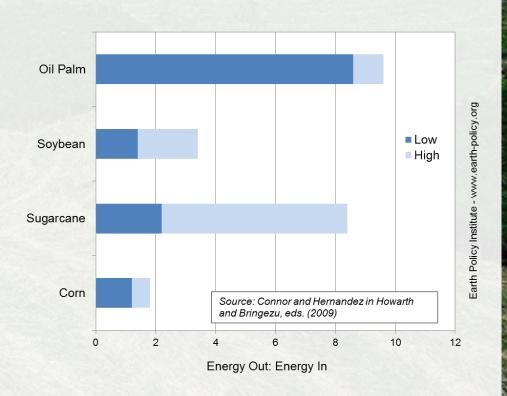
	Million College
	Million Gallons
United States	841
Germany	835
Argentina	729
Brazil	698
France	420
Indonesia	360
Spain	188
Italy	156
Thailand	156
Netherlands	117
World	5,651
Course: FO Light	

Source: F.O. Licht

Biofuel Crops Displace Food Crops, Forests

- Biofuel crops vary in energy "bang for the buck"
- New oil palm plantations come at expense of tropical forests
- Greenhouse gas
 emissions from land use
 change and fertilizers
 likely negate climate
 benefit of replacing
 gasoline with biofuels

Biofuel Net Energy Ratio for Selected Crops





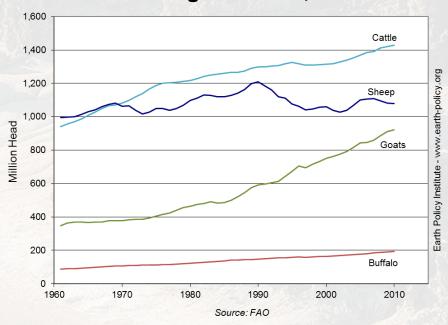
Worsening Soil Erosion

- Overplowing, overgrazing, and deforestation make soil vulnerable to wind and water erosion
- Roughly 1/3 of the world's cropland is now losing topsoil faster than it can be re-formed
- Topsoil loss reduces productivity, eventually leading farmers and herders to abandon their land
- Countries such as Lesotho, Haiti, Mongolia, and North Korea are losing the ability to feed themselves

Grazing Livestock Degrading Land

- The world's 3.4 billion cattle, sheep, and goats destroy vegetation, leaving land vulnerable to erosion
- Goats thrive in degraded conditions, so growth in their population relative to sheep and cattle is a sign of grassland deterioration
- With fast-growing goat numbers, Nigeria is losing 868,000 acres of rangeland and cropland to desertification each year

World Grazing Livestock, 1961-2010



Dust Bowls in History

- Overplowing in the U.S. Great Plains led to the 1930s Dust Bowl that forced the migration of hundreds of thousands of people
- The Soviet Virgin Lands Project converted a massive area of grassland to grainland, resulting in another dust bowl and ultimately cropland abandonment

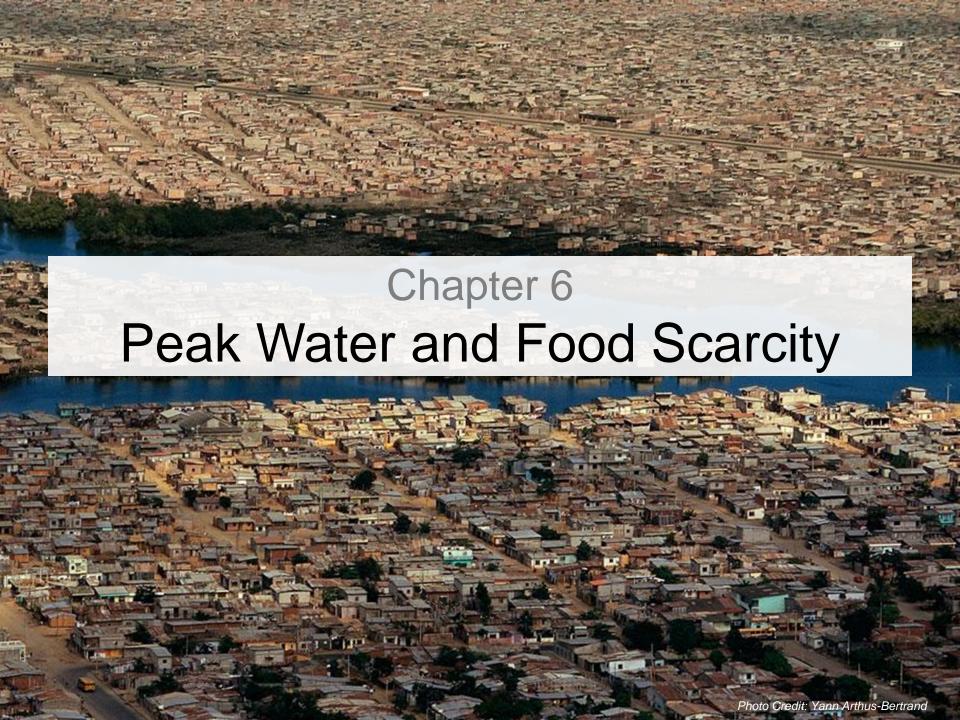
Dust Bowls Today

- Now overgrazing in northwestern China and western Mongolia is leading to the merging of deserts and the formation of dust storms that sweep across the continent, sometimes even as far as North America
- Population and livestock pressure in the African Sahel has destroyed soils; dust storms carrying 2–3 billion tons of soil leave Africa each year

These two newer dust bowls dwarf anything the world has seen before. We have yet to see their full effects.

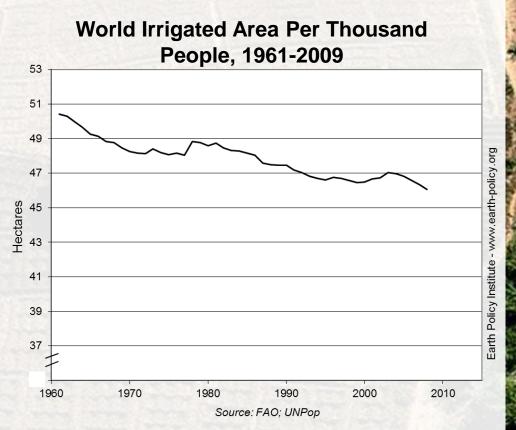
Erosion of Agriculture

The shrinking area of productive land and the earth's steadily expanding human population are on a collision course. Soil erosion and land degradation issues are local, but the effect on food security is global.

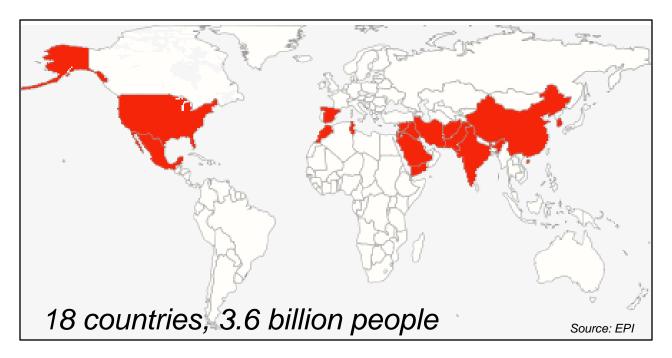


Agriculture's Water Footprint

- Worldwide 70% of water is used for agriculture
- Some 40% of the world grain harvest is grown on irrigated land



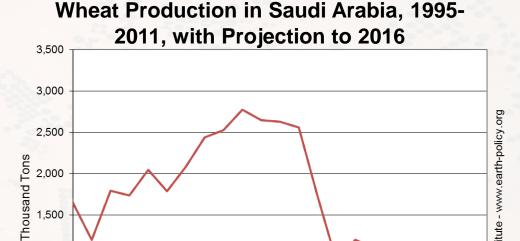
Coming Water Shortages



- Overpumping produces food bubbles that burst when water supplies dry up
- 175 million people in India and 130 million people in China eat grain produced by overpumping
- In the Arab Middle East, a collision between population growth and water supply is reducing regional grain harvests

Saudi Arabia's Bursting Bubble

- Saudi Arabia became self-sufficient in wheat by tapping its nonreplenishable aquifer to irrigate the desert
- In early 2008, the government announced the aquifer was largely depleted
- The population of nearly 30 million will be entirely dependent on imported grain by 2016



2005

Source: USDA, EPI

2010

Saudi Arabia is the first country to publicly project how aquifer depletion will shrink its grain harvest.

1,000

500

1995

2000

2015

Potential for Conflict

U.S. water withdrawals from the Colorado River cause it to run dry before it reaches Mexico's Gulf of California

Dam-building projects in Turkey restrict Tigris-Euphrates flow to Syria and Iraq



Foreign land acquisitions for farming in Ethiopia and Sudan will affect the availability of fresh Nile water to Egypt

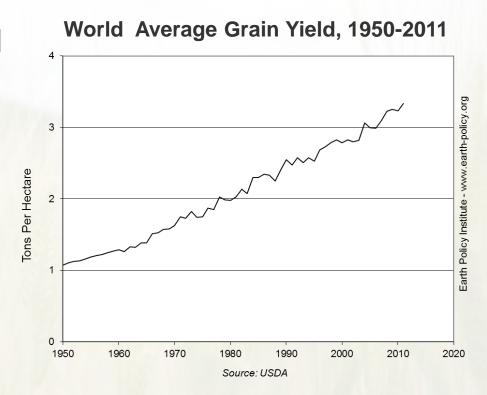


Competition for scarce water resources creates tension on regional and international scales, pitting cities against farmers and countries against each other.



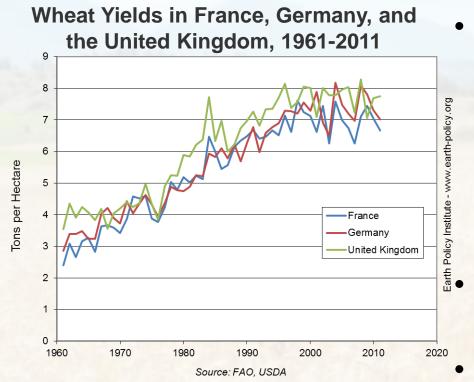
Growth in Grain Yields Slowing

- World average grain yield has tripled since 1950
- But the pace of growth is slowing
 - 1950-1990: It grew2.2% per year
 - 1990-2011: It grew1.3% per year



In some of the more agriculturally advanced countries, the increase in grain yields has come to an end.

Wheat Yields Flat in Western Europe



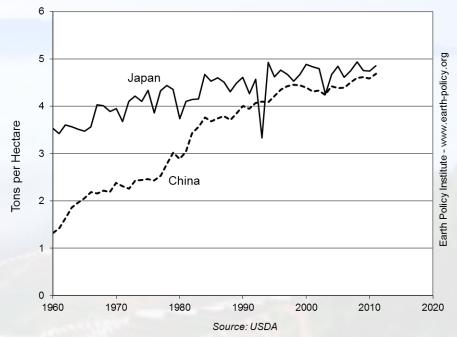
- Farmers in France,
 Germany, and the United
 Kingdom appear to have
 reached upper biological
 limits, exhausted the
 backlog of agricultural
 technology
 - They are Western Europe's leading wheat producers
- Wheat yields have plateaued in all three

Together, these three countries produce 80 million tons of wheat per year, 12 % of the world harvest.

Is China Hitting the Glass Ceiling for Rice?

- Japan's rice yields have not increased in 17 years
- South Korea's rice yields have also plateaued
- China's rice yields are approaching Japan's, may not be able to surpass them

Rice Yields in Japan and China, 1960-2011



Together, these three countries represent one third of the world rice harvest.

Where Else Will Grain Yields Stall?

- China's wheat yields may be approaching a plateau, as with rice
- With rising temperatures, farmers
 everywhere face new climate constraints
 even as they approach biological limits

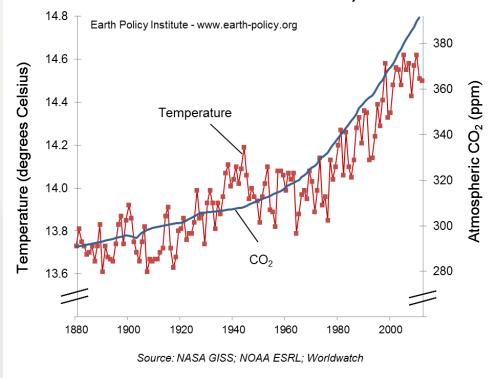
Thus far, rice or wheat yields have plateaued only in medium-sized countries. What happens when grain yields plateau in some of the larger ones?

Chapter 8 Rising Temperatures, Rising Food Prices

Climate Disruption

 The massive burning of fossil fuels is increasing the level of carbon dioxide (CO₂) in the atmosphere, raising the earth's temperature and disrupting climate

Average Global Temperature and Atmospheric Carbon Dioxide Concentrations, 1880-2012



Higher Temperatures, Lower Yields

- The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change projects earth's average temperature will rise up to 6.4°C (11.5°F) during this century
- Current trajectory is already outpacing projections
- For every 1°C rise in temperature above the optimum during the growing season, yields of wheat, rice, and corn can be expected to drop 10%

Melting Ice Threatens Food Security

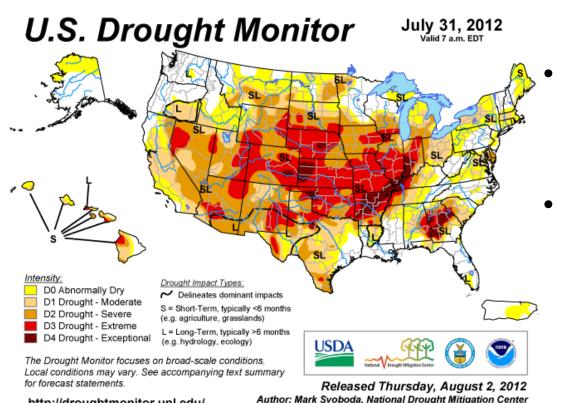
- Mountain glaciers are "reservoirs" for many rivers that are a source of irrigation water
 - As glaciers disappear, farmers lose this steady source of water
- Ice resting on land that melts and runs-off into the oceans raises sea level, threatening rice-growing river deltas
 - If the Greenland ice sheet completely melted, sea levels would rise 23 feet
 - Just a rise of 3 feet would inundate half the riceland in Bangladesh

No More "Normal"

- In the past, extreme weather events were anomalies and farmers could expect a return to normal conditions by the next harvest
- But with rising temperatures and changing climate, there is no normal to return to
- The 11,000 year period of relative climate stability in which agriculture developed is over
- Increasing world grain stocks to ~110 days of consumption is one way to create a buffer against extreme weather

With each passing year, the agricultural system is becoming more out of sync with the climate system.

2012 Drought Decimates U.S. Corn



http://droughtmonitor.unl.edu/

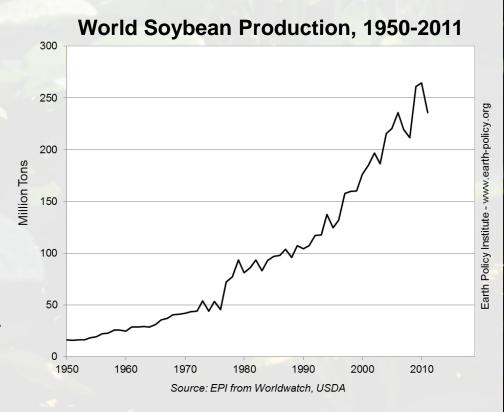
- Hottest July on record in **United States**
- Drought covered more than 60% of contiguous **United States**
 - As the drought and high temperatures damaged the corn and soybean crops, prices for the commodities rose

Climate dice are being loaded, making such extremes more likely.



Soybeans Rise to Prominence

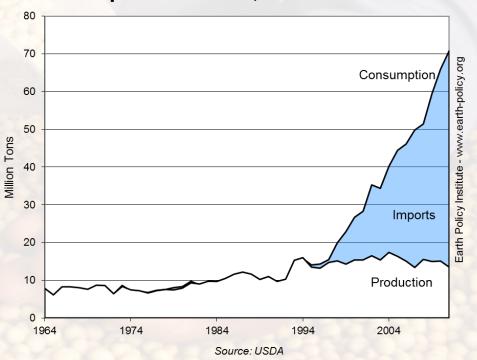
- Soybeans originated in China 3,000 years ago
- Since 1930, soybean meal has been mixed into livestock feed as a source of high-quality protein
- Today, the United States, Brazil, and Argentina combined account for over four fifths of the total world production of nearly 250 million tons



China Dominates Demand

- In 2008, China surpassed the United States as the leading soybean consumer
- 500 million pigs half the world total – live in China, eating soybean meal mixed with grain
- China currently imports 60% of all soybeans traded internationally

Soybean Production, Consumption, and Imports in China, 1964-2011

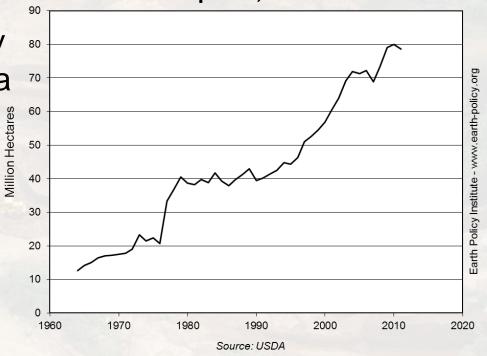


As China and other developing countries continue to move up the food chain, this demand will only increase.

Clearing the Amazon for Soybeans

- Raising soybean yields is difficult; most of rise in soybean demand is met by expanding the planted area
- In Brazil, this means deforestation in the Amazon Basin and degradation of the savannah-like cerrado





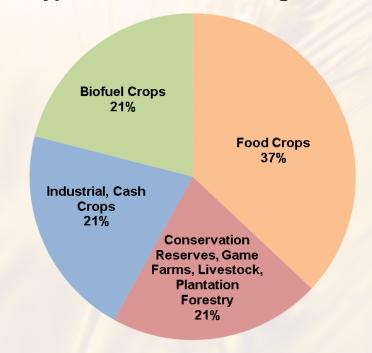
Protecting these biodiverse, carbon-capturing ecosystems now depends on the world's more affluent population moving lower on the food chain.



New Geopolitics of Food Scarcity

- Doubling of grain, soybean prices in 2007-08 revealed a new geopolitics of food every country for itself:
 - Russia, Thailand, other grain exporting countries restricted or banned exports
 - Some importers turned to buying or leasing tracts of land in other countries on which to grow food
 - These land acquisitions, often called "land grabs," multiplied quickly

Large-scale Land Acquisitions by Project Type, October 2008 – August 2009



Total Projects: 405

Source: GRAIN data compiled by Deininger and Byerlee (2011)

Land Grabs: The Investors

- Major investors include China, India, Saudi Arabia, South Korea, and United Arab Emirates
- Beyond food security: Some investors—U.S., E.U.,
 Southeast Asian companies—hope to produce biofuel crops
- Other investors see land grabbing as a lucrative investment opportunity: Hedge funds, pension funds, university endowments, speculators

Land Grabs: The Host Countries

- Main targets are sub-Saharan African countries:
 - Ethiopia, Sudan, and South Sudan, all emergency food aid recipients
 - Also includes Kenya, Mali, Tanzania, and others
 - Land often leased for 25 to 99 years for less than \$1 per acre per year
- Significant interest in Southeast Asia…
 - Cambodia, Laos, Philippines, Indonesia
- ...in Latin America...
 - Brazil, Argentina
- ...and the former Soviet Union
 - Russia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine

Selected Examples of Land Deals

Target Country	Description
Brazil	China's Chongqing Grain Group reportedly harvesting soybeans on some 500,000 acres in Bahia state
Cambodia	Singapore-based HLH Group farming corn on 35,000-acre, 70-year lease
Ethiopia	Saudi billionaire's agribusiness firm leasing 24,700 acres for rice in Gambella region; plans to obtain another 716,000 acres
Russia	South Korea's Hyundai Heavy Industries growing corn, oats, wheat, and soybeans to ship home on two farms totaling 40,000 acres

Ethiopia as Microcosm

- Farmers, indigenous people often find out about deals only as they are forced from their land
 - By early 2012, more than 1 million Ethiopians forcibly relocated by their government
- Informal land rights make it difficult for people to protest
- Projects using highly-mechanized, industrial agriculture; few jobs for local people
- Food produced most often shipped to investor's home country, contributing nothing to the local food supply
- Land grabs for agriculture are also necessarily water grabs

The Land Rush Is On

- As more land is acquired and local people are deprived of jobs and land, ranks of the hungry may swell
- Hostility of local people to land grabs is the rule, not the exception
- Rising political instability is a serious concern—may contribute to already growing list of failing states

These land acquisitions are an integral part of a global power struggle for control of the earth's land and water resources.



Toward a More Stable Food System

Demand Side

- Stabilize population
- Eradicate poverty
- Reduce excessive meat consumption
- Eliminate biofuels mandates

Supply Side

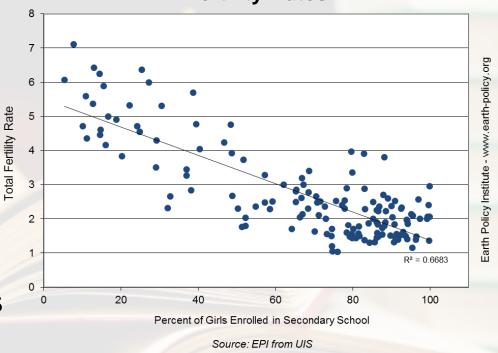
- Conserve soil
- Increase water productivity
- Fill the yield gap
- Stabilize climate

If we tackle both sides of the food equation, we can rebuild world grain stocks, improving food security.

Stabilizing Population and Eradicating Poverty

- School lunch programs help children, especially girls, stay in school
- Girls who stay in school longer are likely to have fewer children
- Reducing family size helps lift families out of poverty
- Malnutrition is found less often in smaller families





Efforts to eliminate poverty and slow population growth reinforce each other.

Supply Solutions

Soil Conservation Measures

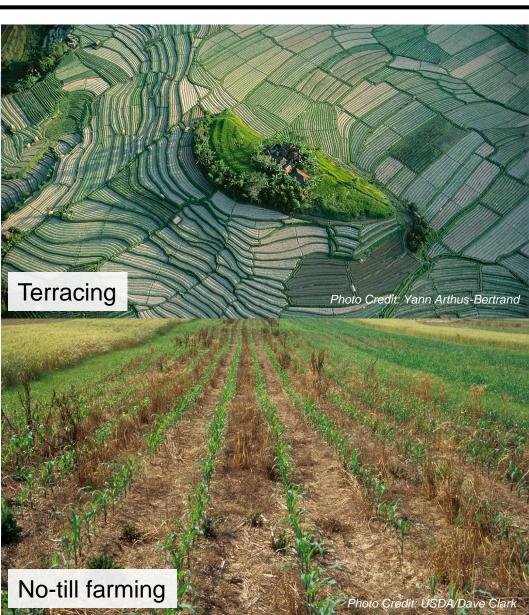
Return highly erodible land to grass

Terracing

Plant tree shelterbelts

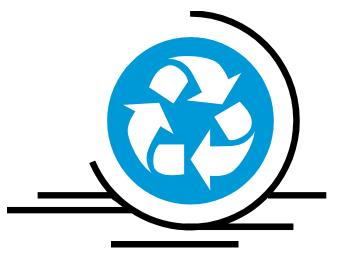
Strip cropping

No-till farming



Supply Solutions





Water Conservation Measures

Use more efficient irrigation techniques (e.g. drip irrigation)

Use more water-efficient crops, such as wheat instead of rice

Move down the food chain

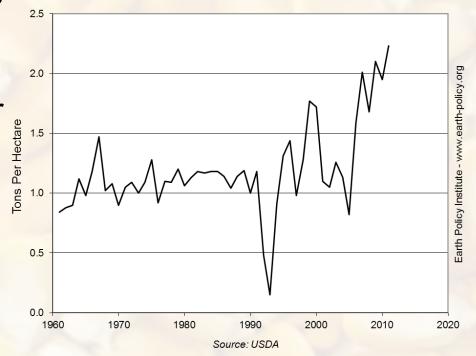
Price water to encourage efficiency

Recycle water

Case Study: Raising Grain Yields in Malawi

- 2005 drought left many people hungry or starving
- Government, with international support, provided farmers fertilizer and seed subsidies
- Corn harvest nearly doubled in 2 years; farmers' incomes grew and they were able to export some grain





With economic incentives and access to modern inputs, farmers in sub-Saharan Africa can easily double yields.

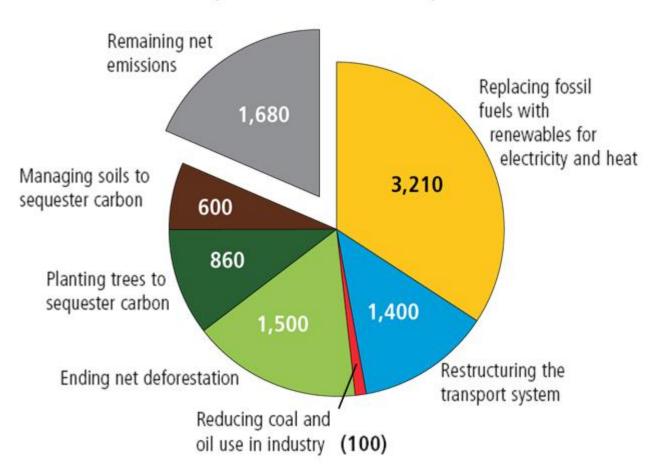
Stabilize Climate

- Need to cut carbon emissions 80% worldwide
- Spur shift to clean energy economy by restructuring taxes to incorporate indirect costs of fossil fuels
 - Increase carbon taxes, reduce income taxes
- Eliminate fossil fuels subsidies

Time is our scarcest resource.

Plan B Carbon Dioxide Emissions Reduction Goals

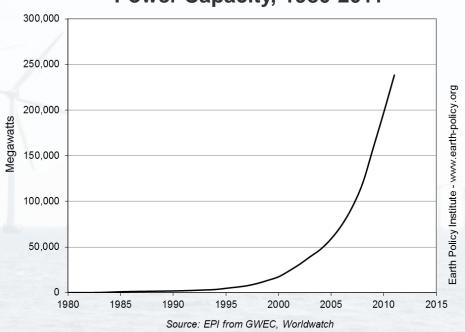
(Million Tons of Carbon)



Harnessing the Wind

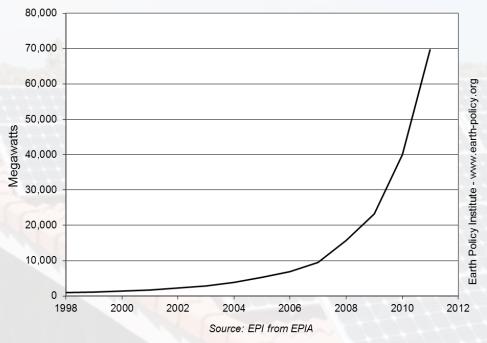
- Centerpiece of Plan B energy economy
- Growing number of places get a large share of electricity from wind:
 - Germany: 4 states over 45%
 - Denmark: more than25% nationally
 - United States:South Dakota andIowa ~ 20%

World Cumulative Installed Wind Power Capacity, 1980-2011



Solar Power Heating Up

World Cumulative Solar Photovoltaics Installations, 1998-2011

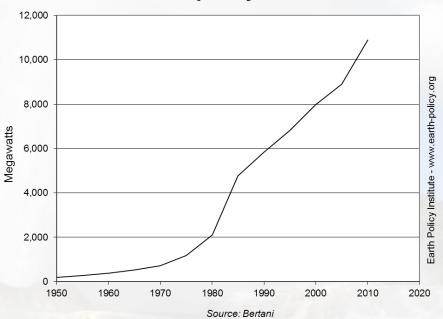


- Sunlight hitting the earth in 1 hour could power global economy for 1 year
- Solar power in Europe can now satisfy the electricity needs of some 15 million households
- With 24,700 MW of PV, Germany has twice as much solar installed as number two Italy

Geothermal: Energy from the Earth

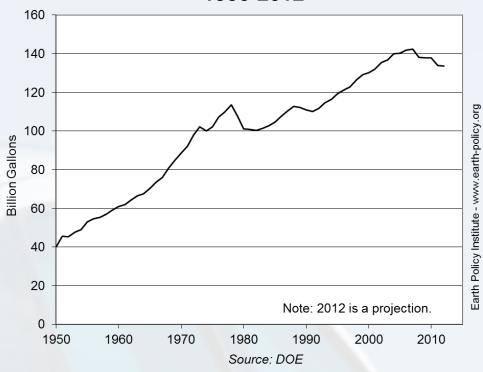
- Kenya now gets one fifth of its electricity from geothermal energy
- Indonesia is shooting for 9,500 megawatts of geothermal generating capacity by 2025, which would meet 56% of current electricity needs
- Potential geothermal capacity worldwide could power the entire world economy nearly two times over

World Cumulative Installed Geothermal Power Capacity, 1950-2010



Restructuring Transport





- Cities emphasizing rail and bus rapid transit need fewer cars
- Plug-in hybrid and allelectric vehicles can run primarily on emissionsfree electricity
- Good news: U.S.
 gasoline use dropped
 11% from 2007 peak to
 2012, trend likely to
 continue

Redefining Security

- Historically, security has been defined mostly in military terms
- But today climate volatility, emerging water shortages, spreading hunger, and failing states are the new threats to survival
- Food security is not just in the hands of agricultural departments
- The challenge is to reorder fiscal priorities to match these new dangers

A Wartime Mobilization

- We have the technologies necessary to prevent a food breakdown
 — what is needed now is the political will to do so
- Saving civilization will require urgent action on a large scale, but we've mobilized quickly before
- Upon entering World War II, the U.S. mobilized resources and completely restructured its economy within months

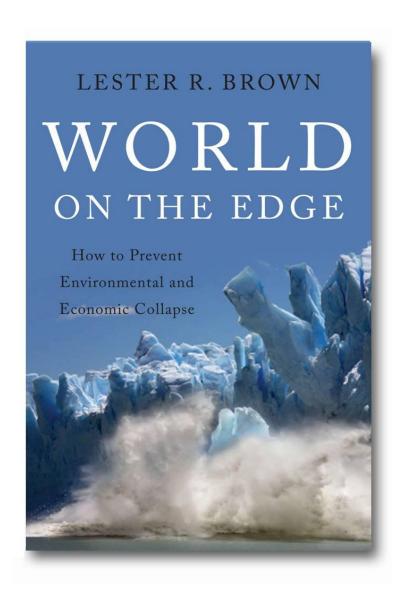
Let's Get to Work

Saving civilization is not a spectator sport.

—Lester R. Brown

- Preventing a food breakdown requires a huge political effort undertaken on many fronts and with a fierce sense of urgency
- Make sure your elected officials know what's important
 - The overriding priority is redefining security and reallocating fiscal resources accordingly
- Take action in an area that concerns or excites you

To learn more about this mobilization...

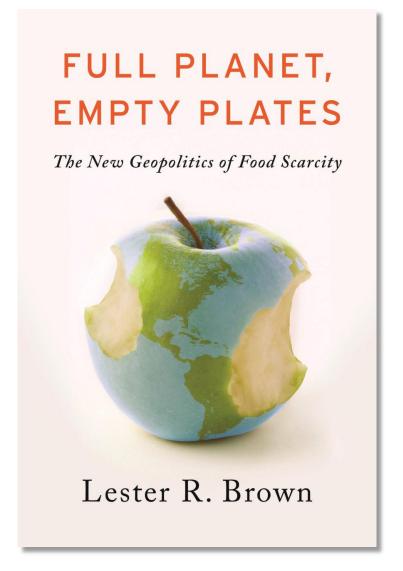


read World on the Edge by
Lester R. Brown. More
information and full-text
copies of our publications
are available at

www.earth-policy.org



To learn more about the global food situation...



read Full Planet, Empty
Plates: The New Geopolitics
of Food Scarcity by
Lester R. Brown. The book
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